Dissertation Advisor: Professor Jennifer L. Roberts Jason David LaFountain

The Puritan Art World

Abstract

In this dissertation, I argue that the iconoclastic and anti-materialistic “art of living to God” is the central theoretical preoccupation of English and American Puritan intellectuals. I call attention to a wealth of previously unacknowledged writing about image, art, architecture, and form in Puritan literature, while highlighting how recent materialist analyses of Puritan culture have effectively obscured evidence of iconoclasm and anti-materialism in this milieu. In the first chapter, I explore the Puritan inheritance of John Calvin’s theology of the “living image,” which defines human beings as God-made pictures and greater than all images that are man-made. I explain how Puritan image theory is wedded to a theorization of the art of living to God, such that Puritan art and image theory are one and the same. The second chapter delineates various ways in which the imitation of Christ undergirds the conceptualization of “art work” in Puritanism. Here I focus on how Puritan ideas about both art and image intersect with their theorizations of happiness, shining, walking, and printing/pressing. I examine the theology of “edification” in my third chapter, probing how godly Puritans were understood to be “living architecture” and “living plants.” In Chapter 4 I consider how Puritan anti-formalism contributes to and complicates Puritan art and image theory. More than anything else, a preoccupation with theorizing image, art, architecture, and form is what makes intellectual Puritanism a coherent tradition across space (England and the Netherlands to New England) and time (ca. 1560-1730). In the fifth and concluding chapter, I address an aspect of Puritan ministerial writings in which pastoral practice is defined not as art work but in terms of image curatorship and conservation. I then suggest that Puritan biographical literatures are archives or histories of artful and edificatory performativity. I argue that texts such as broadside elegies, funeral sermons, the monumental collections of lives by Samuel Clarke and Cotton Mather, and perhaps even gravestones should be understood as histories of Puritan art and architecture.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

Although the merits of material culture studies are now widely recognized, scholars rarely talk about material culture's shortcomings. What are its limitations, its obfuscations? What do we do with historical evidence indicating that material does not or should not matter? In my dissertation I pursue these questions through study of an iconoclastic and anti-materialistic discourse appearing in English and American Puritan practical theological writings (1560-1730) that describes godly living as a work of art.[1]

Whereas Puritan theologians often write about material making, including painting, sculpture, drawing, and printmaking, as well as architecture, to describe the "art of living to God," they do so in order to negate the material practices that serve as their theoretical models. The Puritan art of living to God is anti-material, anti-formal, and anti-worldly. It posits the "mereness" of material form, material existence, and material making. A primary aim of my dissertation is to show that anti-materialism is a major blind spot in material culture studies and in the study of early modern British and early American art. While I do not, in an absolute sense, take issue with the idea that human existence is material, or that anti-material ideas are conveyed through anything other than material relations, means, and media—in the case of my project, printed texts especially, as well as some manuscripts (which, at least to me, are "material")—there are episodes in cultural and intellectual history, and in the history of art, to which thoroughgoing anti-materialism has been crucial.

First, I will provide an introduction to the subject I have been studying. I will then present concise critiques of important scholarship on materiality and material culture in

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[1] Throughout the dissertation, when I utilize the term "discourse" I simply mean a "sustained discussion of a subject."

Puritanism, before finally talking more about the questions raised by my topic and some of their implications for the study of material culture, as well as the study of art history. I want to preface this introduction by saying that all of my degrees are in art history, and I have spent a good deal of time writing what I would call material culture scholarship. I have, for example, worked a lot on early New England gravestones, and I originally thought I would write a dissertation that would be fairly described as a study of material culture (probably a collection of case studies that would comprise, in sum, a historical phenomenology of the practice of burying ground meditation in early New England).[2] As I was researching the seminar paper that would become my Harvard qualifying paper—a study of the New England Puritan minister Cotton Mather's reading and writing on art and architecture—I came across passages in his and related Puritan writings that I had a hard time processing, largely on account of my interest in visual and material culture, but also related to the basic idea, now prevalent (as I have learned in writing this dissertation, if I did not know it already), that what one studies as an art historian not only *is* but *ought to be* "material objects."

Here are some of the passages I found in Puritan writings early in my research, the first from the appendix to Cotton Mather's 1698 funeral sermon on the minister John Bailey, *A Good Man Making a Good End*—this text would later reappear in the *Magnalia Christi Americana* (1702), Mather's largest and most important published work. **(Figure**

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[2] For examples of my own visual- and material-culture-related writings, see Jason David LaFountain, "Reflections on the Funerary Monuments and Burying Grounds of Early New England," Master's thesis, University of Maryland, 2004; Jason D. LaFountain, "1670: The stamp of God's image; John Foster prints a woodcut portrait of Richard Mather," in *A New Literary History of America*, ed. Greil Marcus and Werner Sollors (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009), 44-50; and Jason D. LaFountain, "Colorizing New England's Burying Grounds," in *The Materiality of Color: The Production, Circulation, and Application of Dyes and Pigments, 1400-1800*, ed. Andrea Feeser, Maureen Daly Goggin, and Beth Fowkes Tobin (Farnham, Surrey, UK: Ashgate, 2012), 13-27. In each of these studies I have attempted to preserve the negativity of Puritan (or early modern Protestant) iconoclasm and anti-materialism while studying topics in material culture studies.

1) The author writes, "The *Images* of the Lord JESUS CHRIST on the Wall, are not Agreeable unto a well instructed *Christian*. But instead of that, the *Christian* would fain have an *Image* of the Lord *Jesus Christ*, in the Dispositions of his own Heart & Life."[3] Not long after I saw this passage, I was reading some writings of William Perkins, a very important but much earlier (Elizabethan-era) English Puritan minister. In his 1601 tract, *A Warning Against the Idolatrie of the Last Times*, Perkins writes, "[M]an is a liuing image of God, made by the very hand of God: and in this respect a thousand fold more excellent then all Images made by the hand of man."[4] **(Figure 2)** I was interested in both of these passages, inasmuch as they seemed to imply that these writers were thinking about people as images, comparing but then also contrasting them with "man-made" pictures. At around the same time I was reading more in Mather's *Magnalia*, which is a huge history of the first generation of the Puritan settlement in New England. **(Figure 3)** The title of this work translates roughly "The Glorious Works of Christ in America." I came across the following line about the minister John Brock: "If One had asked Mr. *JOHN BROCK* that Question in *Antoninus*, *Of what art hast thou proceeded master?* He might have truly answered, *My Art is to be Good*…It was chiefly by being a *Good Christian* that he proved himself a *Good Artist*."[5]

I found this comment to be very peculiar, not least because at the time I read it I was under the impression—as are most historians of early American art—that the category "art" was not important to (or even did not exist in) the culture of New England Puritanism. Visual and material culture studies have led, more or less, to the discarding of

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[3] Cotton Mather, *A Good Man Making a Good End* (Boston, 1698), 82.

[4] William Perkins, *A Warning Against the Idolatrie of the Last Times* (Cambridge, Eng., 1601), 93.

[5] Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana* (London, 1702), 4:141.

art as a category when treating Puritan culture, and scholars of later eighteenth-century American art, such as Margaretta Lovell, have suggested that art theory is more or less nonexistent in colonial New England.[6] I soon learned that "Antoninus" was what early modern writers called Marcus Aurelius, whose *Meditations* (or *Golden Book*) helped early modern philosophers, most famously the Neostoics, to think about good living as a work of art.[7] Puritan writers would Christianize Marcus Aurelius, whose moral philosophy (or "morosophy") was appealing but ultimately would not square with the complex theology of good works adjoining the Calvinist investment in *sola fide* and the doctrine of election.

Early in this research one other passage particularly piqued my attention, and together with those I have mentioned above it led me to embark on this dissertation project. The passage appears in Cotton Mather's 1708/09 funeral sermon on John Winthrop the Younger. **(Figure 4)** Winthrop was colonial governor of Connecticut in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. Mather writes,

> Among the Primitive Christians, they would often have the Pourtraicts of *Enoch*, of *Lazarus*, of *Jonas*, and of *Ezekiels* Vision, on their Cæmeterial

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[6] Lovell writes, "The rich pool of art criticism and art theory that scholars of British and continental eighteenth-century art have to call on to gloss 'reception' and to build rich interpretive models concerning displaced political and social public contests echoed in the canvases and material culture of their patrons, is not found in America. No newspaper articles, no theory tomes, no Boswellian biographies exist. However, this dearth of verbal evidence gives us opportunity; indeed, it forces us to read the objects themselves." Margaretta M. Lovell, *Art in a Season of Revolution: Painters, Artisans, and Patrons in Early America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 3. Lovell essentially begins this important book where I end my dissertation. Her inattention to the period before the one she is studying and to alternative theorizations of art, such as that which appears in the literature of Puritan practical theology, leads her to argue that close analysis of material objects will be, of necessity, a critical feature of the study of early American art.

[7] See Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations*, trans. with intro. Maxwell Staniforth (London: Penguin Books, 1964). For art historical writings that have helped me in thinking about Marcus Aurelius, Neostoicism, and early modern art theory and practice, see Michael P. Mezzatesta, "Marcus Aurelius, Fray Antonio de Guevara, and the Ideal of the Perfect Prince in the Sixteenth Century," *Art Bulletin* 66:4 (December 1984): 620-633; and Ricardo De Mambro Santos, *Le Virtù Romane: Temi e motivi dello stoicismo nell'arte nordica del Cinquecento* (Roma: Edilazio, 2005).

> Cells, to Proclaim their *Comfortable Faith* of the *Resurrection*, to sweeten their Habitation in the D*ry Pit* in the Land where the Sun shines not. But on the Sepulchral Monuments, it was usual for others of them to inscribe the *First Letters* in the Name of our Saviour. I ask not for those Actions, but for our Following of the *Faith* which produced them![8]

This seemed very strange to me. What does it mean to act according to "the *Faith*" that during the remote Christian past had nourished the production of things such as catacomb paintings and gravestones **(e.g. Figures 5 and 6)** but without actually engaging in the production of such cultural expressions oneself?

Like early modern Christians generally, Puritans were very much interested in the early Christian Church as a pre- or non-corrupt version of Catholic Christianity. Near the beginning of his important book *To Live Ancient Lives: The Primitivist Dimension in Puritanism*, Theodore Dwight Bozeman addresses the significance to the Puritans of (what he terms) the "Patristic Primordium."[9] Bozeman writes, "Primitivism embraced the conviction that the Christian pilgrimage forth through the age of reformation and toward the eschatological climax was simultaneously a retrogression. To move forward was to strive without rest for reconnection with the paradigmatic events and utterances of ancient and unspoiled times."[10] The early Christian Church and the writings of the Church fathers became the model against which Puritan reformation, whether collective or personal, should be measured.[11] To return to Mather's remark, he alludes to an idea of

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[8] Cotton Mather, *Winthropi Justa* (Boston, 1708), 32-33.

[9] See Theodore Dwight Bozeman, *To Live Ancient Lives: The Primitivist Dimension in Puritanism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 23-32.

[10] Ibid., 11.

[11] For a profound account of the patristic preoccupation with ideas of reform, see Gerhard B. Ladner, *The Idea of Reform: Its Impact on Christian Thought and Action in the Age of the Fathers*, rev. ed (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1967).

a painting- or carving-like action that is neither literal, material painting nor literal, material carving. He refers to painting and carving to suggest an altogether different type of painting or carving—a type of faithful, painting- or carving-like activity that displaces and/or replaces painting or carving as we tend to understand the terms.

With more research I eventually found that the aforementioned passages were part of a discourse concerning good or godly living as art, which forms the core of Puritan practical theological writing (and which is itself the core of all Puritan literature). No less interesting, I found that Puritan image theory is directly linked to this discourse, so that their art and image theory are one and the same. Puritans who live godly lives are like both God and Christ. Godly Puritans are artists because they bear the restored picture of God or Christ within or upon them—this picture had suffered damage through original sin and could become further sullied by sinful behavior.

This notion of godly living as a work of art goes under a variety of names. It is called the art of living to God and the art of living. It is called *techné* and the technology of divinity. It is termed the art of doing, the art of doing good, the art of arts, excellent art, artificing, spiritual art, and divine art. Drawing on Aristotle's theorization of *eupraxia*, writers, including the English Puritan Francis Rous, refer to it as the art of happiness. Its practitioners are called artists, right artists, and artificers. These Puritan artists are, at the same time, said to be living images, lively images, living paintings, right images, pictures of God, pictures of Christ, true images, true portraits, and even divine landscapes. This idea of art is theorized in comparison with other period art forms, including painting, sculpture, and drawing (all of which begin to be thought of or defined as art during the early modern period). It is compared to playing music, as well as practices we are less likely to term art today, but which were then thought of in this way, the art of navigation, to the art of physick (i.e. medicine), in the literature and practice of husbandry the arts of grafting and planting, and (even) the art of swimming. In the related discourse of edification, derived from an anti-material reading of the Pauline Epistles, Puritan writers think about godly Christians as living architecture, whether as whole buildings (e.g. temples, houses) or as architectural elements, such as stones, roofs, rafters, columns, pillars, and walls. As living buildings, godly Puritans are also called builders.

Although things like material paintings and buildings provide models for thinking about the art of living to God, Puritan artists, living images, builders, and living buildings are what they are specifically because they are the antithesis of material artworks and material buildings—in fact, in this discourse such material things become types for sinful people. Godly people are vivacious metaphorical paintings and buildings, whereas sinful persons are, in their base materiality, akin to dead, literal ones.

To better frame my dissertation, I should note that I have found one of the most fertile points of departure in the work of literary historians Michael Clark and William Scheick, who since the 1970s have successfully combined analysis of Puritan iconoclasm and anti-materialism with close reading of Puritan literature.[12] In examining the dialogical character of transatlantic Puritan culture, attending to the English roots of the movement and continuing associations between English and American Puritan culture(s)

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[12] See Michael P. Clark, "'The Crucified Phrase': Sign and Desire in Puritan Semiology," *Early American Literature* 13:3 (Winter 1978/9): 278-293; Clark, "The Honeyed Knot of Puritan Aesthetics," in *Puritan Poets and Poetics: Seventeenth-Century American Poetry in Theory and Practice*, ed. Peter White (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1985), 67-83; Michael P. Clark, "The Eschatology of Signs in Cotton Mather's 'Biblia Americana' and Jonathan Edwards's Case for the Legibility of Providence," in *Cotton Mather and the 'Biblia Americana' – America's First Bible Commentary: Essays in Reappraisal,* ed. Reiner Smolinski and Jan Stievermann (Tübingen, Germany: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 413-438; and William J. Scheick, *Design in Puritan American Literature* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1992).

during the period at which I am looking, I follow the lead of scholars like David Grayson Allen and Francis Bremer.[13] Although I have come to think of this project as a study of an episode in the philosophy of art, the discourse I am examining also has many things in common with both performance and conceptual art from the 1960s, 70s, and later, and this relationship has meaningfully informed my thinking. As I proceed, it will become clear that the Puritan art of living anticipates strategies of critique, opposition, and negation that we have come to associate with performance and conceptual art.[14]

Two other works of scholarship have been especially important to me as I completed this dissertation. The literary historian Eric Slauter's *The State as a Work of Art: the Cultural Origins of the Constitution* (2009), in which Slauter demonstrates that considerations of art theory and aesthetics have been central to topics that are not traditionally the territory of art historians, in particular the legal and political history of the Revolutionary era and early republic. Although Slauter occasionally analyzes pictures or, say, furniture, he shows us this primarily by looking carefully at writings, both printed and in manuscript. In doing so, he produces some of the richest discussions that have

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[13] David Grayson Allen, "'Both Englands'," in *Seventeenth-Century New England*, ed. David D. Hall and David Grayson Allen (Boston: Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1984), 55-82; and Francis J. Bremer, ed., *Puritanism: Transatlantic Perspectives on a Seventeenth-Century Anglo-American Faith* (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1993). On the transplantation of English Puritanism to North America, see also David Hackett Fischer, "East Anglia to Massachusetts: The Exodus of the English Puritans, 1629-41," in *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 13-205.

[14] For key sources that have helped me to better appreciate similarities, as well as differences, between the Puritan art of living and performance/conceptual art, see Allan Kaprow, *Essays on the Blurring of Art and Life*, exp. ed., ed. Jeff Kelley (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); Lucy Lippard, *Six Years: The Dematerialization of the Art Object from 1966 to 1972…* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); Gregory Battcock, ed., *Idea Art: A Critical Anthology* (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1973); and Alexander Alberro and Blake Stimson, eds., *Conceptual Art: A Critical Anthology* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999). John Dewey's *Art as Experience* has also been very important to me. See John Dewey, *Art as Experience* (New York: Perigree, 1980). The book was first published in 1934.

been published to date concerning aesthetics, architectural theory, composition, form, taste, notions of the frame and framing, and representation (i.e. how ideas about pictorial representation inform thinking on political representativity) in early America.[15] Like my own project, Alexander Nemerov's *Acting in the Night: 'Macbeth' and the Places of the Civil War* explores the implication of art in life in a period before which historians of American art have taken up the subject.[16] Nemerov remarked to me in a conversation about the relationship between our projects: "Having the chance to think about 19th-century American art in an expanded sense—that is, as encompassing things and even ephemeral experiences that hardly rise to the level of 'art' (and yet are often more powerful than this art)—was one of the most thrilling parts for me of researching and writing the book. I imagine that in your work you are interested in this expanded definition of artistic and religious experience, too."[17] It is precisely the Puritan sense of the power of the implication of art in life that I will explore in the following pages.

Note: throughout the dissertation, I position the writings of the New England Puritan Cotton Mather (1663-1728) at the center of my analysis. Mather's works crystallize and often provocatively extend many of the thoughts about image, art, architecture, and form developed in earlier Puritanism.[18]

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[15] Eric Slauter, *The State as a Work of Art: The Cultural Origins of the Constitution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

[16] Alexander Nemerov, *Acting in the Night: 'Macbeth' and the Places of the Civil War* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010).

[17] Email correspondence with Alexander Nemerov, June 2011.

[18] The best biography of Cotton Mather remains Kenneth Silverman, *The Life and Times of Cotton Mather* (New York: Harper & Row, 1984).

The Art of Living / Living Image in Puritanism

In this dissertation I introduce a body of Puritan writing that understands godly Christians as both artists and living images. Even as Puritan authors dismiss practices of material making like drawing, painting, printmaking, sculpture, and architecture as art, they depend on these practices and their products to describe virtuous Christian behavior as artistry. The discourse of the art of living serves as a negotiation of the rejection of justification according to good works in Calvinist culture. That is, the theorization of an idea of "art work" in Puritanism supplies a bridge through which actions and works can still signify within a religious culture to which the doctrine of election is also critical.[19] Undergirding this discourse is the idea that metaphor is the space of Puritan reality. For the writers whose works I will analyze here the material world, or so-called "reality," is what is dream-like or illusory.

Over the course of more than a century, as Puritan thinkers built a robust account of the "sincere" art of living to God, they produced, at the same time, a large amount of polemical writing in which they critiqued "formal," or "hypocritical," religion. Puritan art and image theory is, in fact, one and the same with this anti-formalist literature. More than anything else, a preoccupation with theorizing image, art, and form is what makes intellectual Puritanism a coherent tradition across space (England and the Netherlands to New England) and time (ca. 1560-1730).

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[19] Julia Bryan-Wilson's scholarship on art and work, or "art work," in the Vietnam War era has helped me to think through the connectedness of Puritan theologians' ideas about art and work. See Julia Bryan-Wilson, *Art Workers: Radical Practice in the Vietnam War Era* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009).

This discourse is the Puritan contribution to an aspect of the philosophy of art that understands life (or, in this case, the practice of Christian living) as art work. This thread in the philosophy of art includes everything from ancient writings on this idea, by Plato, Aristotle, Seneca, Epictetus, and Marcus Aurelius, to, writing a bit later, someone like John Chrysostom (in an excellent book historian of religion Margaret Mitchell describes Chrysostom's homily on 1 Corinthians 13, in which he characterizes Paul as a perfect portrait—a living, breathing statue of Christ).[20] There are early modern revisitations of the aforementioned classical writers, as in Neostoicism (as we have already seen, Marcus Aurelius was popular among Puritans and Neostoics alike), and then, somewhat later, we have the thinking of philosophical aestheticians like the Third Earl of Shaftesbury and Francis Hutcheson, Honoré de Balzac's 1830 *Treatise on Elegant Living*, as well as sundry turn-of-the-twentieth-century utopian efforts to break down the barrier between art and life, as in the Arts & Crafts movement, and so forth.[21] More recently, we have philosophical wranglings with an aesthetics of existence, as appears in the late writings of Foucault, like *The Care of the Self*, or in Alexander Nehamas's *The Art of Living* (a synthetic and transhistorical account of the idea—the best general treatment of the subject).[22]

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[20] Margaret M. Mitchell, *The Heavenly Trumpet: John Chrysostom and the Art of Pauline Interpretation* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2002), esp. 104-112.

[21] See Leslie Ellen Brown, "The Idea of Life as a Work of Art in Scottish Enlightenment Discourse," *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 24 (1995): 51-67; Honoré de Balzac, *Treatise on Elegant Living*, trans. Napoleon Jeffries (Cambridge, Mass.: Wakefield Press, 2010); and Wendy Kaplan, *"The Art that Is Life": the Arts & Crafts Movement in America* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1987).

[22] Michel Foucault, *The Care of the Self*. The History of Sexuality vol. 3, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Vintage Books, 1988); Alexander Nehamas, *The Art of Living: Socratic Reflections from Plato to Foucault* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

Building on patristic writings, and anticipated in the literature of the late medieval Lollards, the French reformer John Calvin advanced an iconoclastic theory of Protestant people as living images in relation to practices such as ministerial preaching and the sacraments of baptism and communion.[23] Defined in opposition to "mere," "dead," "man-made," "material" pictures, Calvin understood godly Christians to be lively pictures of God or Christ. Later Calvinists, including the Puritans, extended Calvin's image theory. The scriptural basis for the Calvinist understanding of the godly-believer-as-living-image is Genesis 1:26, which indicates that man was created in God's image. Puritan authors describe Christian persons, rather than man-made pictures, as true images, with God as the artist to whom this work is attributed. Remarkably, they emphasize Genesis 1:26 over and against John 1:14 ("The Word was made flesh…"), the traditional focus of Christian arguments in support of the permissibility of man-made images.

In an important recent book, the theologian, Randall Zachman, has clarified Calvin's development of the distinction between the dead images "contrived" by human hands and the living images created by God. Restoring image to a central place within Calvin's theology, alongside and in relation to word (or Word)—which is usually the focus of discussions of the theological or cultural priorities of Protestant cultures—Zachman underlines that during and after the Reformation the development of a new or different notion of the Christian image was paramount for Protestant theologians such as Calvin. The living image in Calvinism is both an image and an anti-image. The living

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[23] The Lollards were iconoclastic and anti-materialistic English heretics who, in a variety of ways, anticipated the Protestant Reformation. On living versus dead images in Lollardy, see Margaret Aston, "Lollards and Images," in *Lollards and Reformers: Images and Literacy in Late Medieval Religion* (London: Hambledon Press, 1984), 135-192. For a discussion of Calvin's related views about living versus dead images, see Randall C. Zachman, *Image and Word in the Theology of John Calvin* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007).

image as theorized by Calvin and later Puritan thinkers cannot be understood independently from an antipathy for what they call dead, man-made, material images.

Perhaps the most important Puritan publication describing the art of living to God is William Ames's *Technometria*, a Latin treatise published in 1633, the title of which translates as "measure" or "survey" "of art." **(Figure 7)** Derived from the medieval system of the liberal arts, *technometria* is a complete model of the arts, theorized by Ames, via the French Protestant humanist Peter Ramus, in the early seventeenth century.[24] A reaction against the metaphysics of Aristotle, the system works to combine abstract theory and the concrete practice of virtue, and it promotes the implication of the metaphysical in the physical world.

From the Greek meaning "good practice" or "good action," "doing or making well," or "practicing well," the incorporation of *eupraxia* within the Amesian system was of fundamental importance to Puritan religion.[25] In his discussion of happiness in the *Nicomachean Ethics*, Aristotle uses the term *eupraxia*, and for both Aristotle and Puritan theologians, good action has happiness as its end.[26] In Ames's art theory, the manual production of things like paintings or sculptures—occupies a position within the "less dignified" arts in the technometric hierarchy. **(Figures 8 and 9, bottom of the chart)** Thus *eupraxia* is shaped by strong criticality—if not complete negativity—toward the

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[24] For the most important analysis of the thought of Ramus, see Walter J. Ong, *Ramus: Method, and the Decay of Dialogue: From the Art of Discourse to the Art of Reason*, foreword Adrian Johns (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004). The book was first published by Harvard University Press in 1958. On the Ramist movement in England, see Wilbur Samuel Howell, *Logic and Rhetoric in England, 1500-1700* (New York: Russell & Russell, Inc., 1961), 173-246.

[25] Lee W. Gibbs, "Commentary" in William Ames, *Technometry*, trans. and intro. Lee W. Gibbs (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1979), 131-132 (Thesis 9).

[26] See Aristotle. *Nicomachean Ethics*, trans. and intro. Christopher Rowe, philosophical intro. and comment. Sarah Broadie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

idea of artistry as object production. The Puritan formulation of art as good action thus functions as an iconoclastic gesture. As Lee Gibbs has pointed out, for Ames the "object of art" is not "in the mind or will of an individual man"; it is "in the mind of God" and "[God-] created things."[27] In addition to *Technometria*, Ames's system of practical theology was made known through his *Medulla Theologiae* (1623, 1627), published in English translation as *The Marrow of Theology* or *The Marrow of Sacred Divinity*.[28]

(Figure 10)

Ames's *Technometria* drew on existing educational curricula of the institutions that trained Puritan ministers. Emmanuel College at Cambridge was a breeding ground for generations of Puritan divines; Ames himself studied at Christ College, Cambridge, and was heavily influenced by William Perkins during his studies. His *technometria* was instrumental in the development of the curriculum at Harvard College (and later Yale), and *theses technologicae* can be found in commencement programs for both institutions through the end of eighteenth century.[29] Both Harvard and Yale functioned in the beginning primarily to train Puritan clergy.

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[27] Gibbs, "Commentary" in Ames, *Technometry*, 132 (Thesis 10).

[28] See, for example, William Ames, *The Marrow of Sacred Divinity* (London, 1642).

[29] For sources explaining the importance of Ames's writing to Puritan culture, see Perry Miller, *The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1939), 161-180 and 187-190; Lee W. Gibbs, "William Ames's Technometry," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 33:4 (October-December 1972): 615-624; Lee W. Gibbs's contributions to Ames, *Technometry*; Keith L. Sprunger, "William Ames and the Settlement of Massachusetts Bay," *New England Quarterly* 39:1 (March 1966): 66-79; Keith L. Sprunger, "Technometria: A Prologue to Puritan Theology," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 29:1 (January-March 1968): 115-122; and Keith L. Sprunger, *The Learned Doctor William Ames: Dutch Backgrounds of English and American Puritanism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972). For works dealing with *technometria* and Harvard's early curriculum, see Samuel Eliot Morison, *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936), 161-164; Porter G. Perrin, "Possible Sources of *Technologia* at Early Harvard," *New England Quarterly* 7:4 (December 1934): 718-724; and Edward Rand, "Liberal Education in Seventeenth-Century Harvard," *New England Quarterly* 6 (1933): 525-551. For a seventeenth-century catechism including handwritten notations related to *eupraxia*, see James Fitch, *The First P*[*r*]*inciples of the Doctrine of Christ* (Boston, 1679), Houghton

In *The Way to True Happinesse, or, The Way to Heaven Open'd*, published in 1654, the English Puritan clergyman, Ralph Venning, queries in framing his sermon (in reference to John 6:28): "*What shall we do that we may work the Work of God*?" **(Figure 11)** The key, he says, is the art of living to God, practice over profession, works over words, walking over talking. "Religion is no idle speculation," he writes, "nor a bare Profession, a forme of Godlinesse, a round of duties, but the life of Religion lies in living it, in bringing the whole (*inward and outward*) man to the obedience of God; *Godlinesse is God-likenesse*." Venning later asks, "Are not we his Workmanship created (*that is*, *new created*) unto good works?"[30] It is important to recognize here that the good works of Christians, according to this Calvinist (and therefore predestinarian) line of Puritan theology, are accomplished by resigning oneself to the will of God. In this regard, the Puritan notion of the art of living is to be distinguished from most of the other models of life as a work of art I have mentioned in this Introduction. It is not in the individual's power to work the work of art, but rather, God does the work in, through, or with the faithful Christian.

As the English Puritan, Isaac Ambrose, puts it in *Media: The Middle Things*, published five years earlier, "[W]e are workers together with Christ."[31] **(Figure 12)** (Note that the art of living to God is aptly understood as *both* art theory and media theory.) In his Epistle to the Reader preceding Ambrose's *Media*, John Waite plays on the Latin phrase "Media re," meaning the "middle of a thing." He labels the art of living

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Library, Harvard University *AC6 F5532 679f (interleaved copy with ms. notes on interleaves, in autograph of Jabez Fitch).

[30] Ralph Venning, *The Way to True Happinesse* (London, 1654), "Epistle Dedicatory," n.p., 26-27, and 29.

[31] Isaac Ambrose, *Media: The Middle Things*, 2d ed. (London, 1652), 87.

"*Remedia*," a remedy.[32] The Lollards had called godly Christians "quick images," and the idea of "quickness" or "quickening" continued to inform Puritan characterizations of living images.[33] In both cultural contexts (and based on biblical distinctions between "the quick" (the saved) and "the dead" (the damned)) liveliness and quickness are closely related. In *The Quickened Soul* (1720), a short treatise on the art of living and/as vivification, Cotton Mather writes,

> In our *Original Sin*, Our Faculties are so depraved, and such a *Death* is come upon them, that we cannot now *Live unto GOD*, until Supernatural Influences from Heaven, bring us into the *Life of GOD*…[W]e are Expressly told, Eph. II. 8. *By Grace are ye saved thro' Faith*; *and that not of your selves: It is the Gift of GOD*. And if the *First Act of Living to GOD*, be from the Efficacy of a *Supernatural Grace* granted unto us, Methinks, the *whole Course* of *Living to GOD*, must be assigned unto the same *Gracious Efficicacy* [*sic*]. Christian, All that thou *Art* in Christianity must have this Confession made upon it; *By the Grace of GOD I am what I am*. All that thou *Dost* must have this Confess'd of it; *Not I but the Grace of GOD which is with me*.[34] **(Figure 13)**

Mather's peculiar capitalizing of "*Art*" is a play on how "*Living to GOD*" is an art. "All that thou *Art* in Christianity must have this Confession made upon it; *By the Grace of GOD I am what I am*." Here, too, his play on the word *Art* (and the verb "to be") enables him to associate art with the idea of being. The art of living to God is human "being," while all human existence outside of the art of living is non-being. "Worldy profits" are, for example, according to Isaac Ambrose, "a thing of nought, and *that which is not*."[35] And of "worldy pleasures" he asserts, "[T]hey [have] nothing, no reality in them."[36]

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[32] John Waite, "The Epistle to the Reader," in ibid., n.p.

[33] See Aston, "Lollards and Images."

[34] Cotton Mather, *The Quickened Soul* (Boston, 1720), 7-9.

[35] Ambrose, *Media*, 103.

By the early eighteenth century, Puritan ministers in training were reading other, newer practical theological treatises describing Christian living as a work of art, but which were remarkably similar to the system outlined by Ames. The most important of these is the *Theoretico-practica Theologia* of the German-Dutch theologian Petrus van Mastricht. This massive, 1,300-page text dates to 1682-1687 (Amsterdam), with a final and complete edition issued in 1699 (Utrecht).[37] **(Figure 14)** In the early eighteenth century in New England, both Cotton Mather and Jonathan Edwards actively advocated for the reading of the volume; in fact, Edwards called it "better than any other book in the world, excepting the Bible."[38]

The theologian, Adriaan Neele, now director of the Jonathan Edwards Center in the Divinity School at Yale University, has published an outstanding analysis of Petrus van Mastricht's theology, entitled, in fact, *The Art of Living to God*.[39] **(Figure 15)** Calling attention to the international appeal of practical piety in post-Reformation Protestantism, Neele works to correct views of Puritanism that have come down to us due to the power and influence of twentieth-century historian Perry Miller. Miller dismissed the Puritans of

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[36] Ibid., 110.

[37] Petrus van Mastricht, *Theoretico-practica Theologia* (Utrecht, 1699).

[38] Jonathan Edwards, quoted in Adriaan C. Neele, *The Art of Living to God: A Study of Method and Piety in the 'Theoretico-Practica Theologia' of Petrus van Mastricht (1630-1706)* (Pretoria, South Africa: Department of Church History, University of Pretoria, 2005), 21.

[39] The information for Neele's book is listed in the preceding note. It is no exaggeration to say that learning about Neele's book and seeing/hearing him speak at a conference in Germany a few years ago constituted the turning point in my project. At the time I learned of Neele's scholarship I had already begun charting the discourse of the art of living to God in Puritanism, though given the almost complete lack of writing on the subject in the extant scholarly literature on Puritanism, I was in need of some kind of verification that I was on the right track. Neele provided that. Unfortunately his volume on Mastricht and the art of living to God remains quite obscure, having been published by the Department of Church History at the University of Pretoria in South Africa, a department with which the author has affiliated. The lecture Neele delivered at the conference in question, which took place at the University of Tübingen in October 2008, addressed the New England Puritan interest in Mastricht, and it was eventually published. See Adriaan Neele, "Peter van Mastricht's *Theoretico-practica Theologia* as an Interpretative Framework for Cotton Mather's Work," in *Cotton Mather and the 'Biblia Americana*,*'* 167-180.

Cotton Mather's generation as "intellectually muted and drifting toward practical piety."[40] Neele concurs with the theologian, Richard Lovelace, who long ago argued that New England Puritanism is "better associated with English Puritanism *and* German Pietism."[41]

Figure 14 pictures Mather Byles's copy of the 1724 edition of Mastricht's work. "M. Byles" appears at the top right of the title page. Byles was the nephew and, in effect, the adopted son of Cotton Mather. He became a poet and clergyman, serving as the first minister of the Hollis Street Church in Boston, where he worked for forty-five years until, in the era of the Revolution, he was (as a Loyalist) driven from his position. After Cotton Mather's death Byles inherited the Mather library from him.[42] The possibility exists that this was originally Cotton Mather's copy of Mastricht's *Theoretico-practica Theologia*, which near the end of his life, in 1726, he warmly commended to ministerial students in his educational manual *Manuductio Ad Ministerium*: "I hope, you will next unto the Sacred Scripture make a Mastricht the storehouse to which you may resort continually, for in it the minister will find everything."[43] **(Figure 16)** Mather could have been quoting Mastricht when in the *Manuductio* he writes that we must practice "the Method of living

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[40] I quote Neele on Perry Miller here. Ibid., 167-168.

[41] Ibid., 168. See Richard F. Lovelace, *The American Pietism of Cotton Mather: Origins of American Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Christian College Consortium, 1979).

[42] On the Mather library, see Julius Herbert Tuttle, "The Libraries of the Mathers," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 20 (April 1910): 269-356.

[43] Cotton Mather, *Manuductio Ad Ministerium* (Boston, 1726), 85. In email correspondence of March/April 2012, Neele confirmed that Mather might have owned this volume.

unto GOD…with a *single Eye*, to keep up a Regular and Perpetual *Aim* at the RIGHT END…"[44]

Against Material Culture

In this dissertation I demonstrate how Puritan iconoclasm and anti-materialism inform the production of the Puritans' most important and interesting ideas about art and architecture, image, and form, all of which are theorized in their writings about good practice, or what they call the art of living to God. This is essentially the reverse of the approach that has been taken by writers who have done the most significant work on materiality, material objects (including pictures, gravestones, and communion silver), material architecture, and material practice in Puritanism. Common to such writings is the inflation of evidence of material signification and inattention to evidence of anti-materialism.

Ann Kibbey's *The Interpretation of Material Shapes in Puritanism: A Study of Rhetoric, Prejudice, and Violence*, published in 1986, is the most ambitious attempt to date to theorize materiality and material signification in Puritanism.[45] Kibbey is a literary historian and cultural theorist. Emphasizing the idea of the *figura* as developed in classical rhetoric, she makes the argument that the world for the Puritans is made up of different kinds of "material shapes" (her translation of *figura*).[46] Some of these material shapes are good and likable, while others are offensive. Idols are bad shapes, thus fit

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[44] Ibid., 8-9.

[45] Ann Kibbey, *The Interpretation of Material Shapes in Puritanism: A Study of Rhetoric, Prejudice, and Violence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

[46] For the classic study of *figura*, see Erich Auerbach, "Figura," in *Scenes from the Drama of European Literature* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), 11-79.

objects of iconoclasm. Idols comprise man-made devices that stand as roadblocks between God and believers, like paintings of God, Christ, the Madonna, and saints, the Anglican garment called the surplice, as well as gestures like kneeling and the sign of the cross. Evil people are also idols. Because idolatry is coded non-Protestant, non-Anglo, non-white, and female, this means that Catholics, Native Americans who are resistant to proselytizing, and outspoken women like Ann Hutchinson are negative material shapes, too. Puritans participating in the sacraments (which for these Calvinists are only baptism and communion), on the other hand, are good material shapes, as are certain kinds of textual and acoustic figuration associated with the Puritan "plain style." Kibbey argues, therefore, that the Puritans harbored a "negative devotion" to images.

There is much to admire in this volume, not least of which is the fact that Kibbey is among the first writers to explain that Puritanism absorbed John Calvin's notion of godly practice as living imaging. Kibbey's account of the relation between Puritan image theory and social prejudice is also very good.[47] On the other hand, Kibbey renders the entirety of the Puritan world "material." She does so by developing highly wrought, sometimes beautiful, but sometimes difficult to follow readings of the importance of acoustic figuration to the Boston minister John Cotton's sermons (which are the basis of her inquiry). In doing so, she misrepresents the contents of the vast majority of Puritan literature, including texts discussing godly Puritans as living images, which are anti-materialistic. It is important to recognize that acoustic figuration is neither visible nor

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[47] When I say "Puritan image theory" I am referring specifically to Puritan theologians' theorizations of living versus dead images, an extension of the image theories of the Lollards and Calvin.

tangible, yet according to Kibbey's account of theories of rhetorical figuration, it is defined as "material."

Art historian, Sally Promey, has recently published an article and book chapter on the "material practice" of Puritan meditation and self-examination, especially pertaining to early New England gravestone carving but also to portrait painting, diary writing, emblematic prints, and bible boxes. The article was the first item published in the journal *Material Religion*.[48] Although Promey frames both studies in terms of material ambivalence, what we find in these writings is a desire to show that material objects are important to a cultural tradition that in her view has been misunderstood as iconophobic or anti-materialistic. The basic argument that provides the foundation for many of her published studies is that pictures or other kinds of material things are more important to iconoclastic cultures—Shakers, Puritans, and so on—than we suspect.

Promey has been more attentive than any other scholar to mapping the history of iconoclasm across time in the study of American art. Her formulations regarding Protestant iconoclasm are similar to Kibbey's notion of "negative devotion." Rather than attending to such negativity for what it is—a negative feeling, a negative conception of material images/materiality, Promey mobilizes that negativity to affirm the importance (or "power") of material images or material things. The negativity becomes positivity, a kind of "devotion," authorizing the practice of today's art or visual culture historian, who is most often interested in explaining why material images or objects have been important throughout our cultural history.

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[48] Sally M. Promey, "Seeing the Self 'in Frame': Early New England Material Practice and Puritan Piety," *Material Religion* 1:1 (Spring 2005): 10-47; Sally M. Promey, "Mirror Images: Framing the Self in Early New England Material Practice," in *Figures in the Carpet: Finding the Human Person in the American Past*, ed. Wilfred M. McClay (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2007), 71-128.

Promey's views are reminiscent of David Freedberg's description of iconoclasm in *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (1989): "[B]oth iconodules and iconoclasts…need images and admit to their power."[49] Indeed, she cites Freedberg in framing her first book, *Spiritual Spectacles: Vision and Image in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Shakerism* (1993). At the beginning of the second chapter, she writes, "Breakers of images, after all, are not so different from lovers of images in one crucial sense…Both acknowledge the efficacy of images."[50] This book deals with the resurrection of a culture of material image-making in Shakerism between 1839 and 1859. As originally formed by "Mother" Ann Lee, the Shakers as a sect were much more oppositionally iconoclastic. Promey has made similar comments about love/hate duality in subsequent studies of art/images in American Protestantism, including Puritanism.[51] I mention Promey's earlier scholarship, as well as Freedberg, because there is a way in which this kind of visual culture writing on iconoclasm is related to the problematic of

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[49] Sally M. Promey, *Spiritual Spectacles: Vision and Image in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Shakerism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), 223 (Chapter 2, note 2). See David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989). It is perhaps not a coincidence that Promey and Freedberg researched and wrote these projects contemporaneously.

[50] Promey, *Spiritual Spectacles*, 32.

[51] In the "Introduction" to *The Visual Culture of American Religions*, a volume Promey edited together with David Morgan, she and Morgan write, "Far from signaling the insignificance of images, iconoclasm is a measure of the intensity of feeling and conviction associated with certain kinds of images." David Morgan and Sally M. Promey, "Introduction," in *The Visual Culture of American Religions*, ed. David Morgan and Sally M. Promey (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 14. And in her essay, "Pictorial Ambivalence and American Protestantism," which constitutes a general theory of material pictures in American Protestantism from the colonial period to the present, Promey writes, "Pictorial ambivalence is a term that describes the visual imagination, piety, and practice of American Protestantism. I mean the word 'ambivalence,' quite simply, to characterize a set of relations between people and images that manifests, variously, both attraction and repulsion, admiration and rejection." Once again here, she writes of the "*power of images*": "Pictures have, in fact, been all the more potent for the ambivalence people feel about them." Sally M. Promey, "Pictorial Ambivalence and American Protestantism," in *Crossroads: Art and Religion in American Life*, ed. Alberta Arthurs and Glenn Wallach (New York: The New Press, 2001), 192-193.

the over-materialization of Puritan culture I have been describing and to which Promey has contributed. For Promey pictorial and material ambivalence in Protestantism is always a liking of some material images/objects and a disliking of others.

To be sure, studying Puritan material culture is a very particular case of studying material culture. In few circumstances in our analyses of the history of culture could one make the argument "material things matter" and have that count as an argument, even a provocative one. Yet because Puritans are so often caricatured for their iconoclasm and anti-materialism, such an argument becomes, for some writers and readers at least, compelling.[52] Puritans do like objects, Puritans do like pictures, you have it all wrong, they seem to say. They are not anti-materialistic; they're materialistic in ways that are different from how we usually think about materialism. They are differently materialistic. They are "negatively devoted," even positively devoted. While Promey's focus on imagistic "ambivalence" in Protestantism is productive, and, in a sense, accurate—I would say that Puritans are ambivalent toward the image and mechanisms of imaging—the form that ambivalence takes in the studies she has published to date (like some material images, dislike others) precludes consideration of more thoroughly anti-material theorizations of art and image.

Other scholars, prepossessed by material culture methodologies, in addition to overlooking evidence of Puritan anti-materialism generally, have misrepresented the contents of Puritan literature in order to make claims about the positivity of Puritans toward their material culture. Take, for example, the folklorist and material culture historian Robert Blair St. George, in his ambitious book, *Conversing by Signs: Poetics of*

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[52] One of the remarkable things about the reaction of material culture scholars to such caricatures is that the reaction is most often directed at obscure or offhanded remarks of persons who are not invested in the study of Puritanism. Such persons may include scholars or a not especially clearly defined general public.

Implication in Colonial New England Culture (1998). In the volume's introduction, St. George describes Puritan meetinghouses as "'living' architecture." As employed by Puritan writers, though, this term never refers to material buildings. Puritans call material architecture "dead." Puritan believers as they make up the social collectivity of the godly are "living architecture." (Promey makes a similar mistake by identifying Puritan gravestones with the "*lively* stones" described in scripture and Puritan literature—the term refers to godly people, whom the Puritans often explicitly contrast with material stones.[53])

St. George later analyzes architecture-related passages from the writings of Cotton Mather, selectively utilizing portions of Mather's writing to buttress arguments concerning the Puritans' investment in material things and what he calls a "material metaphorics." For instance, he quotes and briefly interprets a passage by Mather on the materiality or solidity of heaven. He then concludes, "Cotton Mather no doubt spoke for many when he defended not only [heaven's] existence but also its substantiality."[54] As St. George points out, Mather writes in this source that in heaven the saints' bodies will also be material. The passage to which he is referring is an anomaly within Mather's writings, pertaining specifically to his eschatological theorizations.

In 2010, Michael Clark argued that Mather's belief in the reliability of material signs was a part of his eschatology, and that Mather considered apprehension of material signification during everyday life—that is, before the end of the world—to be altogether

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[53] See Promey, "Seeing the Self 'in Frame'," and "Mirror Images." David Watters was the first writer to discuss the idea of "living" or "lively" stones in the context of early New England gravestone carving. See David H. Watters, "A Priest to the Temple," in *Puritan Gravestone Art II*, ed. Peter Benes, 25-36; and Watters, *"With Bodilie Eyes": Eschatological Themes in Puritan Literature and Gravestone Art* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1981), 89-98.

[54] Robert Blair St. George, *Conversing by Signs: Poetics of Implication in Colonial New England Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 123.

unreliable (even “insignificant”).[55] The truth-value of material signs is, for him, thus indefinitely delayed. As Clark mentions, Mather even advances a theory of “looking off” as the ideal relation of Christians to material signs. Clark writes, “The time of direct revelation [i.e. the historical periods described in scripture] having passed, the spiritual world to come is accessible to the present only in, or rather *as*, the destruction of material signs.”[56] (I will write more about looking off in Chapter 4.) In *Conversing by Signs*, St. George quotes from Mather’s *Triparadisus* (“The Threefold Paradise”), a late work that is, in fact, the key text in his eschatological output.[57]

To be sure, some Puritans may have thought about their everyday lives in terms of a material sign system that Mather characterizes as proper only to the endtimes. This is by no means to dismiss St. George’s work, much of which is excellent, but to suggest that with his zealous desire to demonstrate the importance of material things to early New Englanders, he takes this textual passage as indicative of the way most Puritans approached the “implication” of heaven in the everyday world, when it likely is not, and he misreads what Mather is saying because he has plucked this statement out of a large body of Mather’s and other Puritans’ writings, most of which are anti-materialistic. If one were interested in the bulk of Puritan writing on architecture, one would look at their many texts about the theology of edification. St. George examines some of their writings on this subject, but only to develop a problematically literalizing reading of a literature that is anti-literalist. In a book about metaphorics, St. George fails to explain that there is

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[55] Michael P. Clark, “The Eschatology of Signs.”

[56] Ibid., 425.

[57] See Cotton Mather, *The Threefold Paradise of Cotton Mather: An Edition of ‘Triparadisus’*, ed. with intro. Reiner Smolinski (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995).

much evidence that in Puritan New England culture metaphors, including architectural metaphors, served to invert materiality (or material literalism).

With regard to the over-materializing of Puritan thought as it appears in material-culture-related readings of Puritan literature, I also think of some of the scholarship of historian Mark Peterson. Peterson has, for example, problematically employed Cotton Mather's sermon *The Bostonian Ebenezer* (1698, 1702) in framing what is, in many respects, a very good material culture study of communion silver in late seventeenth-century Boston.[58] **(Figure 17)** Peterson argues that communion silver provided access to the image of Christ in a cultural context (i.e. New England Puritanism) in which devices of mediation such as painted images of Christ were not available. He also contends that desire for communion silver helped foster a more general culture of material consumption in early New England.

Peterson builds on the classic analysis by Max Weber regarding how Calvinist religion was critical to the development of capitalism.[59] The essay extends arguments Peterson pursued in his first book, *The Price of Redemption*, in which he makes the case that prosperity, commercial development, and material resources were crucial to the advancement of Puritan religion, rather than at odds with it.[60] He deflates the import of intention to the extent that the Puritans about whom he is writing would almost have to

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[58] Mark A. Peterson, "Puritanism and Refinement in Early New England: Reflections on Communion Silver," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser. 58:2 (April 2001): 307-346.

[59] Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. Talcott Parsons, intro. Anthony Giddens (London: Routledge, 1992). Weber's book was written in 1904-05 and first published in English in 1930.

[60] Mark A. Peterson, *The Price of Redemption: The Spiritual Economy of Puritan New England* (Stanford, Cal.: Stanford University Press, 1997). Mark Valeri has published related work. See Mark R. Valeri, *Heavenly Merchandize: How Religion Shaped Commerce in Puritan America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010).

read his scholarship to know that they were thinking what he says they were thinking. In the article, Peterson argues that "an object [for Mather] can play a legitimate part in expressing the relationship between God and his chosen people, so long as its maker…understands the divine meaning that the object commemorates and so long as future observers learn how properly to use it."[61] What Peterson has said here, though, is misleading. When spoken at the Boston lecture, *The Bostonian Ebenezer* was more like a work of performance art—and when printed more like a work of conceptual art—than it is a source evidencing an investment in the mediations of material things or satisfying the desires of the analyst of material culture.

Mather's sermon details a project to build within Boston an "Ebenezer," meaning "stone of help" in Hebrew—one of the only classes of man-made devotional object sanctioned in the Old Testament. Mather describes the reasons for erecting an Ebenezer in Boston and the character of the projected monument. As Peterson remarks, Mather's sermon, first spoken and then published, becomes or stands in for a material monument. What Peterson misunderstands, however, is that Mather's sermon does not argue for the value of things like stone monuments as sites of mediation between God and people. Because the sermon stands in for an Ebenezer, it renders a literal Ebenezer unneeded (even unwanted). There is no evidence that a material Ebenezer was ever erected in colonial New England, though Mather and other writers described projects for them. These ministers had no interest in building a stone Ebenezer; they were interested instead in displacing the stone monument by conjuring an idea of it. Although one might argue that the highly developed material metaphorics in Puritan literature evinces a suppressed commitment to material things, this metaphorics is motivated by and often overtly

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[61] Peterson, "Puritanism and Refinement," 308.

explained in terms of the rejection of material things and material literalness. One cannot squarely apply the contents of Puritan literature to the study of their material culture or built environment, because the literature is so often at odds with them.

Mather's text, although to us it may be clearly a material thing, is conceived by him to have an anti-material character that distinguishes it from other kinds of objects. This can be difficult to understand if one is approaching the study of such writing from the perspective of the material history of texts, which has become very important to humanities scholarship.[62] Studies like Peterson's and Promey's—which are part of a trend in writing about "lived religion" or "material practice"—are inattentive to the Puritans' many descriptions of practice as anti-material. Their ideas of "praxis" are all about importing the theoretical/immaterial to the earthly/material realm. Practice thus defined has a dematerialization function, and this complicates attempts to see practice as we might like to see it—as fully material, embodied, and grounded. The scholars I have mentioned all emphasize the material remainder over a Puritan commitment to material resistance, refusal, or reduction.

Material culture approaches to the study of Puritanism are determining the questions asked and the arguments made by scholars. We should be mindful of the extent to which positive claims about the historical importance, relevance, and power of

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[62] Exemplary in this regard is the scholarship of historian Peter Stallybrass on the materiality of texts in early modern British culture. See, for example, Margreta de Grazia and Peter Stallybrass, "The Materiality of the Shakespearean Text," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 44:3 (Autumn 1993): 255-283; and Peter Stallybrass, Roger Chartier, J. Franklin Mowery, and Heather Wolfe, "Hamlet's Tables and the Technologies of Writing in Renaissance England," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 55:4 (Winter 2004): 379-419. See also Jonathan Goldberg, *Writing Matter: From the Hands of the English Renaissance* (Stanford, Cal.: Stanford University Press, 1990); and Juliet Fleming, *Graffiti and the Writing Arts of Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001). For work in a similar vein addressing Puritan culture, see Matthew P. Brown, *The Pilgrim and the Bee: Reading Rituals and Book Culture in Early New England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007). Note that although I am suspicious of the extent to which Stallybrass's, Goldberg's, Fleming's, and Brown's writings erase anti-materialism from early modern British culture through their framings/methods, I admire their work in other respects.

material things serve to authorize certain scholarly practices or to satisfy certain scholarly desires. There are literally millions of pages of writing by Puritan ministers and other believers saying that materiality and material things are insignificant. Yet one would hardly know this writing exists when reading the scholarship I have described in this section of my Introduction. This Puritan anti-materialism is not simply operating as a mask for material interestedness. It is part and parcel of Puritan cultural identity, an oppositional intellectual, social, and ethical position. It is part of a long cultural history that has "contempt for the world" as a defining characteristic.[63]

Puritan practical theology offers us a potent theory of the passivity of material images and objects. By now the idea that images and/or objects are active or agents is a cliché among scholars of material culture and art history.[64] How, then, do we process evidence that Puritans are theorizing the mereness, bareness, deadness, and emptiness of material things? Puritan writers theorize the mereness not only of objects and structures they reject outright, but the mereness, too, of the sorts of objects and buildings they own, purchase, use, or encounter and that tend to be of interest to scholars of visual and material culture and the history of architecture (like portrait paintings and prints, gravestones, houses and meetinghouses and their accompanying furnishings).[65] Their practical theology supplies a discourse that circumscribes the significance of all man-

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[63] For a classic statement on this subject, see Bernard of Cluny, *Scorn for the World: Bernard of Cluny's 'De Contemptu Mundi'*, trans. and intro. Ronald E. Pepin (East Lansing, Mich.: Colleagues Press 1991).

[64] Writing on the agency of images and objects is abundant. Two especially influential accounts are Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998); and W. J. T. Mitchell, *What Do Pictures Want? The Lives and Loves of Images* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

[65] For a thought-provoking consideration of pictorial mereness, albeit in a later period, see Alexander Nemerov, Chapter 5, "Merely Paint," in *Frederic Remington and Turn-of-the-Century America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 183-224. On concepts of mereness in modern art and art criticism, see Stephen Melville, "Notes on the Reemergence of Allegory, the Forgetting of Modernism, the Necessity of Rhetoric, and the Conditions of Publicity in Art and Criticism," *October* 19 (Winter 1981): 55-92.

made material things. The art of living to God is conceived and explained as a discursive circumcision of material signification or material existence. Indeed, circumcision—the ritual cutting away of flesh from a newly born individual—is perhaps the most useful model for conceiving of what this discourse does.

We also have to take account of the fact that Puritan anti-formalism—the ongoing critique in this cultural tradition of material outwardness—renders the relationship between form and truth problematic. Examples of anti-formalist treatises by English Puritans include John Preston's *The Deformed Forme of a Formall Profession* (1632) and Samuel Crook's magnum opus, *Ta Diapheronta* (1658).[66] **(Figures 18 and 19)** These works are also examples of Puritan art and image theory. Crook's title as translated from the Greek is usually rendered "the things that really matter." By this he means the practical work that constitutes the Christian art of living. Unlike material pictures, which are said to have form, the godly Puritan as an artist or living image is distinguished for his or her anti-formal form. As form anti-formal form has some kind of outwardness, it shows, but as form set against itself it peels away or folds inwardly. It has a fraught relationship with embodiment, manifestation, and signification.

What does this mean for art historians or material culture historians, who tend to treat form as reliable proof and formal analysis as a transhistorical tool for understanding the history of art and culture? One also has to ask here whether our working notions of materiality, form, and formal analysis, are really the same as those of the Puritans. There are similarities as well as differences. This research has given me pause and helped me to

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[66] John Preston, *The Deformed Forme of a Formall Profession* (Edinburgh, 1632); and Samuel Crook, *Ta Diapheronta* (London, 1658). For an excllent consideration of the history of the term "Formalist," see Raymond Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*, rev. ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 137-140.

realize that tools such as formal or material analysis have their histories and intellectual genealogies, and that although they do seem potentially useful in studying any historical circumstance, subjects sometimes block our application of them, or at least resist their easy deployment. In this project I bracket material signification, submitting it to analysis, rather than presuming its truth-value.

To return to the subject of the "power of images," it is noteworthy that the Puritan art of living is defined, in connection with their anti-formalism, as a victory of "power" over "form." Puritan artists and living images are in possession of the power of God. Sinners, on the other hand, lack the power of God, and they are derided, like material pictures, for their formal mereness. If we are interested in the relation between power and images in Puritan culture, it is perhaps to their writing on the art of good practice that we should look. Scholars like Promey who claim that iconoclasm shows—whether it means to or not—that material images are powerful are missing out on the far more challenging formulations about potency in image, art, and architecture found in this type of literature.

It is worth mentioning that the Puritan distinction between living and dead images and living and dead buildings is inherited from the polemical writings of the Lollards.[67] **Figure 20** shows an example of late Lollard image theory (the only surviving copy of the work in question, in the collections of the Huntington Library), originally printed in 1525 and reprinted in England during the late sixteenth century. Herein the "ymage of Loue," a synonym for good Christian practice, is contrasted with the "ymage of artyfycers," which is held to be comparatively impotent, "lytl conducynge to pyete and charyte."[68] **(Figure**

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[67] See Aston, "Lollards and Images."

[68] John Ryckes, *The Ymage of Loue* (London, 1525), n.p. The later version of the text is entitled *The True Image of Christian Love* (1587).

21) This treatise is an English translation of a text composed by a disgruntled Franciscan of Greenwich named John Ryckes. The fellow who translated it, John Gough, was an evangelical with reformist sympathies.[69]

We have to consider that textual discourses like the one I am studying are agents every bit as much as other objects are—even if, as with these other objects, it is difficult to measure that agency. But maybe one can strike a balance between paying attention to materiality without effacing the history of anti-materialism? In some ways maybe one can—one can look at how material things, materially-rooted social relations, material forms and formats work with and against this anti-materialism. In other ways, I am not so sure that materialist approaches square with the study of a topic like this one. Material culture methodologies seem to have anti-material deletion built into them; they assert, whether overtly or implicitly, that sincere or substantial anti-materialism has never existed. Material culture approaches are always going to produce a picture of culture that stresses the significance of material things and material relations. Peterson, for example, admits that his communion silver essay "exaggerates some aspects [of Puritan religion] and diminishes others."[70] One thing it diminishes is Puritan anti-materialism. Conversely, it may be that in accounting for anti-materialism we will always underestimate the importance of material matters. The study of cultural history today is so materially grounded that the term "anti-material culture" seems almost an oxymoron. "Culture" is always already and only "material." Yet I doubt anyone would disagree that there have

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[69] For basic information on John Gough and *The Ymage of Loue*, see Alec Ryrie's entry on Gough in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.

[70] Peterson, "Puritanism and Refinement," 310.

been people throughout history who have thought, written, said, and/or practiced that materiality or material things don't matter. And that some of these people really meant it.

It may be finally that my topic pertains primarily to the culture of intellectual or ministerial Puritanism—which is above all where we find the most complex and exciting thinking about art, architecture, image, form, iconoclasm, and anti-materialism—and only secondarily to Puritan culture overall. One could try to write a social history of Puritan anti-materialism, but it is very difficult, because anti-materialism's greatest expressions are within extant writing, and as material culture studies often underlines, such textual documents are insufficient, even silent, when it comes to the lives of common or socially marginalized people. So we have to look at other kinds of things instead.

But at what other objects do we look when the expression of anti-materialism is so text-centered, and when the bulk of Puritan texts were produced by educated male ministers?[71] Not to mention that social history is so deeply indebted to the arguments of historical materialism that it cannot really take anti-materialism as anything other than ideological illusionism. Although less explicit evidence exists for the engagement of everyday Puritans with the discourse of the art of living, we do have many of their meditational diaries. The Puritans were a very literate people, and the art of living was a presence in texts both highly popular and deeply theological, as well as writings in

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[71] I would contrast this situation in Puritanism with contemporaneous developments in Catholicism. While after the Council of Trent Catholic theology could still be written, it could also be painted, as scholars such as Paolo Berdini have shown. See Paolo Berdini, *The Religious Art of Jacopo Bassano: Painting as Visual Exegesis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). An argument might be made that sampler embroidery is a pertinent topic here. I would like to think more about this. The word "example" and "sample" are etymologically related. In early modern English, the word "ensample" is often substituted for "example." William Huntting Howell has tendered a useful analysis of the interrelation of sampler embroidery and emulative selfhood in a later period. See William Huntting Howell, "Spirits of Emulation: Readers, Samplers, and the Republican Girl, 1787-1810," *American Literature* 81:3 (September 2009): 497-526.

between these poles. Puritans lived in a culture in which “how will I be saved?” not “who am I?” was the organizing question.[72] By not taking Puritan anti-materialism seriously we forfeit access to their most remarkable ideas about image, art, and architecture. We know now that materiality or material things matter; we should work to write histories of them not mattering, too. And in a way that preserves the oppositional potential of the claim, without burying it under the weight of our own absolutist faith in material significance.

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[72] See Acts 16:30: “What must I do to be Saved?” The following article was among the first sources I read that helped me to understand this: Thomas H. Luxon, “‘Not I, But Christ’: Allegory and the Puritan Self,” *ELH* 60:4 (Winter 1993): 899-937. Throughout the dissertation when I myself quote scripture I quote from the King James Version of the Bible.

Chapter 2 The Imitation of Christ as Art Work

Puritans regularly read Protestantized versions of several important Catholic devotional manuals. The most popular of these were English translations of Thomas à Kempis's *Imitation of Christ*.[73] Historian of religion, Charles Hambrick-Stowe, points out that "more than 60 editions in at least six translations of this work appeared in English before 1640, with 18 more editions before the end of the century."[74] And the literary historian, Sacvan Bercovitch, records that *The Imitation of Christ* was a work that Cotton Mather "approved and valued."[75] In his diary Mather would note, "It may of some good Consequence for me to read a Chapter in that Book, the last Thing I do, every Night."[76] In **Figure 22** I reproduce the title page of one popular late sixteenth-century English edition of the work, edited by the Anglican divine Thomas Rogers. And in **Figures 23 and 24** appear images of the Massachusetts Bay Colony governor (and Puritan) Simon Bradstreet's copy of the text, which survives and is housed in the collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Thomas à Kempis was a late medieval monk (c. 1380-1471), who, although born in Kempen near Cologne, spent most of his life in the Netherlands. His *Imitation of Christ* outlines a general program of good Christian practice that, in its content, was non-

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[73] Charles Hambrick-Stowe writes, "Puritans knew and used classic Catholic devotional works. The most popular, judging from the number of editions, were the works of St. Augustine, St. Bernard of Clairvaux, Thomas à Kempis's perennial The Imitation of Christ, and the primers (anthologies of religious direction for lay use). Some of these, especially The Imitation of Christ, began appearing in Protestant editions." See Charles E. Hambrick-Stowe, *The Practice of Piety: Puritan Devotional Disciplines in Seventeenth-Century New England* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press; Williamsburg, Virginia: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1982), 28.

[74] Ibid., 28 n. 8.

[75] Sacvan Bercovitch, *The Puritan Origins of the American Self* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975), 34.

[76] Cotton Mather, quoted in ibid., 34.

or even anti-polemical and therefore productively cut across sectarian divisions in the church. Throughout the text he correlates the practice of the imitation of Christ and self-negation. In Chapters 1 and 2, he writes, "Whoever desires to understand and take delight in the words of Christ must strive to conform his whole life to Him…A true understanding and humble estimate of oneself is the highest and most valuable of all lessons."[77] And in Chapter 11: "If only we were completely dead to self, and free from inner conflict, we could savour spiritual things, and win experience of heavenly contemplation."[78] In the *Imitation of Christ*, selfisheness is an idol as much as, if not more so than, any external material object.

A discussion of selfishness-as-idolatry appears in Cotton Mather's essay, *Icono-clastes* (1717). **(Figure 25)** He writes of selfishness: "There is an *Idolatry* in our *Apostasy*. *Self* is now set up in the Throne of GOD. Our Chief Aim now is, to Gratify and Aggrandize our *Self*, without a due Subordination unto GOD."[79] Mather argues, "To Consider any thing more than GOD, is to make an *Idol* of that Thing. 'Tis an *Idolatry* from which we are to *flee*, if we would not be *Confounded*, with *them who worship graven Images*.[80] Mather warns of the continuing temptations to idolatry in the post-Reformation era. He cites John 5:21:

> When the *Roods* in the Churches of *England*, were pulled down at the Reformation, in the Place where they stood, there was ordered this very Sentence to be written, *Little Children, keep your selves from Idols*. Tho' the Return of *Roods* is no longer to be feared, yet, Oh! yet, you now see,

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[77] Thomas à Kempis, *The Imitation of Christ*, trans. and intro. Leo Sherley-Price (London: Penguin Books, 1952), 27, 29.

[78] Ibid., 38.

[79] Cotton Mather, *Icono-clastes* (Boston, 1717), 5.

[80] Ibid., 28.

> there is Occasion for the Advice, *Little Children, keep your selves from Idols*. Children of God, you see the *strange God's* which are to be buried under the Oak of *Shechem*.[81]

It may be somewhat surprising to find that rood screens were on the mind of Cotton Mather—someone born in colonial Boston who would never travel to Europe. Mather refers to "*Roods*," which were painted and/or sculpted crucifixions mounted upon screens separating the chancel from the more public area of late medieval English Catholic churches. Virtually no pre-Reformation-era roods survive today. At the Church of St. Catherine, in Ludham, Norfolk, there is still in situ a Marian rood (Mary I, or "Bloody Mary," restored Roman Catholicism (and roods) to England during her short reign (1553-58)). **(Figure 26)** The art of living to God is an everyday (and non-literal) version of the iconoclastic actions of earlier Protestant reformers. The art of living is self-cancelling; it tears down self—selfishness here is both "rude" and "rood."

In considering the interrelation of the imitation of Christ (as the art of living) and iconoclasm in Puritanism, it proves instructive to look at the passage that I quoted in my Introduction from Cotton Mather's *A Good Man Making a Good End* (1698) in its fuller, immediate context. Recall that this is the passage wherein Mather derides "The *Images* of the Lord JESUS CHRIST on the Wall":

> A CHRISTIAN is one, who Endeavours to Imitate the *Example* of the Lord Jesus Christ, in those Things, wherein He ha's required our *Imitation* of Him. Indeed, there are *Mediatorial* performances and preheminencies of our Lord Jesus Christ, wherein He is *Inimitable*. But such was the *Ordinary Conversation* of our Lord Jesus Christ upon Earth, as that He could say, in Joh. 13. 15. *I have given you an Exemple*, *that ye should do as I have done*. The *Exemple* of our Lord Jesus Christ, is in this Book of His, mightily Inculcated on every *Christian*; yea, our Lord sayes unto us, in Luk. 14. 27. *Whosoever doth not come after me*, *cannot be my Disciple*; which is to say, *He cannot be a Christian!* The *Images* of the Lord JESUS

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[81] Ibid., 36.

> CHRIST on the Wall are not Agreeable unto a well instructed *Christian*. But instead of that, the *Christian* would fain have an *Image* of the Lord *Jesus Christ* in the Dispositions of his own Heart & Life. The *Christian* layes up his chief Happiness, in being made like unto the Lord *Jesus Christ*; and he dayly aspires to be changed into that *Image*, *from Glory to Glory*. What is a *Christian*? Briefly; He is a *Christ like* man; and one, who, *as He that hath called him is Holy, so*, *would be Holy in all manner of Conversation*…if men dislike every Thing, that is contrary to what might in the *Walk of Christ* be met withal, Why, These are your *Christians*. What sayes the Apostle, in 1 Joh. 2. 6. *He that saith*, *he abideth in Christ*, (or, is a Christian,) *ought himself also to Walk*, *so as He Walked*. Alas, Tis not a *Recitation* of a *Creed*, but an *Imitation* of a *Christ*, that will make a *Christian*.[82]

Mather's integration of allusions to both "Happiness" and the "*Walk of Christ*" is significant. As I proceed in this chapter I will address the art of living as "the art of happiness" and "the art of walking."

In his "Christographia," a manuscript held at the Beinecke Library at Yale, the Puritan minister and poet of Westfield, Massachusetts, Edward Taylor, makes numerous comments concerning the importance of the imitation of Christ—indeed, on the imitation of Christ as a necessary condition of self-fulfillment or self-realization. **(Figure 27)** In the first sermon he writes,

> We were made, and formed with an Imitating Principle in our Nature, which cannot be Suffocated, or Stifled, but will act in Imitating Some Example; God to prevent us from taking wrong Patterns to follow, hath presented us with a perfect Pattern of right practice in our own nature in Christ, which is most Examplary, being a most Exact Coppy, written by the Deity of the Son of God, with the Pen of the Humanity, on the milk white Sheet of an Holy Life. Hence our Imitation of him is His due, and our Duty, and to leave this Pattern, is to dishonour him, deform our Lives, to Deviate from our Pattern, and to Disgrace our Selves.[83] **(Figure 28)**

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[82] Cotton Mather, *A Good Man Making a Good End*, 81-83.

[83] Edward Taylor, *Edward Taylor's Christographia*, ed. Norman S. Grabo (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962), 34.

Conformity to the Christic model is everything here. As Taylor states, "to Deviate from our Pattern" would be "to deform our Lives" and "to Disgrace our Selves." In the third sermon Taylor takes up a similar argument:

> [W]ilt thou leave this so perfect and divine a Copy? dost thou run to other courses? and follow other things and such that this Example leads thee from? This is the best Example that can be: it is a Coppy written by the pen of perfect Manhood, in the Unerring hand of Godhead, in Christ and wilt thou not endeavour to Write by this Coppy? Consider what thou dost.[84]

And in the fifth sermon Taylor writes,

> For he that would indeed have the best Copy to write after must take Christs life, for an Example. Here is no blot, nor blux in it, no trip, nor Stumble, no fret nor gaule in this Web…This Obedience is ever highest in the Ascendent, and so is most compleate, and perfect, and so the most perfect Coppy to write after. O let us then write after this Coppy. Coppy out this life by ours, and then as this was rightly called the life of God: so will ours indeed by transcribing out this in it be also the life of God.[85]

Taylor insists on conformity, rather than differentiation, as the primary measure of self. To be like others who are godly, whether Christ, persons described in the Bible, or the men, women, and children in one's congregation, was to live artfully. The perfected self was empty of self—and at the same time full of the Christic other. Taylor employs textual transcription ("writing after") as a vehicle for explaining the imitation of Christ; one sees this throughout Puritan literature.

Godly persons and events from the Old Testament were "types" of Christ, who was—according to a complex conception of prophecy known as "typology"—the "antitype" for all those who were godly. Thus the Hebrew judge Gideon, who was known for his zeal in feretting out idolatry—and whose name, incidentally, is from the Hebrew

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[84] Ibid., 102.

[85] Ibid., 167-168.

for "Destroyer" or "Feller (of trees)"—became, through typological arrangement, a type of Christ. In a 1714 election sermon devoted to the theme of "practical godliness," Samuel Whitman, Puritan pastor of Farmington, Connecticut, writes of the art of living: "Then we shall Preach to our Hearers, not only from our Pulpits, but by our Conversations. Not be like the Statue of *Mercury*, that pointed the Way to others, but stood still itself: But like *Gideon*, who said to his followers, Look on me, and do likewise; as I do, so do ye, *Judg.* 7. 17."[86] **(Figure 29)**

Whitman compares and contrasts a particular incarnation of Mercury—namely, Mercury at the Crossroads—with Gideon's iconoclastic example. Images of Mercury at the Crossroads appeared regularly in early modern emblem books.[87] **(e.g. Figure 30)** In these emblems, a statue of Mercury is usually positioned on a pile of rocks, and this pile is sometimes interpreted as his tomb. Like Hercules at the Crossroads, a statue of Mercury directs the viewer as to the right (i.e. morally right) way to go.[88] In some emblems the statue points to what is quite conspicuously a "middle road," emblematic of Aristotle's conception of "the mean" as expounded in his *Nicomachean Ethics*.[89] It is

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[86] Samuel Whitman, *Practical Godliness the Way to Prosperity* (New-London, Conn., 1714), 41.

[87] The standard essay on Mercury at the Crossroads is Barbara C. Bowen, "Mercury at the Crossroads in Renaissance Emblems," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 48 (1985): 222-229.

[88] The key study of Hercules at the Crossraods remains Erwin Panofsky, *Hercules am Scheidewege und Andere Antike Bildstoffe in der Neueren Kunst*, Studien der Bibliothek Warburg 18 (Leipzig, Germany: B. G. Teubner, 1930).

[89] In Book II of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, Aristotle writes, "Excellence, then, is a kind of intermediacy, in so far as it is effective at hitting upon what is intermediate. Again, there are many ways of going astray (for the bad belongs to what is unlimited—as the Pythagoreans used to say by analogy—the good to what is limited), whereas there is only one way of getting it right." The image best representing virtue for Aristotle is the straight line: "for single and straight is the road of the good; the bad go bad every which way." Aristotle concludes, "Hence excellence, in terms of its essence, and the definition that states what it is for excellence to be, is intermediacy, but in terms of what is best, and good practice, it is extremity." Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, 117:1106b27-33, 117:1106b35, and 117:1107a6-9.

significant that Whitman chooses this particular type of directive statue to compare and contrast with Gideon as imitable. Mercury was not only the Roman god of travel and boundaries, but also a model in the early modern period for alchemical theorizations of art (especially painting) and for the artist as a mediator of heaven and earth.[90] Mercury was also the "patron of rhetoric," one of the liberal arts, and Mercury at the Crossroads is sometimes captioned and/or explained as an emblem of "Art helping Nature."[91] All of this made him appealing as a subject through which to think about the art of living to God. Whitman proposes Gideon (instead) as a model artist; he is a scripturally sanctioned non-pagan mediator and an iconoclastic displacement of Mercury at the Crossroads.

The Bible was the "pattern book" for the Puritan self. To conform to the virtuous examples contained in its pages—such as that of (the proto-iconoclast) Gideon—was to work toward perfecting oneself. One could measure progress only with respect to the model. The New Testament is the "living portrait of Christ," and ministers recommend it as a model for the enactment of living imagistic good action. As John A. Alford has shown, this idea of self-measurement, the "scriptural self," attained prominence during the Middle Ages: "Through assimilation to a biblical exemplar, one could learn properly to think, to feel, actually to achieve a self."[92] He argues that in the Middle Ages (generally) "to conform to a pattern" was "to be somebody," whereas "not to conform [was] to be nobody."[93] The idea of the Bible as pattern book remained important to the

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[90] David Bjelajac's current work on Mercury/mercurial pigmentation and early American painting has helped me in thinking about this passage in Whitman.

[91] Bowen, "Mercury at the Crossroads," 225.

[92] John A. Alford, "The Scriptural Self," in *The Bible in the Middle Ages: Its Influence on Literature and Art*, ed. Bernard S. Levy (Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1992), 20.

cultures of post-Reformation England and early New England, as well. And the imitation of Christ was a model of devotion or selfhood central to early modern Protestantism, including Puritanism.[94] The Puritan conceptualization of an art of living centers on a Puritan version of the *imitatio Christi*.

The Art of Happiness

In a famous quip denigrating Puritanism, the American literary critic H. L. Mencken characterized the cultural milieu as "[t]he haunting fear that someone, somewhere, may be happy."[95] Mencken's remark concisely captures the belief, still widespread, that Puritans were a miserable lot, afraid that a desire for happiness went hand in hand with a life of sin. Yet Puritan theologians were preoccupied with happiness, particularly as it related to their theorization of the art of living to God. In this section I utilize Francis Rous's *The Arte of Happines* (1619) to open up a discussion of the interconnection of the art of living and happiness in Puritanism. **(Figure 31)** As I proceed, I look at other writings on practical religion and happy living by English and American Puritan authors. These texts, dating from the early seventeenth through the early eighteenth century, expand on and help to clarify Rous's publication. I show how learned Puritans' ideas about happiness are a crucial part of their theology of technical action. Artful Puritans were lively pictures of Christian happiness; happiness was their end, or art object.

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[93] Ibid., 2. On this medieval model of selfhood, see also Brigitte Miriam Bedos-Rezak, *When Ego Was Imago: Signs of Identity in the Middle Ages* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2011).

[94] For an informative account of the imitatio Christi in early modern England, see Nandra L. Perry, "Imitatio Christi: Models for Christian Living in Early Modern England" (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2003).

[95] H. L. Mencken, *A Mencken Chrestomathy* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949), 624.

That Puritan practical theology defines the art object as a specific form of happiness, not as a material thing produced or existing within the earthly world, can seem peculiar from the perspective of art history. In contemporary art historical practice scholars frequently speak or write about "the object," or "object-centered" scholarship, and common to these discussions is the presumption that art objects are tangible entities, like paintings or other types of pictures, sculptures, or examples of material culture, created in historical time and by human agents. As the performance studies scholar, Diana Taylor, has shown, "intangible cultural heritage" is—or should be—as important to the historian of culture as tangible cultural heritage.[96]

In the later twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, the artists involved in performance and conceptual art practices have shown that "art" or a "work of art" need not be an object in the sense that most art historians continue to tend to think about it—it need not be an object, and it need not produce an object, or its object could be something much more abstract: an idea, an event, a mental or emotional state, a desired outcome, a process, a practice, an intervention, etc. The notion that art is a means (or medium), which may or may not result in the manufacture of an "object" in the way art historians normally conceive of it—is also prevalent in the early modern period, and early modern ideas about art as a means, including the Puritans', may be profitably compared with more recent practices of performance or conceptual art.

To date the richest considerations of the relation of happiness to practice (or to conceptions of an "art of living") have originated in fields like ethics, moral philosophy, and theology—from the ancient writings of Plato, Aristotle, Epicurus, and Seneca, to the

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[96] See Diana Taylor, "Performance and Intangible Cultural Heritage," in *The Cambridge Companion to Performance Studies*, ed. Tracy C. Davis (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 91-104.

works of Catholic theologians such as Augustine and Thomas Aquinas, and beyond.[97] These thinkers considered how moral or religious belief and behavior are related to happiness, and aspects of their writings deeply influenced early modern thinkers and authors, including the Puritans. Some contemporary scholars working in other fields have published fine studies about religious practice and/as the art of happiness—I think, for instance, of Kevin Laam who has looked at the culture of early modern England from the perspectives of literary and religious history, and of Ellen Charry who writes more generally and from the perspective of theology.[98] But this subject remains largely unexamined by art historians.[99]

To begin with Rous—who was a religious writer and a politician who lived between 1580/81 and 1659. As a young man he composed a number of what are now called mystical writings, including his treatise on the art of happiness.[100] *The Arte of Happines* is 506 pages long, but a small volume, printed in duodecimo, first in 1619 and

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[97] For a useful selection of philosophical and psychological writings on happiness from ancient times until today, see Steven M. Cahn and Christine Vitrano, eds., *Happiness: Classic and Contemporary Readings in Philosophy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008). Among the ancient writers not anthologized here whose thoughts on happiness remained important in the early modern period are Cicero, Epictetus, Marcus Aurelius, and Plotinus.

[98] See Kevin P. Laam, "Borrowed Heaven: Early Modern Devotion and the Art of Happiness" (Ph.D. diss., University of Southern California, 2006); and Ellen T. Charry, *God and the Art of Happiness* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: W.B. Eerdmans Pub., 2010).

[99] Charles Henry Caffin is an exceptional art historian in this regard, as is Ananda Coomaraswamy. Note that Caffin had a background in aesthetics, though, and that Coomaraswamy was a philosopher, linguist, and scholar of religion, among other things, in addition to being an art historian. See Charles H. Caffin, *Art for Life's Sake: An Application of the Principles of Art to the Ideals and Conduct of Individual and Collective Life* (New York: The Prang Company, 1913); and Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, *Christian & Oriental Philosophy of Art* (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, Inc., 1956). Coomaraswamy's ruminations on art as a means rather than an end, and on art and/as work (or "art work"), have been helpful to me. See especially his chapters 2, 3, and 4. I thank Melissa Warak for introducing me to Coomaraswamy's writings.

[100] For a good introduction to Rous's life and work, see J. Sears McGee, "A 'Carkass' of 'Mere Dead Paper': The Polemical Career of Francis Rous, Puritan MP," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 72:3 (September 2009): 347-371.

then reissued in 1631. Early in the treatise, Rous characterizes the power of God, which gives spiritual life to Christians, as incommensurable with materiality. He writes, “Surely, Power is then most pure & absolute, when it is least clogged with weight; and massines doth lode it, rather then increase it.”[101] The English Puritan minister, Thomas Goodwin, of the same generation as Rous, also emphasizes the difference between the characteristics or experience of material things and the glorious practice of the art of happiness. In *The Happinesse of the Saints in Glory* (1638), Goodwin writes, “First of all to know this great glory, let us compare it with all other things, with all the goods the creature can afford, with all the things here below, which our hearts dote so much upon, as pleasures, honours, riches, beauty &c. they are not to be compared to it, it transcends all the glory of this world, all the good things wee are capeable of.”[102] **(Figure 32)**

Likewise, in his 1680 treatise *The Soveraign and Final Happiness of Man* **(Figure 33)**, the English Puritan divine, William Bates, calls attention to the limitations of material metaphors (e.g. the value of riches or the beauty of well-crafted material objects) in describing the qualities or behaviors of the blessed: “But the reality of this Blessedness infinitely exceeds all those faint Metaphors. Heaven is lessened by Comparisons [with] earthly things.”[103] Despite these claims, Puritan writers often explain what saintliness and heaven are like through material metaphors. This metaphorics is motivated by and even overtly explicated, however, in terms of the rejection of mere earthly things and material literalness.

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[101] Francis Rous, *The Arte of Happines* (London, 1619), 52.

[102] Thomas Goodwin, *The Happinesse of the Saints in Glory* (London, 1638), 4.

[103] William Bates, *The Soveraign and Final Happiness of Man* (London, 1680), 24.

As is typical in the image-related writings of Puritan practical divinity, Rous notes that prelapsarian man (that is, Adam before the Fall) resembled God:

> And now euen at the first beginning, God did make man know both what was the basenesse of man, and what was the happines of man: hee shewed man that his seruice was the businesse of man, yea, hee shewed him how he would bee serued. For God planted in man a reasonable soule, in which was written an Image & counter-pawne of the Deitie, although not equall in degrees, yet like in resemblance.[104]

He goes on to describe the results of Adam eating the apple from the tree of knowledge, through which he effectively converted that plant into the "Tree of death": "[T]his new fruit will teach Man to know good and euill, after a new fashion. For from the venom thereof there issueth a blind lust & concupiscence, which blotteth out the Image of God in the soule, by which we once looked vnto God."[105] Rous remarks that the practice of living to God has been woefully depleted after this fall from grace:

> And as in this, so in Mans whole course doth this erroneous knowledge preuaile; and no maruaile; for the body was first guided by the soule, and the soule by the Image of God, yea by God himselfe: But now this lustfull knowledge guideth the bodie, and the bodie, for the most part, tuneth and guideth the soule. Thus the Image of God, in Man, is reuersed and defaced. Hee answereth not, hee looketh not any longer to God; hee neither loueth him, neither is loued of him. Man is become a stranger to God, & God to Man…[106]

According to Rous, earthly existence and "worldly obiects" block Christian happiness; they are traps from which postlapsarian people on their own, minus the animating power of God, cannot free themselves.[107] Referring to the competition of illusionary painting between the Greek artists Zeuxis and Parrhasius, described in Pliny's

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[104] Rous, *Arte of Happines*, 74-75.

[105] Ibid., 90-91.

[106] Ibid., 106-107.

[107] Ibid., 114-115.

Natural History, Bates compares those who would “seek for Happiness” in the pursuit of worldly objects to persons who have been “deceived with painted Grapes for the Fruits of Paradise.”[108] In Puritan literature the actions of sinners and Satan are compared to both making and being tricked by trompe l’oeil paintings.[109] Throughout his text, Bates underlines that the truly substantial “Object,” the end of human existence, is the pursuit of God’s or Christ’s image and, together therewith, supernatural happiness. Compare this to Rous, who calls Christ “the obiect of faith.”[110] And, citing Genesis chapter 17, Thomas Goodwin argues that God is the “object,” “matter,” and “materiall cause” “of our happinesse.”[111]

The belief that the deity and happiness are the only true material things was long lasting in Puritan culture. We find writers in the Puritan tradition referring to God and happiness thus well into the eighteenth century. In his “Miscellanies” (1722), the New England divine Jonathan Edwards writes of “Spiritual Happiness” “that no matter is substance but only God, who is a spirit, and that other spirits are more substantial than matter; so also it is true, that no happiness is solid and substantial but spiritual happiness, although it may seem that sensual pleasures are most real and spiritual only

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[108] Bates, *Soveraign and Final Happiness*, 6, with some mispagination in this part of the text. See Book XXXV. xxxvi. 65-66, in Pliny, *Natural History*, trans. H. Rackham (London: William Heinemann Ltd; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952), vol. 9, 309, 311.

[109] The Puritan theological preoccupation with developing strategies for seeing through worldly illusionism anticipates a related but more secular culture of illusionism in the early national United States as identified and analyzed by Wendy Bellion. See Wendy Bellion, *Citizen Spectator: Art, Illusion, & Visual Perception in Early National America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press; Williamsburg, Virginia: Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 2011).

[110] Rous, *Arte of Happines*, 269.

[111] Goodwin, *Happinesse of the Saints in Glory*, 37.

imaginary..."[112] **(Figure 34)** What we think of as the literal, material world and its objects are said here to be illusions, and heavenly space—created via material metaphors—is the space of the real. God and Christ (and their images) and happiness are all anti-object objects; in the parlance of legal proceedings, they "object." Indeed, the verb "to object" is among the most important of all verbs for understanding Puritan art and image theory. It means "to throw before," as well as "to dissent" or "to disapprove."[113] And it is grammatically an objectless verb—thus an instantiation of object at odds with objects.

At the beginning of the fourth chapter of the first part of *The Arte of Happines*, Rous relates,

> It hath appeared, how Man exchanged that which was his true felicitie, but seemed not to be so, for that which seemed to bee true felicitie, but was indeed true misery. Now let vs see againe, how he can exchange his miserie for felicitie, or rather, how God doth it for him. For God-in-Man, our blessed Restorer, hath done all things that may bee required, for exchanging wretchednesse into blessednes, and whatsoeuer God hath done, is most fit, yea necessarie for such an exchange.[114]

But how is this "exchange" to be accomplished by Christians? Rous describes human happiness in relation to the image of God as it originally appeared in/on Adam, which Christians work to recover by art:

> Man being thus created; with his duetie and happinesse written in him, and set before him; his businesse was by walking in the duetie, to walke toward the happines. To do this, he was to looke vnto God as the rule of his obedience (of whom also that little Image, which hee carried about him, was a representation) and vpon the same God as the consummation of his felicitie. In summe, he was to walke with God vnto God; and hauing

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[112] Jonathan Edwards, "f. Spiritual Happiness," in The "Miscellanies" (Entry Nos. a-z, aa-zz, 1-500), *Works of Jonathan Edwards*, vol. 13, ed. Thomas A. Schafer (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 166.

[113] These definitions come from the *Oxford English Dictionary*.

[114] Rous, *Arte of Happines*, 133-134.

> pleased God in this world, he was to enjoy the pleasures at the right hand of God in the world aboue.[115]

Like someone carrying a coin in his pocket bearing a ruler's image, or wearing a portrait miniature picturing a loved one, the artful Christian has God's image "about him."

Compare this to Cotton Mather, who in a 1702 sermon dedicated to the newly appointed governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, Joseph Dudley, and entitled *The Pourtraiture of a Good Man, Drawn with the Pencils of the Sanctuary*, writes,

> He that would be a Good Man, must *walk as the Lord Jesus Christ walked*; and be *minded according to the the mind of the Lord Jesus Christ*; and be able to say with him, Psal. 16. 8. *I have set the Lord always before me*. There was a Prince of *Bohemia*, who had a very admirable *Father*, and therefore he always carried the *Picture* of his *Father* about him, which he would often take out, and look on, and say, *Let me never do any thing unworthy the Son of such a Father*. I am sure, we have an amiable *Saviour*; and we have the *Picture* of our *Saviour* in His *Gospel*; Now a Good man will often view it, and say, *Oh let me do nothing that shall be disagreeable to the Pattern of such a Saviour*.[116] **(Figure 35)**

Mather also uses this passage, slightly altered, in his *Christianity to the Life* (1702), further emphasizing that the movement toward the Bible (even the Bible-as-image) is a movement away from material pictures:

> There was a King of *Bohemia*, who had a very *Exemplary Father*; and therefore he alwayes carried his *Fathers Picture* about him, which he would often Take out, and Look on, and say, *Let me never do any thing unworthy the Son of such a Father!* Christian, I am sure, thou hast an *Exemplary Saviour*; and in the *Bible* thou hast thy *Saviours Picture* before thee : [Tis a Popish and Sinful Folly to have it otherwise, as too many of our people have it hanging on the walls of their Houses :].[117] **(Figure 36)**

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[115] Ibid., 85-86.

[116] Cotton Mather, *The Pourtraiture of a Good Man, Drawn with the Pencils of the Sanctuary* (Boston, 1702), 18.

[117] Cotton Mather, *Christianity to the Life* (Boston, 1702), 26-27.

Mather's assertion that "many of our people" have pictures of Christ hanging in their houses is significant. Although little textual evidence has been produced to demonstrate that images of Christ were displayed in New England Puritan homes, Tessa Watt has shown that many early modern English Protestants hung painted cloths and pasted devotional prints or broadsides on their walls.[118]

Christ—the so-called second Adam—was a perfect image of God, and the imitation of Christ was the primary framework for understanding the art of living in Puritanism. Alluding to the *imitatio Christi*, Rous declares, "[L]et vs fasten our steps in this path chalked out by the Spirit, for the Spirit will both defend vs in this way, and at last bring vs to the wayes end, which is eternall felicitie."[119] Similarly, Ralph Venning, in *The Way to True Happinesse,* writes that Christ "chalked out the way wherein [men] are to walk, that they may be happy."[120] In structuring his sermon, recall that Venning queries, "*What shall we do that we may work the Work of God*?"[121] The key, he says, is the art of living to God: "[T]he life of Religion lies in living it, in bringing the whole *(inward and outward)* man to the obedience of God; *Godlinesse is God-likenesse*."[122]

In his 1621 tract entitled *The Happinesse of Practice*, the Ipswich (i.e. Ipswich, England) divine Samuel Ward composes an exegesis on John 13:17 which reads, "*These things if you know*, *happy are you if you doe them*." **(Figure 37)** Ward places practice—

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[118] See Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), esp. 178-216.

[119] Rous, *Arte of Happines*, 153-154.

[120] Venning, *Way to True Happinesse*, 3.

[121] Ibid., "Epistle Dedicatory," n.p.

[122] Ibid., 26-27.

that is, acting, doing, sincerely and religiously exercising—all above and, in some ways, against, knowing. Knowing (also called “Theory” in this text) is significant, but only to the extent that it informs the practice of artful Christian living.[123] “The Art of doing,” he writes, “is that which requires study, strength and diuine assistance.”[124] “I wish Christians would set their prizes, & spend their studies, eue[r] about the art of doing.”[125] “Doe that which you know you should doe,” Ward adds, and as an example he points to how hearers ought to behave after listening to a sermon: “[A]fter draw it out into action. So do such as learne Musike, or writing, they play ouer their Lesson, write after the Coppy.”[126] References to “drawing out into action” appear in many Puritan writings, and it is fair to say that the authors under consideration here developed an ideal of practice-as-drawing, whereby living imagistic action (we might even call this Puritan “life drawing”) answers the model image (i.e. of God or Christ). As Bates, however, acknowledges in *The Soveraign and Final Happiness of Man*, this type of good practical and happy Christian drawing is not easy: “Storms and Darkness are more easily drawn by [the sinning, and therefore sad, Christian’s] Pencil, than [is] a calm bright Day.”[127]

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[123] Compare this assertion to Neele’s account of the pietism of Petrus van Mastricht and August Hermann Francke, which is very much in the spirit of Amesian *technometria*: “theory is never an end in itself but must lead to *praxis*.” Neele, “Peter van Mastricht’s *Theoretico-practica Theologia*,” 176. For new work about the interrelation of epistemology and religion (specifically testimony) in New England Puritanism, see Sarah Rivett, *The Science of the Soul in Colonial New England* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press; Williamsburg, Virginia: Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 2011).

[124] Samuel Ward, *The Happinesse of Practice* (London, 1621), 36.

[125] Ibid., 38.

[126] Ibid., 42 and 42, with some mispagination in this part of the text.

[127] Bates, *Soveraign and Final Happiness*, 232.

The relation of happiness to calm, or contentment, becomes stronger in this literature as time goes by.[128] One of the most thorough and interesting considerations of the interdependency of the art of good practice and calm in Puritanism is Thomas Watson's *Autarkeia, or the Art of Divine Contentment* (1653). **(Figure 38)** Autarkeia is translated from the Greek as "contentment," "sufficiency," or "nonattachment." Watson explains what it is to be "contented upon God in the deficiency of outward comforts."[129] He writes,

> I have gotten the *divine Art*, I have the knack of it; God must make us right Artists. If we should put some men to an Art that they were not skill'd in, how unfit would they be for it; put an husband-man to limning, or drawing pictures, what strange work would he make? this is out of his sphere. Take a limner that is exact in laying of colours, and put him to plough, or set him to planting and graffing of trees, this is not his Art, he is not skill'd in it: Bid a naturall [which is to say, a sinning] man live by faith, and when all things go crosse, *be contented*; you bid him do that he hath no skill in…[130]

That Watson relies on allusions not only to painting and drawing but also to the art of husbandry (e.g. planting and grafting) is important. We will see, moving forward, that a wide variety of period art forms supplied models for thinking about what the art of living is and is not.

Like other Puritan authors, Rous terms the bond of love tying God to human beings a "knot." Good, happy Christians are "knit" by a "knot" to God. Rous writes, "Being knit vnto happinesse by the knot of a most high and blessed Vnion, wrought by

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[128] For an extended consideration of how literature on the art of happiness changed throughout the early modern period in England, see Laam, "Borrowed Heaven."

[129] Thomas Watson, *Autarkeia, or the Art of Divine Contentment* (London, 1653), 31.

[130] Ibid. Allan Kaprow's reflections on the rightness of living, though ultimately different than those of Puritan theologians, have been helpful to me. See Allan Kaprow, "Right Living (1987)," in *Essays on the Blurring of Art and Life*, 223-225.

that Faith in Christ, which surrenders vs vp to the sanctification of the Spirit, what remaynes but that we striue to preserue and increase our selues therein?"[131] In the literature that constitutes Puritan art and image theory, the image of God or Christ as it exists upon (or within) artful Christians is said to be restricted in its visibility. "We now see as it were the rough part," writes Bates, "and Knots of that curious Embroidery: but then [which is to say, in Heaven] the whole Work shall be unfolded, the sweetness of the Colours, and proportion of the Figures appear."[132] So the knitting of God or Christ to believers is likewise a knotting (a "not"-ing) of their showing of the image of God or Christ. As when a piece of string is knotted, the body of the string cannot be fully seen, since it twists and turns and ducks and hides. And, as with a knotted item, which is tense, the image of God in man, or happiness as the object of godly practice, exists always in tension with earthly images and objects, which may likewise be housed in the sinner as idols.[133] In Bates there is an echo of Seneca, who in his "On the Happy Life" had written: "Let us seek something that is a good in more than appearance—something that is solid, constant, and more beautiful in its more hidden part."[134]

Rous states that the art of happiness should include attending services (or hearing the Word), participation in the sacraments (which the Puritans had reduced to baptism and communion), prayer, and meditation. But for Rous, as for other theorists of the art of

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[131] Rous, *Arte of Happines*, 255.

[132] Bates, *Soveraign and Final Happiness*, 32. As Jennifer Roberts has pointed out to me, Bates may in fact be referring to the back of an embroidery or tapestry here. And as Jeffrey Hamburger has suggested, Bates may also be alluding to the veil of the Holy of Holies in the Temple.

[133] For a thought-provoking study pertaining to the knot and knotting in Puritan literature and culture, see Clark, "The Honeyed Knot."

[134] Seneca, "On the Happy Life," in *Moral Essays*, trans. John W. Basore (London: William Heinemann Ltd; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1932), vol. 2, 105.

living in Puritanism, this art must pervade a godly Christian's everyday actions and conduct. After describing the value of private meditation Rous writes,

> To this large and waightie kinde of Meditation, which asketh both length and strength of Intention, and requires the soule to be at leisure for it, wee may adde a lesser and a shorter sort, as it were in a portable and manuall forme to carry stil about vs for our continuall vse, to which wee may haue continuall recourse, amidst the continual distractions of this troublesome and toylesome life. This is to be stil in the hand of a Christian, as a Leuell in the hand of a Builder, that he may square out his actions & conuersations rightly thereby.[135]

While Rous points to the art of building and its tools to clarify what it means to live well, Puritan divines characterize the "portable and manuall" art of living in terms of other practices, as well. In his *Navigation Spiritualiz'd, or, A New Compass for Seaman* (first published 1677), the English Puritan, John Flavel (variously of Dartmouth, Devonshire, and London), writes of godly living in relation to the art of navigation. **(Figure 39)** In his introductory epistle, addressed "To *every* Sea-man *Sailing Heavenward*," Flavel comments,

> The Art of Natural Navigation is a very great mystery; but the Art of Spiritual Navigation is by much a greater mystery. Humane wisdom may teach us to carry a ship to the *Indies*; but the Wisdom only that is from above can teach us to steer our course aright to the *Haven* of *Happiness*. This Art is purely of *Divine Revelation*. The truth is, *Divinity* (the Doctrine of living to God) is nothing else, but the *Art of Soul-Navigation*, revealed from Heaven.[136]

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[135] Rous, *Arte of Happines*, 378-379.

[136] John Flavel, *Navigation Spiritualiz'd: Or, A New Compass for Seamen…*, 4th ed. (London, 1698), "An Epistle to Seamen, &c.," n.p.

He asserts that “the teachings of the Spirit, and of the anointing that is from above” can “make Souls *Artists* in sailing Heavenward…steering rightly and safely to the *Port* of Happiness.”[137]

Flavel describes his book as a compass, and at least one edition of the work (the 4th, London, 1698, from which I am quoting) incorporates a large foldout bearing a sort of moral or spiritual compass. **(Figure 40)** At its center appear biblical verses from Psalms, Matthew, and 1 Timothy, from which radiates a compass rose pointing in every direction and composed of thirty-two quotations from Flavel’s own work and their accompanying page numbers. Flavel’s foldout comprises a witty play on scripture as pivot and on the author’s own work as compass-needle-like in its indexicality. At the top of the page a fleur-de-lis (literally “lily flower” in French) points upward, or toward God, and this can be read as a composite symbolization of the word “godlily,” an adverb common in the literature of Puritan practical religion, which is often used to describe how an artful Christian lives.[138] Recall, too, the anti-materialist associations of the lily in scripture, especially in Matthew 6:28-29: “Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow…And yet I say unto you, That even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these.” For Flavel, as for the other Puritans about whom I have written here, art is a means, not an end. The end, the object, their new haven, is happiness. If unintentional, it is curious that Flavel’s compass resembles a roulette wheel. In a Calvinist culture

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[137] Ibid., n.p.

[138] Venning insists, “God is more delighted in adverbs then in nounes. ’Tis not so much the thing done, as the manner of doing it…” Venning, *Way to True Happinesse*, 42. By the seventeenth century, lilies had long played a symbolic role in Christian art and were associated with both Christ and the Virgin Mary. In late medieval England, so-called “Lily-Crucifixions” were among the most remarkable expressions of the identification of the God-man with the lily. See John Edwards, “Lily-Crucifixions in the Oxford District,” *Oxford Art Journal* 2 (April 1979): 43-45.

wherein the doctrine of election complicated understandings of the relationship of human action to salvation, the art of spiritual navigation could seem just as much a game of luck.

In Puritan practical theology, the art of good practice is strongly allied to the preservation or perpetuation of life—as in the art of building, which supplies shelter, and in the art of navigation, which promises safe passage to persons traveling over great distances, through perilous storms, or across uncharted or unfamiliar territory. There is also the art of physick to consider. Rous writes about the "spirituall phisicke" and curative (or even curatorial) character of Christ's work within sinners:

> Christ is the Phisician of our soules, and to be cured by him, we must deale with him as with a Phisician. Now to be cured by a Phisician, it is not inough only to beleeue that the Phisician can cure vs, nor that hee will cure vs, but this confidence in the Phisician must worke in vs a willingnesse and resolution, to take and admit his receits by which he may cure vs. Euen so it is betweene Christ and our sicke soules; it is not inough barely to think that Christ can cure vs, or that hee will cure vs, but our beliefe must open the mouth of our soules, to receiue his medicines giuen vs in the Cup of saluation.[139]

Elsewhere in this literature, Christ-as-doctor/curator is also Christ-as-artist. Witness Bates, who writes, "A Physician endeavours to recover his Patient to sound and perfect Health, that being the End to his Art."[140] It is through God's or Christ's art that Christians themselves may become happy, and healthy, living images.

Toward the conclusion of his treatise, Rous underlines that happiness ultimately depends upon *kenosis*, or the self-emptying, of Christians. He writes,

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[139] Rous, *Arte of Happines*, 223-224. Compare this to Isaac Ambrose: "If we would have the Spirit, then let us walk in the Spirit, do the actions of the new man: We know some Physick is for restoring, to preserve the strength of the body, and such is this walking in the actions of the new man; it preserves the strength of the soul, it preserves spiritual life in a man, it inables him to fight against corruptions and lusts, Walk in the Spirit, and ye shall not fulfill the lusts of the flesh." Ambrose, *Media*, 84. On the concept of *Christus medicus* in patristic literature, see Ladner, *Idea of Reform*, 311-312.

[140] Bates, *Soveraign and Final Happiness*, 110.

> [L]et vs striue for a practicall skill of this profitable humilitie; that by not louing our selues, wee may loue our soules best; & by the greatest emptinesse, we may purchase the most true & happy fulnesse. To this end let vs euer be pricking the tumours of our nature, that we die not of a spirituall Timpany. Let vs striue to make our selues nothing, that hee which made all things of nothing, may make some-thing of vs.[141]

Rous implies that one's happiness, or salvation, requires imitation of, even possession by Christ-as-doctor (who is also, remember, Christ-as-curator and Christ-as-artist).

In a 1691 discourse detailing "the Character and Happiness Of a *Vertuous Woman*," Cotton Mather critiques outward religion, religion that having form but no power constitutes unhappiness. **(Figure 41)** He writes of *kenosis*: "Mind what most Magnifies *Christ*; and Nullifies *Man*, and Recommends *Practical Godliness*…"[142] Mather advises his readers, "HAVING obtained the, *Fear of God*, it should be your Ambition to be *continually Exercising* of it. You are thus advised in Prov. 23. 17. *Be thou in the Fear of the Lord*, *all the day long*. Let your whole walk every Day, be a, *Walk with God*; and let every Action in the Day, be so done in the, *Fear of God*, as that, *Holiness to the Lord*, may be written thereupon."[143] As with many of the texts I have quoted in this section—and in this case by interpreting Proverbs 31:30, a gender-specific (and gender-biased) passage about the virtue of womanly fearfulness—Mather couples his idea of the happiness of practice to the feeling of the fear of God.

To be sure, Puritanism was a patriarchal culture, but with regard to the theorization of happiness vis-à-vis fear, believers male and female were on more or less equal footing. According to Puritan writers, including Mather, it is only through fear that

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[141] Rous, *Arte of Happines*, 422.

[142] Cotton Mather, *Ornaments for the Daughters of Zion. Or the Character and Happiness of a Vertuous Woman* (Cambridge, Mass., 1691), 49.

[143] Ibid., 46-47.

one can find happiness. Thus, *contra* Mencken, Puritans were not frightened that "someone, somewhere, may be happy." For the Puritans about whom I have been writing, the fear of God is felicity and vice-versa. It is difficult for most of today (as, clearly, it was for Mencken) to understand or to accept this concept, since we tend to regard fear and happiness as incompatible. At the end of his tract, Mather integrates textual portraits of the virtuous maid, wife, mother, and widow, noting, "Let there be set before you, the pourtraiture of, *A Vertuous Woman*, in each of those *Four States*; and let it be your study to answer that portraiture by, *The Fear of God*, in all."[144] Artful Puritans are ornamented by good works, felix in the fear of God.

Shining (after Copernicus)

If the idea that Puritan theologians were interested in both art and happiness comes as a surprise, it may also be surprising to find that they, rather than being wedded to darkness, as they are stereotyped, are very much concerned with sunshine and starlight. The idea that as living images godly persons shine appears regularly in Puritan literature. Puritan saints are described as shining, bright, sparkling, glittering, radiant, and lustrous, all of which are properties akin to those of heavenly bodies, such as the sun or the other stars. In this section I consider how both ancient and modern astronomical models shaped the theorization of the imitation of Christ and thus the art of living in Puritanism. How, for example, did a waxing belief in Copernican heliocentrism contribute to the Puritans' art and image theories?

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[144] Ibid., 71.

To begin to answer this question, I would like to quote from two texts: first, from Cotton Mather's *Christianus per Ignem*. **(Figure 42)** Published in 1702, this essay constitutes a two-hundred-page meditation on a fireplace in wintertime. In "Meditation III," Mather reflects "*On the* Light *cast by the* Fire *upon the* Objects *about it*." This is an excerpt from that section:

> ALL the *Objects* here capable of having *direct Rays* from the *Fire* shot upon them, how *Lightsome* are they? All clothed with *Garments of Light!* The side of the *Chimney*, the Wall of the *Chamber*, the Iron *Back*, the Brazen *Tongs*, and their *Fellow-Servants*, are now distinguished with an agreeable *Brightness*. They entertain the Beams of *Light*, which the *Fire* darts upon them, and by entertaining thereof, they have a particular *Brightness*, and Beauty upon them.
>
> When I see the *Reflection* of the *Light*, on the Objects about the *Fire*, methinks, I am furnished, with *Light* enough, to make a *Reflection* of my own upon it. This *Light* leads me unto that *Glory*, that shall be Enjoy'd by the Saints in the Heavenly World; and unto the very *Fountain* of all their *Glory*. If unto the *Fire*, I should resemble the Glorious Lord JESUS CHRIST, who shall one day appear in *Flaming Fire*, the Resemblance, might with many Good Thoughts be prosecuted. It is enough, that our Lord, the *Sun of Righteousness*, is compared unto the *Sun*, which is an *Ocean of Fire*; and that Cælestial and Wonderful *Fire ball*, corresponding with the little Flashes on my Hearth, in the property of *Luminositie*, the comparison that is now to be made, will be sufficiently vindicated… The Lord JESUS CHRIST, by *Shining* on the *Children* of God, and of the *Resurrection*, conveys to them the Accomplishment of His promise, That they shall *Shine as the Brightness of the Firmament*, that is to say, *as the Stars for ever and ever*. The *Beams* of the Lord JESUS CHRIST shall fall upon HIS people. Admitted unto the *Sight* of Him; and His *Amiableness* beheld by His people, will be both the *Cause* and the *Copy* of whatever *Amiable* Thing shall ever be beheld in *Them*. *The Glory of God in the Face of* JESUS CHRIST, Exhibited unto our *Faith* here, and unto our *Sight* hereafter, is that which produces, all our *Grace*, our *Joy*, our *Crown*. And if ever there be any Thing *Admirable* in *them that Believe*, it is the JESUS CHRIST in whom they have *Believed*, that shall be *Admired* in them… Let me abound in *Meditation* on the Lord JESUS CHRIST; By Him therein *Shining* on me, I may arrive to such a *Glory*. There is no *Glory* nor *Honour*, but what Lies in *Conformity* to the Lord JESUS CHRIST.[145]

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[145] Cotton Mather, *Christianus per Ignem* (Boston, 1702), 53-56.

For Mather, the fire in his home becomes emblematic of Christ, who is compared to the sun, and the fire's relation to the hearth and the instruments sitting nearby an occasion for thinking about the interrelation of a solar Christ and human beings, who are his tools.[146] This passage is typical of the way Mather uses everyday objects to think about the art of living; he is not ultimately interested in the objects themselves but in how they—like anything else in the world—can help him to better understand and/or live to God.

The second text from which I will quote is Azariah Mather's 1730 ordination sermon on George Beckwith, entitled *A Gospel Star, or Faithful Minister*. **(Figure 43)** Azariah was a lesser-known member of the Mather family and minister at Saybrook, Connecticut, in the early eighteenth century. Like many other ministers composing ordination sermons during the eighteenth century, Azariah draws on biblical passages about stars, such as Revelation 1:16, 2:1, and 22:16. He writes,

> *The Stars are supposed to shine with a borrowed light, and that their light is not Native*. That this is so of all the Stars can't, I suppose, be proved. 'Tis *apud Omnes in Confesso*, of many or most, and the Vulgar Observe it in the Moon, which shines by light borrowed of the Sun. Such Stars *are Gospel Faithful Ministers*, They shine not in their own Rays, they shine in Learning, Gifts, Graces and Ministerial Abilities, but its all borrowed… That they may shine the more Bright and Clear, the less of Self and the more of CHRIST the better.[147]

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[146] For a useful collection of essays about divine radiance and religious belief, see Matthew T. Kapstein, ed., *The Presence of Light: Divine Radiance and Religious Experience* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

[147] Azariah Mather, *A Gospel Star, or Faithful Minister (*New-London, Conn., 1730), 6-7. The New England minister Ebenezer Thayer writes similarly of the borrowed light of ministers: "All their Parts and bright Accomplishments for the Service of the Sanctuary they derive from Him who is Head over all things to the Church, and has received Gifts for Men. As Stars they shine by a borrowed Light from Jesus Christ the Sun of Righteousness; and of what excellent use and serviceableness soever they are in the Orb of the Church, it is He that makes them to be whatever they are unto His People." Ebenezer Thayer, *Christ the Great Subject of Gospel Preaching* (Boston, 1722), 161.

Christ is described here as the sun and virtuous Puritans as planet-, moon-, or star-like in shining, by borrowing the light from Christ. The printer of this treatise employed asterisks as decorative accents, expressing thereby the starriness of the godly minister Azariah describes. Like the sun, Christ is (believed to be) the source of his own light—his light, therefore, is intrinsic. Godly Christians are instruments of illumination, utilized to carry out divine will. Their light is secondary—it has been borrowed from Christ.

Copernican heliocentrism displaced the earth from the center of the universe, rendering our planet secondary to the sun. Depictions of the Copernican System appear in British culture beginning in the late sixteenth century. **Figure 44** shows the earliest such image printed in England (by Thomas Digges, 1576), and **Figure 45** the earliest such image printed in Puritan New England (by John Foster, 1675 and then 1681). Rather than producing an obstacle to continued religiosity in Puritanism, the Copernican System provided a model for the displacement of the earthly self and for the centering of selfhood on a sun-like Christ.[148] In *Genuine Christianity* (1721), Cotton Mather writes, "O Christian, Thou mayst not make thy SELF, the *Last and Chief End* of thy Life. SELF must not be the *Center*, in which the *purposes* and the *motions* of thy *Life* shall terminate. The *End* upon which a Christian desires to *Live*, must not be mainly to gratify *himself*. Christian, Learn to look above SELF in what thou doest."[149] Our heliocentric diagrams provide a picture of good Christian practice—Christ's image was the bullseye for which any good Christian aimed. Indeed, the Greek word *hamartia*, which means "to miss the

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[148] One might be tempted to contrast this Puritan negotiation of the new astronomy with that of Roman Catholicism, which was slower to accept Copernican heliocentrism, but it is notable that heliocentric iterations of Christianity were important generally to European and Euro-American cultures in the early modern period.

[149] Cotton Mather, *Genuine Christianity* (Boston, 1721), 9.

mark," appears regularly throughout the New Testament. It is translated into English as the verb "to sin." The good life, right on target, is without sin. (Compare this to Aristotle, who in a discussion of virtue comments that "missing the mark is easy, but hitting it is difficult."[150]) In *All in All* (1622), which interprets Colossians 3:11, "Christ is All in All," Samuel Ward goes so far as to use the new style heliocentric diagram as the basis for the design of his title page. **(Figure 46)** The concentric circles form a target, but are also fitting figures of concentration; concentricity and concentration are both etymologically and conceptually interrelated.

Although today we know that stars create their own energy and shine intrinsically, in the early modern period, this was not yet accepted knowledge, and stars besides the sun were utilized regularly as metaphors for the virtuous dead. To borrow a term from Alastair Fowler, one sees the "stellification" of the dead in early modern English biographies, funeral sermons, elegies, as well as epitaphs.[151] Puritans were no exception. In a 1648 elegy or epitaph on his recently deceased Hartford, Connecticut colleague Thomas Hooker, Samuel Stone writes, "A Starre of heaven whose beams were very bright, / Who was a burning, and a shining light, / Did shine in our Horizon fourteen years, / Or thereabout, but now he disappeares."[152] In an astronomical/astrological publication of 1665, the minister Samuel Danforth calls Stone himself, who was by then himself deceased, "[t]hat bright and radiant Star, a Star of the first magnitude."[153]

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[150] Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, 117:1106b33.

[151] See Alastair Fowler, *Time's Purpled Masquers: Stars and the Afterlife in Renaissance English Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), esp. 61-86.

[152] Samuel Stone, elegy/epitaph in Thomas Hooker, *A Survey of the Summe of Church-Discipline* (London, 1648), n.p.

Throughout biographical texts composed by Puritan authors, stellifying metaphors are used again and again.[154] Cotton Mather begins his 1685 elegy on Benjamin Collins, who was minister at Middletown, Connecticut, "Bright COLLINS, Star of the *first Magnitude*."[155] In the epitaph to his lengthy elegy on Samuel Hooker, minister of Farmington, Connecticut, Edward Taylor describes Hooker: "A Turffe of Glory, Rich Celestiall Dust / A bit of Christ here in Death's cradle 's husht / An Orb of Heavenly Sunshine: a bright Star / That never glimmerd: ever shining fare / … / Farmingtons Glory, & its Pulpits Grace / Lies here a Chrystallizing till the trace / Of Time is at an end & all out run./ Then shall arise & quite out shine the Sun."[156] **(Figure 47)**

We can observe in Taylor's epitaph on Hooker the temptations to idolatry emerging from the potency of the culture of exemplification. On the one hand, Hooker is "[a] bit of Christ," a Christic fragment; on the other hand, he is said to be so bright as to enable him to compete with the shining of the sun—thus putting him in competition with the heavenly body most commonly associated with Christ. Sun worship functions as a major negative example in early modern Protestant writings explicating the difference

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[153] Samuel Danforth, *An Astronomical Description of the Late Comet or Blazing Star* (Cambridge, Mass., 1665), 20.

[154] The Puritan poet Benjamin Tompson, who lived in colonial Boston, regularly describes his elegiac subjects in terms of deathly darkness and exemplary brightness. In a 1666 elegy, he makes "Remarks on the Bright, and / dark side of that American Pillar / Mr. William Tompson" (73). In the "A Narrative of New Englands Present Calamities" of 1676, he begins his elegy on John Winthrop the Younger: "*Upon the setting of that Occidental Star* John Winthrop *Esq*…" (109). In his "Funeral Tribute" to John Winthrop the Younger (also 1676), he writes, "His common Acts with brightest lustre shone" (120). And Tompson refers to the death in 1678/9 of "Military Light John Leverett, Governour of the Massathuset" as a "grand Eclips" (131). See Benjamin Tompson, *Benjamin Tompson, Colonial Bard: A Critical Edition*, ed. Peter White (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1980), 73, 109, 120, and 131.

[155] Cotton Mather, *Cotton Mather's Verse in English*, ed. Denise D. Knight (Newark: University of Delaware Press; London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1989), 66.

[156] Edward Taylor, *Edward Taylor's Minor Poetry: Volume 3 of The Unpublished Writings of Edward Taylor*, ed. Thomas M. & Virginia L. Davis (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1981), 123.

between *latria* (proper devotion) and *idolatria* (improper devotion). Pagans paid devotion to gods such as Helios in Greece, Sol Invictus in imperial Rome, or Ra in ancient Egypt, as well as to many solar deities in the Americas, and these devotions are dismissed as idolatrous by Protestant writers. Increase Mather connects idolatry and sunshine in a 1684 essay: "[It has been said] of many Statues, that they have been heard speaking. The Image of *Memnon* in *Ægypt*, as the rising Sun shined upon its Mouth began to speak…Such things must needs be the operation of *Caco-Dæmons*."[157] **Figure 48** depicts a well-known colossus of Memnon at Thebes. Puritans typically attribute the lifelikeness of such statues, including the supposed capacity for speech, to the "ill arts" of Satan and sundry demons. Increase Mather alludes, too, to the enlivening properties of sunshine, which is also how the imitation of Christ is characterized.

During the seventeenth and early eighteenth century the relation between sun and idolatry was also conceived in terms of the French Catholic King Louis XIV's self-deifying identification with the sun. Louis XIV, you will recall, was dubbed "The Sun King." Devout Puritans regarded such deification as blasphemy. Cotton Mather's polemics against monumental celebrations of self are often focused by attention to specific happenings in the historical circumstances in which he found himself. He writes against the practices in Europe of antemortem or postmortem deification of rulers, Louis XIV in particular.[158] It was not only Louis's hatred of Protestants—and his revocation of

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[157] Increase Mather, *An Essay for the Recording of Illustrious Providences* (Boston, 1684), 200.

[158] Mather also writes vehemently against the deifications of ancient Roman emperors as puffed-up idolatry. In *Nunc Dimittis*, a 1709 funeral sermon on John Higginson, he remarks, "A wise man had rather be such a man [i.e. religious, like Higginson], than be a *Julius Caesar*, or any of the Hero's, that have Statues erected for them." Cotton Mather, *Nunc Dimittis* (Boston, 1709), 33. The point is clear enough—to be humble and religious makes one both good and wise, whereas superficial rewards, such as having a statue erected to one's honor or memory, are mere vanity.

the Edict of Nantes (enacted in 1598 by Henry IV) in 1685, which had previously granted rights to the Huguenots (i.e. French Calvinists)—that Mather detested. It was also the bombastic materialism and aggressive cult of images surrounding Louis, which has been described by Peter Burke and Anne Betty Weinshenker as one of the most impressive mobilizations of egocentric propaganda in the history of Western art.[159] The image in **Figure 49** depicts a colossal statue of Louis erected in Paris, which bore an inscription proclaiming his immortality, even as he still lived. The inscription was known to Mather, and he used it to denounce Louis as a self-centered tyrant.[160]

Despite risks of idolatry, or so-called will worship, the commitment to a solar definition and understanding of Christ by Puritans was strong. In Puritan literature, one finds both boldness and caution in claims made about the relationship between sun and God. Anne Bradstreet, in a meditation on the sun in her poem "Contemplations," goes only so far before restraining herself:

> Then higher on the glistering Sun I gaz'd,
> Whose beams was shaded by the leavie Tree,
> The more I look'd, the more I grew amaz'd,
> And softly said, what glory's like to thee?
> Soul of this world, this Universes Eye,
> No wonder, some made thee a Deity:
> Had I not better known, (alas) the same had I.[161]

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[159] See Peter Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992); and Anne Betty Weinshenker, "Idolatry and Sculpture in Ancien Régime France," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38:3 (Spring 2005): 485-507.

[160] Upon Louis XIV's death in 1715, Mather would write against this statue. See Cotton Mather, *Shaking Dispensations* (Boston, 1715), 2. For a useful account of Mather's relationship to religion and politics in France, see Howard C. Rice, "Cotton Mather Speaks to France: American Propaganda in the Age of Louis XIV," *New England Quarterly* 16:2 (June 1943): 198-233.

[161] Anne Bradstreet, *The Works of Anne Bradstreet in Prose and Verse*, ed. John Harvard Ellis (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1962), 371. I thank Reiner Smolinski for pointing me toward this stanza of "Contemplations."

Readers of biographical literatures sought direction from exemplary subjects much as a navigator follows the sun or stars in pursuit of a destination. Christ was Polaris, the North Star, together with the sun a key star for astronavigational place-fixing. **(Figure 50)** The "proper" orientation and the achievement of a Christic self was dependent upon successful navigation with respect to Christ and Christ-like persons. The shining of stellar people functioned as directives for the imitation or following of Christ. In his 1704/05 elegy on Mary Brown, a devout parishioner who died in childbirth, Cotton Mather writes, "By the *Polestar* of *Piety* She Steer'd; / And no mishaps but those of *Sin* She fear'd."[162] The following year, in his elegy on Sarah Leveret, wife of Massachusetts governor John Leveret, Mather details what earlier in the elegy he calls "that bright SARAH View": "You rash *Astronomers*, the Stars miscall, / A *Dog* you style the brightest of them all. / Correct an Error which You find so *Great*; / Your *Sirius* now shall be a LEVERET. / Else the most Fulgid *Lamp*, which Heav'n did show / And then took in an Hundred Years ago, / Now She's got there, will once again appear, / And radiant Sit in *Cassiopea's* Chair."[163] **(Figure 51)** It is interesting to note that the central star of the W-shaped constellation *Cassiopeia* is used as a pointer to find Polaris (which, as we have seen, is often used as a metaphor for Christ). **(Figure 52)** It is remarkable that Sirius, "the Dog Star," which is a prominent presence in the constellation *Canis Major*, is actually much brighter than Polaris. This does not seem to trouble Mather, though, perhaps since the idea of a godly person *qua* Dog Star also has connotations of faith/fidelity. He nominates Leveret as a Puritan displacement of the original ancient Greek (and pagan)

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[162] Cotton Mather, "A Lacrymatory: Design'd for the *Tears* let fall at the Funeral of Mrs. SARAH LEVERET," in *Cotton Mather's Verse in English*, 78.

[163] Ibid., 80, 82-83.

name. Elsewhere in his writings on the art of living, Mather defines the "Godly Life" as "a Constellation, which has many bright Graces and Actions, that go to make it up."[164]

Among the passages from scripture that allude to the shining of saints, one that appears frequently in Puritan literature is Daniel 12:3: "And they that be wise shall Shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars forever and ever." By the early modern period, the incorruptibility of stars had been long accepted, and stars were commonly used as metaphors for the incorruptibility of a Christian heaven and the saints who dwell there. At the end of the sixteenth century, though, the idea that stars were incorruptible would be disproved. Of particular importance for overturning this notion was the observation (especially by Tycho Brahe) in 1572 of a new bright star within Cassiopeia—this new bright star was soon understood to have been a supernova, the explosive death of a star. One thinks also in this connection of Galileo's observation of sunspot cycles slightly later, which would lead to a critique of the notion that the sun is immutable (i.e. rather than human beings being similar to stars, stars were shown to be perishable like human beings).

While it seems to have been relatively easy for Puritans (and early modern Protestants generally) to negotiate the Copernican revolution, developing a culture focusing on Christ's sun-likeness, other discoveries in astronomy called into question the compatibility of science and religion. The stars, in fact, do not shine forever and ever, but live and die like people. Upon arriving at this realization, the stars would seem of little use as types for saintly incorruptibility. Whatever the reasons, the scientific demonstration of the corruptibility of stars had not taken hold in early modern England

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[164] Cotton Mather, *A Good Man Making a Good End*, 72.

and colonial New England to the extent that stars were discarded as images of immortality. This is one place in this literature where we see the vestiges of the Ptolemaic system.

Artful Christians (living images) shone, but if you took God or Christ away—the source of their light—they fell dark. The moon became a type for the natural or worldly person, because in the early seventeenth century it had been noticed, by Thomas Harriot in England and Galileo in Italy, that that heavenly body was not so heavenly after all, but rough, with earth-like features such as peaks and valleys. It seems heavenly when the sun lights it, but its light is not its own.[165] The moon as bathed in the light of the sun, however, was a useful metaphor for the imitator of Christ—a dark, worldly entity waxing lighter and more heavenly. (**Figure 53)** In "Images or Shadows of Divine Things" (1728), Jonathan Edwards writes,

> In order to our coming to Christ aright, we must not come with our own brightness, or happiness, but as stripped of all our glory, empty of all good, wholly dark, sinful, destitute, and miserable, as the moon is wholly divested of all her light at her conjunction with the sun. We must come to Christ as wholly sinful and miserable, as the moon comes to the sun in total darkness. The moon as it comes nearer the sun, grows darker and darker; so the soul, the more it is fitted for Christ, is more and more emptied of itself that it may be filled with Christ. The moon grows darker and darker in her approach to the sun; so the soul sees more and more of its own sinfulness, and vileness and misery, that it may be swallowed up in the rays of the sun of righteousness…[166]

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[165] Martin Kemp writes, "When Galileo trained his improved 'spyglass' on the moon in the winter of 1[6]09, he became convinced that 'sane reasoning' can reach no other conclusion than that the moon 'is full of prominences and cavities similar, but much larger, to the mountains and valleys spread over the earth's surface'. But he had reckoned without the powerful grip of those philosopher-theologians who wished to sustain their perception of the heavens as 'immaculate'." Martin Kemp, "Maculate moons," in *Visualizations: The 'Nature' Book of Art and Science* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 40.

[166] Jonathan Edwards, *Images or Shadows of Divine Things*, ed. Perry Miller (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1948), 72.

Puritan ministers would also call upon heliotropic plants to characterize the mechanism of the imitation of Christ—to describe the relationality of the plant-like Christian follower and Christ-as-solar-model. Although virtually all plants have a sympathetic relationship with the sun, growing upward, for example, heliotropic plants are the sun's most devout followers.[167] The German Jesuit, Jeremias Drexel's *Heliotropium* is the classic early modern characterization of the devout Christian as a sunflower.[168] **(Figures 54 and 55)** In *All in All* Samuel Ward writes of Christ: "[L]et him bee in all our thoughts and speeches, how happy were it if he were neuer out of our sight and minds, but that our soules were fixed on him, as the Sunne-flowre towards the Sunne…"[169] Framing his important 1662 collection of biographies entitled *A Collection of the Lives of Ten Eminent Divines*, the English Puritan Samuel Clarke contrasts the "Ignes fatui," or "false fires," of Catholic hagiography with the "good examples" he has collected in his own volume and which he recommends for the reader's imitation "[*a*]*s the Heliotrope moves after the Sun*."[170] **(Figure 56)**

The shining of God or Christ served as the primary measure of beauty in Puritanism.[171] Encounters with a fireplace or the sun itself were invitations to self-

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[167] For useful writings on heliotropy, see Erika von Erhardt-Siebold, "The Heliotrope Tradition," *Osiris* 3 (1937): 22-46; Peter W. Travis, "Chaucer's Heliotropes and the Poetics of Metaphor," *Speculum* 72:2 (April 1997): 399-427; and Candace Galen, "Sun Stalkers," *Natural History* 108:4 (May 1999).

[168] Jeremias Drexel, *Heliotropium seu Conformatio humanae voluntatis cum diuina* (Duaci, 1628); for an English translation of the text, see Jeremias Drexelius, *Heliotropium: Conformity of the Human Will to the Divine*, ed. Ferdinand E. Bogner (Rockford, Ill.: Tan Books and Publishers, Inc., 1984. I must mention that the early copies of this volume I have examined in person—at the British Library, the Huntington Library, and the Ransom Center at UT Austin—are wonderfully tiny, either 12mo or even 24mo.

[169] Samuel Ward, *All in All* (London, 1622), 32.

[170] Samuel Clarke, *A Collection of the Lives of Ten Eminent Divines* (London, 1662), "To the Reader," n.p.

reflection. The association of beauty with shining is storied. Positing the dependence of all earthly beauty on heavenly beauty, Plato is the first writer in the Western canon to associate beauty with shining (in the *Phaedrus*). The Greek word he uses for “the beautiful” translates as “the most radiant, that which shines forth amidst the visible.”[172] The Neo-Platonist philosopher Plotinus also associates divinity with color and brightness. These qualities—frequently connected in philosophy and art theory to relativity—are considered less important by Aristotle, for whom clear outline was paramount to the definition of the beautiful.

The thought of Plotinus informed theology of the Middle Ages, and light, *claritas*, and *splendor* were understood to be characteristic of beauty and divine grace. In his essay on beauty, Plotinus writes:

> But how are you to see into a virtuous Soul and know its loveliness? Withdraw into yourself and look. And if you do not find yourself beautiful yet, act as does the creator of a statue that is to be made beautiful: he cuts away here, he smoothes there, he makes this line lighter, this other purer, until a lovely face has grown upon his work. So do you also: cut away all that is excessive, straighten all that is crooked, bring light to all that is overcast, labour to make all one glow of beauty and never cease chiselling your statue, until there shall shine out on you from it the godlike splendour of virtue, until you shall see the perfect goodness surely established in the stainless shrine.[173]

Plotinus allows for a measure of self-determination in self-fashioning that is foreign to the Puritan theorization of the art of living to God. The fourth-century bishop Gregory of

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[171] Elaine Scarry’s writing on the relationship of beauty and ethics has helped me to better appreciate the importance of beauty to the Puritan discourse of the art of living. See Elaine Scarry, *On Beauty and Being Just* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999).

[172] See Plato, *Phaedrus*, trans. Alexander Nehamas and Paul Woodruff, with a selection of early Greek poems and fragments about love, trans. Paul Woodruff (Indianapolis, Ind.: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 1995), 38-39.

[173] Plotinus, *The Enneads*, trans. Stephen MacKenna, intro. and notes John Dillon (London: Penguin Books, 1991), 54.

Nyssa had observed in tweaking Plotinus's formulation (i.e. to Christianize it) that the purifying "removal of material" by the sculptor is "divinely assisted."[174] Gregory of Nyssa's view of Plotinus on self-purification is nearly the same as the Puritans' view.

In a 1693 sermon, for example, William Bates writes, "In the present State our Graces are imperfect, and our Conformity to the Divine Purity is like the Resemblance of the Sun in a watry Cloud, very much beneath the Perfection and Radiancy of that great Light. Now God is pleased to fashion us according to his Image by Afflictions. As a Statue is cut by the Artificer, to bring it into a beautiful Form."[175] And in his popular *Bonifacius: An Essay Upon the Good* of 1710 **(Figure 57)**, Cotton Mather asserts that "all the *abuses*" a Christian experiences are "in the hand of a faithful God, no other than the strokes which a statuary employs on his ill-shaped marble; only to form you into a more beautiful shape, and make you fitter to adorn the heavenly temple."[176] For Bates and Mather it is God who wields the sculptor's tools; the believer is perfected by (as Mather puts it) "a *workmanship of God* upon us, *creating* us over again, by Jesus Christ, *for good works*."[177]

"To any vision must be brought an eye adapted to what is to be seen," writes Plotinus, "and having some likeness to it. Never did eye see the sun unless it had first become sunlike, and never can the Soul have vision of the First Beauty unless itself be beautiful. Therefore, first let each become godlike and each beautiful who cares to see

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[174] Gregory of Nyssa, quoted in Ladner, *Idea of Reform*, 93-94.

[175] William Bates, *Sermons Preach'd on Several Occasions* (London, 1693), 178-179.

[176] Cotton Mather, *Bonifacius*, ed. and intro. David Levin (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1966), 38-39.

[177] Ibid., 27.

God and Beauty."[178] He defines beautiful shining circularly. To shine and to be beautiful one must see shining and beauty, and vice-versa. One finds similar formulations in the works of Gregory of Nyssa, who—comparing the soul to the sun as seen in a mirror—writes of the soul that "has thrown off all material blemish" that "look[s] with [its] entire circle at the face of the Beloved."[179] To see beauty and to be beautiful are circularly linked in Puritan practical theology, too. And yet, as ministerial literature so often reminds us, perfect identification exists only as a fantasy (until one dies that is). God and Christ take priority in the hierarchy of shining and beauty.

Cotton Mather writes of the experience of viewing a person who is an imitator of Christ: "To turn your Eye this way, from the *Beholding of Earthly Vanity*, will be to *Live by the Faith of the Son of God*: A *Faith* which brings the Brightest of *Stars* home so nigh to the *Sun of Righteousness*, as to bury all their Brightness in the *Rays* thereof!"[180] In the Puritan imagination Christ as the sun swallows up the shining of star-like persons. Mather concludes:

> If at any time you have Been or Done any thing that may be accounted *Good*, you must never imagine yourself as any more than a frail *Chrystal*, thro' which a Glorious CHRIST, with an Unaccountable Display of *Sovereignty*, shines down upon those who feel or see that *Good*. And you must use all the means Imaginable, that your *Observers* may not stop at the *Chrystal*, but make all their *Acknowledgments* of the *Good* pass through it, up unto this LORD.[181]

Although a preoccupation with shining is evident throughout Puritan literature, discussions of color in relation to shining are comparatively uncommon. Indeed, in

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[178] Plotinus, *Enneads*, 55.

[179] Ladner, *Idea of Reform*, 101.

[180] Cotton Mather, *The Heavenly Conversation* (Boston, 1710), 21-22.

[181] Ibid., 29.

Thoughts for the Day of Rain, published in 1712, Cotton Mather observes that "among the *Engines of Piety*" "the Rainbow is one too much neglected."[182] **(Figure 58)** In this text, Mather goes on to argue that the rainbow, which is fully dependent upon, indeed a projection from, the Christ-like sun, is a crucial image of living imagistic selfhood and a source for further meditation.

During the year in which this essay was published, Mather took observations of celestial phenomena appearing in the sky over Boston.[183] He even made several drawings, which he sent to the Royal Society in London.[184] (**Figures 59 and 60)** In letters and notes accompanying the drawings, Mather discusses the colors of rainbows, as well as observations of "mock-suns" (*parhelia*) in conjunction with rainbows. He describes the phenomena as follows: "On the second of January, in a clear sky, but an extremely cold season, the sun was from ten o'clock for the best part of three hours, attended well with four mock-suns, through which there passed a white circle; in the midst whereof were two rainbows, according to the representation in the ensuing scheme." In Figure 60 in particular the *parhelia* resemble big smiles.

Although very much interested in science, Mather, like many other early modern minister- (or priest-) scientists, was especially concerned to mobilize scientific observations for the advancement of Christian religion. He ultimately uses these

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[182] Cotton Mather, *Thoughts for the Day of Rain* (Boston, 1712), first page of Preface (n.p.).

[183] See Cotton Mather, "An Extract of Several Letters from Cotton Mather, D. D. to John Woodward, M. D. and Richard Waller, Esq; S. R. Secr.," *Philosophical Transactions (1683-1775)* 29 (1714-1716): 66.

[184] I am grateful to Matthew Hunter for alerting me to the existence of these drawings and also for sharing the images I have included here.

observations of *parhelia* as a motivation for writing a devotional treatise on rainbows.[185]

In *Thoughts for the Day of Rain*, Mather writes,

> There are some, who would find in the *Rainbow* it self, some Intimations of the *Glories* belonging to our *Saviour*. In the *Sun* begetting of the Rainbow, some would read a little of that incomprehensible Mystery, *The only begotten Son of God*. In the *Three Colours* (for of old, they counted no more) of the Rainbow, others would read, the *Three Offices* of our Great Redeemer. But these are *Strains* that I would not insist upon; and I would not Look upon the *Clouds* too fancifully. One would rather Consider the *Sun*, as an Emblem of our Saviour; that wonderful *Sun of Righteousness*.[186]

So, Mather argues, Christ is like the sun. He continues,

> Yet I would rather chuse to turn it so; the *Cloud*, by Receiving *Beams* from the *Sun*, & Reflecting of them, how Beautiful an Appearance is there now produced in it? *Lord, Let the Beams of my Saviour fall upon me. Let me receive His Knowledge; Let me reflect His Image; Let me be under His Impressions; I cannot ask for a greater Glory*.[187]

The rainbow, then, according to Mather, can be understood as an emblem of the Christian who imitates Christ. Fallen Christians recover the purified image of God within or upon themselves by means of this imitation (the art of living to God).

Mather proffers an improvement of humility by means of an observation on the interrelation of Christic sun and Christian-like rainbow, too: "But then, I will take Leave, to fetch from the Rainbow, an Instruction of the *Humility*, that such a man will be adorned withal…The *Higher* the *Sun*, the *Lesser* the Rainbow…The *Higher* a Glorious

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[185] To get a sense of the difference between Mather's religious writings and those that are more scientific, one can compare *Thoughts for the Day of Rain* with *The Christian Philosopher*, ed., with intro. and notes Winton U. Solberg (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994). *The Christian Philosopher* was originally published in London in 1721.

[186] Cotton Mather, *Thoughts for the Day of Rain*, 23-24.

[187] Ibid., 24. Isaac Ambrose writes, "[W]hatsoever honour or excellency we have, it is [God] that gives it; it is he that made the difference betwixt us and others; the rainbow is but a common vapour, it is the Sunne that guilds it, that enamels it with so many colours…" Ambrose, *Media*, 117.

CHRIST is with us, and in us, and the more He does for us, the *Smaller* must we be in our own Eyes; it will Humble us, and Abate our Pride most wonderfully!"[188] And though beautiful, the rainbow—like fallen human beings—is formally imperfect according to Mather:

> And since the Rainbow is not a *Perfect Circle*, if *Moreover the Servants* of God are *Warned* from thence, of the *Imperfection*, which will attend all *Sublunary* Things, we shall but go on to make an Improvement thereof, that some Wise Men have made before us. Look upon the Rainbow that wants *Perfection*, [its nearness to the *Earth* allows it not!] and say, *I have Seen an End of all Perfection!*[189]

All of this is to say that the rainbow, a fragmented arc of the color spectrum, is dependent on and therefore deficient of the sun. We might compare and contrast the fragmentary rainbow with the completely circular optical effect known as a solar halo, or with the "rainbow mandorla," which is sometimes shown in Western art history encircling Christ, particularly in paintings of the Last Judgment.[190] **(Figures 61 and 62)** In a cultural context (i.e. Anglo-American Puritanism) in which God and Christ were virtually never directly represented by "man-made images," it was very often natural phenomena that stood in for more traditional depictions of the deity, such as paintings of Christ donning or circumscribed by a halo. The borrowed light of the shining example—whether

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[188] Cotton Mather, *Thoughts for the Day of Rain*, 25.

[189] Ibid., 33.

[190] Note: The solar halo has red on the inside/blue on the outside, unlike a single rainbow, which has red on the outside/blue on the inside. The version of the Last Judgment by the late medieval (or early Renaissance) Italian painter Giotto appears on the end wall of the Scrovegni Chapel in Padua, a structure famous for its boldly colored murals, which Julia Kristeva has analyzed in an important psychoanalytical essay on color and joy. See Julia Kristeva, "Giotto's Joy," in *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art*, ed. Leon S. Roudiez, trans. Thomas Gora, Alice Jardine, and Leon S. Roudiez (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980), 210-236.

modeled by the stars, the moon, or the rainbow—is an iteration of anti-formal form, about which I will think more in Chapter 4.

The Art of Walking

To describe the mediacy of the art of living to God, walking is the most significant form of transport for Puritan authors. There appeared many allusions to walking in the passages I quoted regarding the art of happiness…such allusions are part of a strand of this discourse in which the art of living is defined as an "art of walking." That is, before the walks of William Wordsworth or the flâneur, before the engagements of John Cage, the Fluxus artists, *Arte Povera*, Allan Kaprow **(Figure 63)**, Yvonne Rainer, Richard Long, Hamish Fulton **(Figure 64)**, and Francis Alÿs with walking, there was a Puritan "art of walking."

In what follows I introduce this art, and I explicate the particular appeal walking held for English and American Puritan practical theologians. Expounding on numerous walking-related passages in the Old and New Testaments, regarding the walks of Noah, Enoch, David, Christ, Paul, and others, writers such as the Caroline Puritan, Robert Bolton, theorize the art of living as an art of walking. In a 1626 treatise, *Some Generall Directions for a Comfortable Walking with God*, Bolton writes, "[L]et us infinitely loue, and learne exactly the most sweete and heauenly Art of walking with God!"[191] **(Figures 65 and 66)** The art of walking is called exact walking, circumspect walking, and worthy walking.[192] **(Figures 67-69)** It is also termed precise walking, strai(gh)t walking, walking

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[191] Robert Bolton, *Some Generall Directions for a Comfortable Walking with God* (London, 1626), 32-33.

like Christ, walking in the Word, and walking in God's statutes. Puritan writers from John Preston to Thomas Taylor to Nathanael Vincent and beyond into New England Puritanism take up the subject. A 1728 funeral sermon for Cotton Mather by ministerial colleague Benjamin Colman is entitled "The Holy Walk"; Colman describes Mather as a Puritan Enoch.[193] **(Figure 70)** Just five years earlier Mather had published a funeral sermon on the minister Joseph Belcher as a Noah-like walker.[194] **(Figure 71)** The art of walking, while not completely emptied of associations with the corporeal literalism of what we would call "actual" walking, is mainly a metaphorical art. The art of walking dematerializes its Puritan practitioner, even as it partly materializes a physically absented Christ. As for figures like Kaprow or Alÿs, the Puritan focus on pedestrianism serves as a strategy for destroying the boundary between a bracketed or elevated sphere of art and the practice of everyday life.

The theologian, Robert Banks, has pointed out that the apostle Paul's "most characteristic way of talking about the Christian life is as a 'walk.' [Paul] does this on 32 occasions in his writings." He draws on Old Testament passages in which life or good practice is described as a "going," "traveling," "progress," or "increase" (*hālak* in Hebrew). Banks also notes that "[t]he Dead Sea Scrolls contain many references to holy and unholy behavior in which the terminology of walking is present." No doubt Paul's abundant walking in the course of his ministries was a major source of his interest in the metaphor. Paul emphasizes process over destination, underlining the necessity of the

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[192] See John Preston, *Exact Walking*, in *Sermons Preached Before His Maiestie, and Upon Other Speciall Occasions* (London, 1637); Thomas Taylor, *Circumspect Walking* (London, 1631); and Nathanael Vincent, *Worthy Walking* (London, 1671).

[193] Benjamin Colman, *The Holy Walk and Glorious Translation of Blessed Enoch* (Boston, 1728).

[194] See Cotton Mather, *A Good Character. Or A Walk with God Characterized* (Boston, 1723).

everydayness of godly walking. This walking is (as described in Romans 13:13) a "behaving becomingly"; "becoming" has associations here of both beauty and progress. Although Paul insists on walking as metaphorical—in line with a forceful Christian typological investment in New Testament anti-literalism—Banks rightly acknowledges that "traces of the literal meaning of the term[s] [for walking in both Hebrew and Greek] survive in his metaphorical use of it."[195]

"Thou canst neuer possibly be fitly qualified, either for the right vnderstanding, or sauing practice of this sacred and sweetest Art, of walking with god; except thou resolue, to stand for euer sincerely at the swords point against all sinne," writes Robert Bolton.[196] **(Figure 72)** As it is to pious Puritans generally, "walking with god" is to Bolton "sacred," even the very "sweetest" form of artistry. The art of walking is the metaphorical following in the footsteps of Christ and those who have imitated him through the art of living.

As part of a lengthy tradition of Christian image theory in which poor persons were understood to be true images of Christ, in a 1657 publication entitled *The Saints Delight*, Thomas Watson terms the poor "walking pictures of Christ," and he even recommends perambulating poor people as fit foci for Puritan meditational practice.[197] **(Figure 73)** As the historian of English nonconformity, N. H. Keeble, has observed, it is surprising that early modern Protestants, including Puritans, were so invested in the

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[195] Robert Banks, "'Walking' as a Metaphor of the Christian Life: The Origins of a Significant Pauline Usage," in *Perspectives on Language and Text: Essays and Poems in Honor of Francis I. Andersen's Sixtieth Birthday, July 28, 1985*, ed. Edgar W. Conrad and Edward G. Newing (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1987), 303-313.

[196] Bolton, *Some Generall Directions*, 34-35.

[197] Thomas Watson, *The Saints Delight. To Which Is Annexed A Treatise of Meditation* (London, 1657), 218.

pilgrimage as a model for thinking about Christian living, given that they vehemently rejected the literal practice of pilgrimage that had been and to some extent continued to be so important to Roman Catholicism. They criticized literal pilgrimage as wasteful, suggesting that the money related to its practice and attendant image culture was better spent on social causes such as poor relief: giving money or other aid to the poor was, to nonconformists, curating right images. Keeble argues that in early modern Protestantism metaphorical pilgrimage thrived as an iconoclastic critique/displacement of the literal pilgrimage.[198]

In this literature it is not only the poor who are labeled "walking pictures." All godly Christians are aptly regarded as "walking pictures of Christ," elected to displace the mere, material images created by those persons whom we usually label artists. In a sermon delivered before the House of Commons in 1642, Thomas Hill of Northampton describes the godly as "living, *walking Pictures* of Divine *Truth*."[199] **(Figure 74)** And in a 1660 discourse on the Beatitudes, Thomas Watson writes, "Gods children resemble him in meeknesse and holinesse; they are his walking pictures; As the seale stamps its print; and likenesse upon the Wax; so doth God stamp the print and effigies of his own beauty upon his children." **(Figure 75)** A few pages later Watson suggests that all Christians are poor, walking pictures: "The children of God are his walking pictures; and if we are of God, we love those who have his Effigies and Pourtraiture drawn upon their souls…If we are of God we love his children thought they are poor; we love to see the image and

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[198] N. H. Keeble, "'To be a Pilgrim': Constructing the Protestant Life in Early Modern England." in *Pilgrimage: the English Experience from Becket to Bunyan*, ed. Colin Morris and Peter Roberts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 238-256. The Protestant concept of the figurative pilgrimage is a latter-day version of the mental pilgrimage as theorized during the Middle Ages.

[199] Thomas Hill, *The Trade of Truth Advanced* (London, 1642), 16.

picture of our father, though hung in never so poor a Frame."[200] **(Figure 76)** This concept of the walking picture appears in Puritan practical theological literature throughout the seventeenth and early eighteenth century in England and New England. In a 1693 publication Thomas Manton, a friend of Thomas Watson, directs readers to "Imitate Christ in his Holiness, which was a part of his Glory, and will be yours…Here we should be walking Pictures of Christ, that others may see the Face of Christ in us. Tread in his Steps. Live so holily, that if the Bible should be lost, it may be found again in our Holy Lives."[201] **(Figure 77)**

One of the great early modern bestsellers and one of the most widely read books in late Puritanism, John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress*—first printed in 1678 and then expanded to two parts and constantly reprinted—is an allegory of life organized as a walk across a landscape, from "the City of Destruction" to "the Heavenly Jerusalem." Its frontispiece, with Robert White's famous sleeping portrait of Bunyan below, usually pictures "Christian," the main character, walking up above. **(Figure 78)** In the second part of the book, first published in 1684, Christian's wife and children make the pilgrimage. One could pursue an ambitious re-reading of *The Pilgrim's Progress* specifically in terms of the art of walking. As Christian walks he reads a book, a small format Gospel, and this is significant. His walking is a reading, and his reading is a walking (he reads print and in walking he makes prints, with the aim of conforming them to the printed text he holds). In the English minister Isaac Ambrose's terms, Christian

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[200] Thomas Watson, *The Beatitudes, or A Discourse Upon Part of Christs Famous Sermon on the Mount* (London, 1660), 300 and 307.

[201] Thomas Manton, *A Fourth Volume Containing One Hundred and Fifty Sermons on Several Texts of Scripture in Two Parts* (London, 1693), 349.

endeavors to “make the *word and works* face one another.”[202] Like meditation and prayer, reading printed godly texts was central to the Puritan art of living. On his walk Christian encounters many characters virtuous and vicious. The virtuous characters and his book are right patterns. Thus characters such as Goodwill and Sincere, and the Gospel itself, are elevated over and contrasted with the iniquity figured in characters like Mr. Worldly Wiseman or Lord Hate-Good.

The art of walking is a standing, or a “not falling.” But walking is also a moving medium, not a standing still, rather a progressing. It is growth in Christ, or what Puritans sometimes call “life multiplied.” For the Puritans the art of walking is an attempt to reconcile the boundaries between art and life even as it knocks them down. A give and take between the “real” world (which we might call a dreamed world) and a dreamed world (which we might call the “real” world) undergirds every aspect of the Puritan conceptualization of the art of living, and of the art of walking.

Rous points out in *The Arte of Happines* that the art of living to God is a sort of portable meditation. It is worth mentioning here that there is a close relation between the art of walking and early modern Protestant definitions of “the art of meditation.” In his important treatise on meditation dating to the first decade of the seventeenth century, Bishop Joseph Hall, who was sometimes called “the English Seneca,” recommends walking as among the most effective forms of meditation: “But of all other (mee thinks) *Isaacs* choice of the best, who meditated walking.”[203] **(Figure 79)** The English Puritan divine Edmund Calamy would write in 1680 in a meditational manual inspired by

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[202] Ambrose, *Media*, 163.

[203] Joseph Hall, *The Arte of Divine Meditation* (London, 1607), 62-63.

Hall's—more figuratively than literally: "A man that is often in *meditation*, is often in Heaven, often walking with God and Christ…"[204]

A few later art-of-walking-related projects help to illuminate certain facets of the Puritan interest in an art of walking. Henry David Thoreau's famous essay called "Walking," first published in *The Atlantic Monthly* in June 1862, is an extension and augmentation of the art of walking according to the Puritans. **(Figure 80)** As is well known, New England transcendentalism owes much to the New England Puritan tradition, though shared attention to walking is not among the topics studied to date in literary history.[205] Thoreau opens the essay by linking his idea of "the art of Walking" to the etymology of the verb "to saunter." He writes, "[T]he word is beautifully derived 'from idle people who roved about the country, in the Middle Ages, and asked charity, under pretence of going *à la Sainte-Terrer*,' to the Holy Land, till the children exclaimed, 'There goes a *Sainte-Terrer*,' a Saunterer,—a Holy Lander. They who never go to the Holy Land in their walks, as they pretend, are indeed mere idlers and vagabonds; but they who do go there are saunterers in the good sense, such as I mean."[206] Thoreau eventually gives a different account of the art of walking than the Puritans do, but not before arguing that all walkers, like the Puritan saints, are elect. He says of the art of walking: "It comes by the grace of God. It requires a direct dispensation from Heaven to become a walker. You must be born into the family of the Walkers. *Ambulator nascitur*, *non fit*."[207]

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[204] Edmund Calamy, *The Art of Divine Meditation* (London, 1680), 100.

[205] On the Puritan literary tradition as a precursor to transcendentalism, see, for example, Bercovitch, *Puritan Origins of the American Self*.

[206] Henry David Thoreau, "Walking," in *Henry David Thoreau: Collected Essays and Poems* (New York: Library of America, 2001), 225.

Thoreau's idea of the walker as "Holy Lander" connects to a concept developed in the writings of some of the Puritan authors at whose works we have been looking. In his *Autarkeia, or the Art of Divine Contentment* (1653), Thomas Watson writes that the "true Saint" is "a divine Land-skip or Picture, where all the rare beauties of Christ are lively pourtrayed and drawn forth."[208] **(Figure 81)** This notion of the Puritan saint as landscape is peculiar. What does it mean for a person to be a landscape painting? [Note that "Land-skip" refers specifically to the pictorial genre of landscape in the seventeenth-century in England.] Considering the relation of the concept to Puritan thinking about form, or rather, thinking against form, is instructive. The Puritan artist works in anti-formal form; and the living image's forms are anti-formal. The artful walker is not, as in a painting by Meindert Hobbema, a subservient figure marking or traversing a dominating landscape. **(Figure 82)** The formal Christian, whose practice is (to use Watson's term) mere "bodily exercise," is a staffage figure, subordinate to, existing in service of, a wider world.[209] The artful walker is anti-staffage; he or she is insubordinate (to the world in which he or she has been positioned), rising up by the grace of God to become, him or herself, a part of something much larger. The Puritan artist is not neatly framed but moves always outward, toward the framing edge. Perhaps not coincidentally, Thoreau also defines his "Holy Lander" as anti-staffage: "The landscape-painter uses the figures of men to mark a road. He would not make that use of my figure."[210]

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[207] Ibid., 226.

[208] Watson, *Autarkeia*, 12.

[209] Watson, *Saints Delight*, "Epistle to the Reader," n.p.

[210] Thoreau, "Walking," 231.

A project by the Belgian contemporary artist, Francis Alÿs, *Paradox of Praxis 1 (Sometimes Doing Something Leads to Nothing)*, can further help us to think about the problem of form as it pertains to the theorization of the art of living as an art of walking. **(Figures 83 and 84)** In this action, Alÿs moves a large block of ice through the streets of Mexico City (where he has, for a long time, lived) on a hot day. At first he pushes it with his entire body. Then as it becomes smaller he kicks the block, until it eventually melts and then disappears. The art of walking is described as melting (or becoming more fluid) in the literature of Puritan practical theology. Heated by the fire of God's love, the godly Christian has a melted heart or a melted spirit.[211] Like Alÿs's action, the art of good practice liquidates the godly Christian's icy sinfulness or formal qualities. With reference to Alÿs's more overtly politicized works—this work is actually political in content, but less explicitly so—Mark Godfrey has suggested that for Alÿs "walking is a weapon."[212] It is likewise in Puritan art theory—recall Robert Bolton's statement that the art of walking requires one "to stand for euer sincerely at the swords point against all sinne." Francis Alÿs has been compared to St. Francis in his development of a latter-day form of world-weary "walking as preaching."[213]

Puritans refer to sin as sitting, or as walking contrary to God or Christ. Sinners are said to be all head and no feet. The art of living is characterized, conversely, as walking

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[211] Thomas Watson writes, for example, "There is a great difference between the hardnesse in the godly and the wicked; the one is *natural*, the other is only *accidental*; the hardnesse in a wicked man, is like the hardnesse of a stone, which is an innate continued hardnesse; the hardnesse in a childe of God, is like the hardnesse of Ice, which is soon melted with the Sun-beams; perhaps God hath at present withdrawn his spirit, whereupon the heart is congeal'd as Ice, but let Gods spirit as the Sun, return and shine upon the heart, now it hath a gracious thaw upon it, and it melts in love." Thomas Watson, *The Godly Mans Picture, Drawn with a Scripture-Pensil* (London, 1666), 327.

[212] Mark Godfrey, "Walking the Line," *Artforum* (May 1, 2006).

[213] Russell Ferguson, *Francis Alÿs: Politics of Rehearsal* (Los Angeles, Cal: Hammer Museum, 2007), 64.

"antipodes" to sin. It is following Christ, who is, in the words of Thomas Watson, the "*map of perfection*."[214] The art of living is, likewise according to Watson, "living in the world above the world."[215] (The word "Land-skip" takes on new meaning in relation to such a statement; one imagines the artful Puritan suspended in air, skipping over (or just plain skipping) the land.[216]) Watson remarks, "Half of him is on this side and half is in the holy Land…tis hard to tell whether he be *in the body*, or *out of the body*…"[217] While the "walking pictures of Christ" can be said to shine in their Christ-likeness, their forms are anti-formal, forms at odds with form itself. The bodies of artful walkers stand against their own embodiment.

Figure 85 depicts documentation of the most famous early work by the British walking artist, Richard Long, his "temporary sculpture" entitled *Line Made by Walking* (1967). Rudi Fuchs has compared Long's work to Kasimir Malevich's *Black Square* of 1915. "[A] painting which cancelled all previous art in one grand, abrupt statement of conviction," writes Fuchs.[218] Long is himself responsible for similarly grandiose claims about the innovativeness of his early production. Both Long and Hamish Fulton would likely be very surprised to learn that several centuries earlier in England—far earlier in fact than Wordsworth, with whom walking as a kind of art usually begins in British

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[214] Watson, *Saints Delight*, 371. Antipodes refers to geographical oppositeness. In this regard the lands below the equator are a type for the art of living to God, and the lands above the equator a type for sinful behavior (or vice-versa).

[215] Ibid., 287.

[216] Note that there is, to my knowledge, no etymological relationship between the noun "Land-skip" and the verb "to skip."

[217] Watson, *Saints Delight*, 286.

[218] Rudi Fuchs, quoted in Clarrie Wallis, "Making Tracks," in *Richard Long: Heaven and Earth*, ed. Clarrie Wallis (London: Tate, 2009), 46.

cultural history—scores of Puritans were preoccupied with theorizing and practicing an art of walking.[219] To be sure, both the Puritans and an artist such as Long have much in common, perhaps especially the iconoclasm of their practices of arts of walking. Like much performance work, *Line Made by Walking* worked against possessability. It was unownable, except in the form of documentation. The form it took was the wearing away of the world. Figure here is more ground than the ground itself.[220]

In Puritan religion, the straight line is the main figure for perfect practice. Near the beginning of *The Pilgirm's Progress*, Bunyan relates a conversation between Christian and "Good Will." Good Will explains to him the value of straightness: "Good Christian, come a little way with me, and I will teach thee about the way thou must go. Look before thee; dost thou see this narrow way? That is the way thou must go. It was cast up by the patriarchs, prophets, Christ, and his apostles, and it is as straight as a rule can make it." Christian then asks, "Is there no turnings nor windings, by which a stranger may lose the way?" Good Will answers, "Yes, there are many ways butt down upon this; and they are crooked, and wide; but thus thou may'st distinguish the right from the wrong, that only being straight and narrow."[221] The world is portrayed as crooked, confusing, and labyrinth-like in Puritan writings. The Puritan believer was in need of a schema to counter the muddle of the maze.

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[219] For a thought-provoking history of the art of walking, albeit one that omits Puritans, see Geoff Nicholson, *The Lost Art of Walking: the History, Science, Philosophy, and Literature of Pedestrianism* (New York: Riverhead Books, 2008).

[220] Joseph Hall writes of the "ground" of the art of meditation: "Witnesses of holy men may serue for colours; but the ground must be onely of God." Hall, *Arte of Divine Meditation*, 145-146.

[221] John Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, ed. and intro. Roger Sharrock (New York: Penguin Books, 1987), 27.

Writing to former parishioners in England in 1632, the pastor Thomas Weld of Roxbury, Massachusetts, underlined the importance of the notion of "the rule" for the Puritan believer. He clarifies how the rule relates to self-perfection: "Conceive us not as if we went about to justify ourselves or dream of perfection, no God knows we think ourselves the poorest and unworthiest of all his servants justly else he might spew us out of his mouth [Rev. 3:16]. Only we desire to breathe after perfection and to know what is the rule and to walk in it."[222] In 1645 the Cambridge (Massachusetts) minister, Thomas Shepard, writes of the inflexibility of "God's rules": "crook not God's rules to the experience of men…but bring men unto rules, and try mens estates herein by that… attend the rule…stand or fall according to the rule."[223]

The artful Puritan "walks according to the rule." Although good works could not guarantee salvation, good works were evidence of one's being/having been elected. In Ephesians 2:10, Paul writes of the godly Christian: "For we are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God hath before ordained that we should walk in them." By conforming to the rule, one gained assurance of election. In relation to Old Testament accounts of virtuous behavior, Puritan authors write of the "singularity" of the artful walker. Singular Puritan saints walk in close imitation of the footsteps of Christ, thereby becoming "walking pictures" of him. Their conformity to the metaphysical body of Christ to some extent disappears them, or subtracts their form. As living landscapes they are not only "holy," they are "holey." Comparing Christ to the vanishing point of a

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[222] Thomas Weld, quoted in *Puritans in the New World: A Critical Anthology* , ed. David D. Hall (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004), 35.

[223] Thomas Shepard, *The Sound Beleever*, in *The Works of Thomas Shepard First Pastor of the First Church, Cambridge, Mass.: With a Memoir of His Life and Character* (Boston, Mass.: Doctrinal Tract and Book Society, 1853), 1:140.

picture made in single-point perspective, Thomas Watson writes that Christ is "the centre where all the lines of his Fathers love do meet."[224] The art of living may be conjured as a Puritan simultaneously walking toward and away from us—in precision or exactness, in the direction of that metaphysical focus, the vanishing point (in the words of Michel de Certeau, "the missing body") that is Christ.[225]

Printing / Pressing

Puritan theologians were invested in textual and pictorial printing technologies as a means of explaining how God interfaces with human beings and how human beings strive to conform themselves to the image of God/Christ. How is the image of God or Christ understood to be "in" or "upon" a person? Puritan authors describe the drawing, painting, and especially the printing of the image in or on people. The image of God or Christ is engraven, impressed, imprinted, and stamped in or upon the believer's heart, soul, or mind. The original image of God upon Adam (the so-called "first print") was pristinely registered. Postlapsarian man retains something of this image, though it is in need of refurbishing, or reprinting. This image is susceptible, too, to further damage or defacement through sin and the influence of negative worldly forces.

Puritan writers utilize the verb "to press" in conjunction with discussions of a perfectly printed *Imago Dei*. In his 1726 funeral sermon on Elizabeth Cotton, for

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[224] Watson, *Saints Delight*, 363. Isaac Ambrose writes that "recollection" is akin to the convergence of the rays of the sun in a magnifying glass: "When all within us is opened, and explicate, and exposed to the view of the Lord; when we call in our thoughts and affections, and recollect them together, as the lines in the Centre, or as the Sun-beams in a burning-glasse, That makes Prayer to be hot and fervent; whereas otherwise it is but a cold and dissipated thng, that hath no strength or efficacy in it." Ambrose, *Media*, 36.

[225] Michel de Certeau, *The Mystic Fable: Volume One, The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, trans. Michael B. Smith (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 79-82.

instance, Cotton Mather describes saintly jewels as the "marvellous *Work* of GOD upon a miserable Soul, *Transforming* of it; and the imprinting [of] His *Image* upon it."[226] **(Figure 86)** Mather goes on to insist that "the main Thing to be press'd upon us, is; To press after, to make out for, to make sure" that both he and his audience will be counted "among the *Jewels* of GOD."[227] The biblical passage to which Mather refers (Malachi 3:17) and Mather's own sermon (whether spoken or printed) "press" on the listener/reader. And the listener or reader is urged "to press," as well. Puritan theorizations of Godly-imagistic imprinting and devotional pressing ally the actions and workings of both the deity and Puritan subjects with early modern printing mechanisms. We might say, even, that one major characteristic uniting God and human beings in Puritan culture is their print- and printing-technology-likeness.

The idea of imprinting the image of God or Christ upon one's heart derives mainly from theological commentaries on the Pauline epistles. Paul typologically redirected the ground of Godly writing from tables of stone (as in the Old Testament) to the fleshy tables of the human heart (in the New Testament).[228] Thomas Hooker, who became famous as a Puritan minister in England and the Netherlands before he eventually helped to found the Hartford settlement in Connecticut, published *The Paterne of Perfection* in London in 1640, which expounds on how God's image exists in human beings before and after the Fall. **(Figures 87 and 88)** Hooker defines salvation in terms of the recovery of the original image of God on Adam: "Looke what is spoken of

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[226] Cotton Mather, *Ecclesiæ Monilia* (Boston, 1726), 13.

[227] Ibid., 18.

[228] See 2 Corinthians 3:3.

renovation, the selfe same *Adam* had in creation. Now wee read that the new man is after God, as the print of the wax is after the seale; and a man does his work after a paterne, that is agreeable to it: So the stampe of Gods image was upon *Adam*, that he was agreeable to his will."[229] Hooker compares the "stampe of Gods image" to "a straight line": "there can be no crooking in it. So the heart of *Adam* lay level, and exactly agreeable to the rule of righteousnesse."[230] And he describes Adam's originary perfection as the "proportionable" "working as God wrought": "*Adam* was not to equall but to imitate God…[A]s it is with an apprentice, that hath learned the skill of his Master, we say, Hee is his Master right; not because he is a man, but because he is a work man, and imitates him exactly (and carries the print of his skill upon him)."[231]

Edward Taylor employs printing and printmaking terminology in order to describe the image of God within himself. In one undated meditation, Taylor writes, "Am I new minted by thy Stamp indeed? / Mine eyes are dim; I cannot clearly see. / Be thou my Spectacles that I may read / Thine Image, and Inscription stampt on mee."[232] In a meditation on Hebrews 9:11 dating to February 1696, he writes, "Hath Sin blurd all thy Print / … / Lord print me ore again."[233] For Puritans such as Taylor, the image of God is susceptible to defocusing and/or defacement—that is, God's "Print" may become "blurd" by sin.[234] Taylor sometimes describes his desire for union with God in terms of printing.

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[229] Thomas Hooker, *The Paterne of Perfection* (London, 1640), 7-8.

[230] Ibid., 7.

[231] Ibid., 8-9.

[232] Edward Taylor, *The Poems of Edward Taylor.*, 2d ed., ed. Donald E. Stanford (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963), 16.

[233] Ibid., 114.

In a 1701 meditation on John 1:14, he writes, “Unite my Soule, Lord, to thyselfe, & Stamp / Thy holy print on my unholy heart.”[235] **(Figure 89)** And in his undated poem “The Ebb & Flow,” Taylor characterizes his conversion with respect to print, writing, “When first thou on me Lord wrought’st thy Sweet Print, / My heart was made thy tinder box. / My ’ffections were thy tinder in’t. / Where fell thy Sparkes by drops.”[236] **(Figure 90)**

Among the techniques Puritans utilized for curating the image of God within themselves were practices of self-examination and meditation. Such practices included prayer, diary writing, and reading exemplary biographies. Enhanced understanding of oneself vis-à-vis God was the aim—Taylor’s “Be thou my Spectacles that I may read / Thine Image, and Inscription stampt on mee.” In a section of Increase Mather’s 1670 biography of his father, Richard, Increase quotes from his father’s handwritten account of his own life. **(Figure 91)** Richard expresses therein his desire that God will “imprint the memory” of one of his mercies on his and others’ hearts.[237] This mercy has to do with the saving of Richard and others at sea during a storm. Increase subsequently observes that Richard, together with exemplary Christians both ancient and modern, had a foreknowledge of death “imprinted on their Spirits.”[238]

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[234] In a book about spiritual identity published in 1961, the Catholic poet and devotional writer Thomas Merton compares imperfect conformity to God’s image to a “blurred photograph.” See Thomas Merton, *The New Man* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1961), 61.

[235] *Poems of Edward Taylor*, 158.

[236] Ibid., 346.

[237] Increase Mather, *The Life and Death of That Reverend Man of God, Mr. Richard Mather* (Cambridge, Mass., 1670), 22.

[238] Ibid., 28.

The source of this model of text, image, and memory registration—in which the heart, soul, or mind is thought of as a kind of waxy, receptive surface—is located in the writings of Plato and Aristotle. Christian image theorists of the Middle Ages built on this model, and early modern technologies of textual printing and pictorial printmaking reinvigorated these ancient and medieval notions for the Puritans. As a print registers from an archetypal block onto a piece of paper, so the memory or example should be registered in the heart, soul, or mind of the reader.

Among Puritan ministers Cotton Mather writes perhaps more than anyone else about the art of living to God as "pressing." We see this especially in his later writings. In his "character" of Michael Wigglesworth, pastor at Malden, Massachusetts, appended to a 1715 edition of Wigglesworth's popular *The Day of Doom*, Mather describes Wigglesworth's last words:

> When he lay a Dying, some spoke to him, about his having secured his *Interest* in the Favour of Heaven, and his *Assurance* of that Interest. He Replyed, *I Bless God*, *I began that Work betimes*; *and e're I was Twenty Years Old*, *I had made thorow work of it. Ever since then*, *I have been pressing after the Power of Godliness! For more than Fifty Years together*, *I have been Labouring to uphold a Life of Communion with God*; *and I thank the Lord*, *I now find the Comfort of it!* [Mather remarks] Words that contain in them, *A History of a Life* more Valuable than I have seen a Volumn in Folio.[239] **(Figure 92)**

Here we find an interesting instance of the way in which Cotton Mather takes the words of a model Puritan (or invents them) and utilizes the words to make his subject a printed and therefore transmittable mediating pattern for the reader's imitation. Wigglesworth's "Exemplary Life" is exemplary, in large measure because of how he "pressed after" the "Power of Godliness." Mather insists that Wigglesworth's last words—concerning a life

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[239] Cotton Mather, "A Character of the Author," in Michael Wigglesworth, *The Day of Doom*, 6th ed. (Boston, 1715), 81.

lived by devotional pressing—these words are “more Valuable” than a “Volumn in Folio.” Much as the pages of a fine book are made by skillful printers working carefully at a press, so too, Wigglesworth’s worthy life is printed, is brought into being, both ideationally and literally, by his pressing.[240]

In his 1721 sermon *What the Pious Parent Wishes For*, Cotton Mather addresses the children in his audience: “’Tis what I am now to press upon the Young People in the Auditory: Oh! Let it become your *Hearts Desire*, and your *Prayer* unto GOD, that a *perfect heart* may be given unto you. Fall down, Oh! Fall down before the Glorious GOD, with such a Petition as this; *Lord, Bestow all the Dispositions of a Pious Mind upon me!*”[241] **(Figure 93)** Mather describes the oral delivery of his sermon as a form of pressing (that is, as an urging of the audience). He suggests that the good child will “Fall down” before God, so that God can “*Bestow all the Dispositions of a Pious Mind*” upon him/her.[242] This passage points, if obliquely, to how paper is positioned on a press, below the mechanism—in this case with God as the machine and the child below him, the piece of paper that wants a pressing. A little later in the sermon, Mather indicates that he hopes his “*Expostulations*” will “make a strong Impression” on his audience or readership.[243] This notion of “making an impression” appears frequently in Puritan ministerial writings, and, I would argue, should be understood as part of a larger Puritan mobilization of the printing press as a means of explicating subject-world, subject-object, subject-subject, and subject-deity interactions.

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[240] See Song of Solomon 8:6.

[241] Cotton Mather, *The Pious Parents Wishes*, in *A Course of Sermons on Early Piety* (Boston, 1721), 22-23.

[242] Ibid., 23.

[243] Ibid., 25.

In *The Greatest Concern in the World*, an essay about salvation published several times in the early eighteenth century, Mather advocates "[a]n *Holy Life*, a Life pressing after Universal and Perpetual Conformity to the *Rules of Holiness*; This, This is the Royal *Path* leading to *Salvation*; Yea, tis no little *Part* of our *Salvation*."[244] **(Figure 94)** On the title page for the second edition of this essay, there is a text that reads, "Published, with a Design to Assist the Addresses of Good Men unto their Neighbours, whom they Press to mind, The ONE THING that is NEEDFUL." In the case of this essay, Mather defines both the "*Holy Life*" and one's conversation with one's neighbors as pressing. It is worth noting at this point that Mather's arguments for the art of living as pressing are realized mainly through works made—and usually conceived to be made—on a printing press (unlike Edward Taylor, for example, whose printing- and pressing-related writings we find in terminal manuscript form). Generally speaking, print is at once the model for the conceptual development and the medium for the dissemination of this culture of print-centered interfacing among Puritans, God, and the world.

Other Puritan colleagues of Cotton Mather describe godly living as pressing in their printed works. In a 1719 discourse on the conduct of young men entitled *Cleansing our Way in Youth Press'd*, the Boston minister Thomas Foxcroft writes of "our daily walk through this defiling World" and how "it shou'd be the daily care even of the Regenerate, to be cleansing themselves from the remains of carnality, and pressing after a

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[244] Cotton Mather, *The Greatest Concern in the World*, 2d ed. (Boston, 1718), 19.

more perfect purity."[245] **(Figure 95)** Christians, he says, should "put on the *beauties* of true *holiness*, and be moulded into the Image of Heavenly purity."[246] **(Figure 96)**

A clever deployment of these notions of Godly printing and devotional pressing appears in Cotton Mather's preface to Malden minister Joseph Emerson's *The Important Duty of a Timely Seeking of God Urged*, published in Boston in 1727, the year before Mather died. **(Figure 97)** In the preface, Mather remarks that this sermon was printed because so many of its original hearers desired a printed version. Whether or not this is true, Mather goes on to riff playfully about printing and pressing in introducing the sermon. He comments,

> THERE being, a very pressing Occasion for the Pastor of the Flock at *Malden*, to entertain them with a particular Discourse on that EARLY PIETY, which he is forever inculcating, his *Pastoral Vigilance* disposed him to take it, and carry to the Living a *Message from the Dead*. The *Young Ones* of the Flock, felt those Impressions which moved their Printing some *Copies* of the Discourse, that they may still *Remember what they have Received and Heard*, and not *lose* what has been *wrought* upon them.[247]

The printing of a sermon, which to that point had only been delivered orally, or unavailable generally because it existed only in manuscript, served as a prosthetic for the forgetful. Fallen persons are forgetful not only in that they do not remember God's Word and the words of preaching ministers, but they are also forgetful of God's image. The *Imago Dei* can be printed on them, temporarily restored to them, but they (or their hearts, souls, and minds) continually forget it. They forget the impression it has made.

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[245] Thomas Foxcroft, *Cleansing our Way in Youth Press'd* (Boston, 1719), 20.

[246] Ibid., 19.

[247] Cotton Mather, Preface, in Joseph Emerson, *The Important Duty of a Timely Seeking of God Urged* (Boston, 1727), ii-iii.

The idea that godly print is a mnemonic aid for remembering the *Imago Dei* is interestingly engaged in Cotton Mather's *Boanerges. A Short Essay to Preserve and Strengthen the Good Impressions Produced by Earthquakes on the Minds of the People that Have Been Awakened With Them* (1727). **(Figure 98)** After the Boston earthquake of 1727, Mather and several other New England ministers delivered sermons focusing on the event—these sermons also contain reflections on the question of the printing of God's image on human beings. First suggesting that the good impressions made on New England Puritans by the earthquake are akin to evaporating water, Mather later compares them to the fleetingness of fungal life: "Without a *principle* of PIETY, restoring to the Glorious GOD His *Throne* in your Souls, your *Good Impressions* from the *Earthquakes*, will be a sort of *Mushrooms* rising from the *Earth*, and presently Wither, and Moulder, and Crumble, and come to nothing."[248] Referencing Hebrews 12:2, Mather writes of the second of his "Grand MAXIMS of *Real* and *Vital* PIETY": "*My Eyes are continually to a Glorious CHRIST, that I may be Righteous and be made Holy by Him; and I long to have His Image instamped on me*."[249] (In Chapter 4, I will return to Hebrews 12:2 as a part of my discussion of looking off.) Toward the end of the essay, Mather compares the retention of good impressions from this earthquake—to him the earthquake is a natural wonder bearing the imprint of God's image—to a pregnancy brought to full-term: "Behold the Method for preventing of an *Abortion* on our *Good Impressions*, and this

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[248] Cotton Mather, *Boanerges. A Short Essay to Preserve and Strengthen the Good Impressions Produced by Earthquakes on the Minds of the People that Have Been Awakened With Them* (Boston, 1727), 21-22.

[249] Ibid., 25.

unhappy Account of them, *We have been in pain, we have brought forth wind, we have not wrought any Deliverance for the Soul that has been going with us*."[250]

Foxcroft also issued a sermon containing instructions to be gleaned from the 1727 earthquake. **(Figure 99)** His sermon is entitled *The Voice of the Lord, from the Deep Places of the Earth*, and in it he writes,

> Whatever subordinate Means & Instruments God may see fit to make use of in this stupendous Event; yet his terrible Majesty appears imprinted upon it in very peculiar Characters. It has a bright Stamp of Divinity on it's Face; Men behold in those clear Impresses of Divine Power, Sovereignty and Greatness, as irresistibly carry up their Eyes to the First Cause; and they cannot but apprehend the Invisible God therein displaying his Perfections to the World.[251]

Thus phenomena, whether natural or cultural, could bear God's Print. And this Print, a product, however strangely, would become a producer—a mechanism for the further printing of God's image on human beings, who are themselves like sheets of paper in a printing press. But people, in the ideal condition of Christian devotional practice, should be pressing after God's image, too. In this model of practice, God is the paper, not so much to be printed, since his Print precedes (and exceeds) everything else, but to be sought the way a press seeks the surface onto which it is printing. Both God and human beings are, therefore, if variously, printed-paper-like and printing-press-like.

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[250] Ibid., 37.

[251] Thomas Foxcroft, *The Voice of the Lord, from the Deep Places of the Earth* (Boston, 1727), 24.

Chapter 3 Living Architecture

On a Saturday night in 1706/07, Cotton Mather sent to his friend John Winthrop a copy of his recently published treatise *The Christian Temple. Or, An Essay upon a Christian Considered as a Temple*.[252] **(Figure 100)** The "John Winthrop" in question is probably Fitz-John Winthrop, colonial governor of Connecticut. Mather enclosed a short letter with the book, and both book and letter still exist, bound together in the collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society. **(Figure 101)** The letter reads:

> Give me Leave, to be mightily concerned for you; - to use all the Methods I can devise, for the shaping of you into a Noble and glorious Temple of God… I ask you to Read it, with all possible Consideration. Consider every paragraph, till your mind be form'd into the very Temper and Spirit of it. Lett ye character of a Living and an Holy Temple, make a very deep impression upon you.[253]

Mather's *The Christian Temple* is a slim volume, only thirty-eight pages long, though it is the most fully developed treatment by a New England Puritan writer of "edification," an architectural iteration of the discourse on the art of living to God at which we have been looking. Mather's treatise is derived from the English Puritan, John Howe's much larger, two-part work *The Living Temple* (1675-1702).[254] **(Figure 102)** *The Christian Temple* constitutes a concise crystallization of a number of interdependent concepts about living architecture in Puritanism.

Staunch materialist accounts of architecture in New England Puritan culture—I think especially of St. George's *Conversing by Signs*, which I briefly critiqued in the Introduction—do not, and, in a sense, cannot address the importance of anti-materialism

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[252] Cotton Mather, *The Christian Temple. Or, An Essay Upon a Christian Considered as a Temple* (Boston, 1706).

[253] The MHS copy of *The Christian Temple* and the letter it contains are call number E187.

[254] See John Howe, *The Living Temple: or, A Designed Improvement of that Notion, that A Good Man Is the Temple of God*, 2 vols. (London, 1675 and 1702).

to the context(s) from which the richest thinking about Puritan architecture derives.[255] In the second chapter of his 1970 book entitled *The Pauline Renaissance in England: Puritanism and the Bible*, John Coolidge makes the following statement: "It is not too much to say that the whole, subtle but radical difference between the Puritan cast of mind and the Conformist appears in their different ways of understanding the verb 'to edify'."[256] Coolidge argues that early modern Anglicans ("Conformists") understood the verb in a way that approximates our use of it today (where it means "to instruct or to improve").[257]

Calling attention to some key points Coolidge makes, I would like to provide a brief introduction to the Christian typological background from which the idea of edification issues. As the medievalist art historian, Jeffrey Hamburger, has described it, borrowing a term from the literary critic, Harold Bloom, Christian typology can be

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[255] I think also, in this respect, of Dell Upton's important work on Anglican church architecture in colonial Virginia. Upton is committed to setting religious architecture within a materialist framework to such an extent that he erases anything resembling heartfelt religiosity from this subject matter. He more or less equates religion with ideological illusionism. See Dell Upton, *Holy Things and Profane: Anglican Parish Churches in Colonial Virginia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997). The book was first published in 1986.

[256] John S. Coolidge, *The Pauline Renaissance in England: Puritanism and the Bible* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 27. See also Gregory Kneidel, "Samuel Daniel and Edification," *SEL* 44:1 (Winter 2004): 59-76. To be sure, not all edificatory theology is anti-materialistic. For medieval background on edification, see Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Carruthers, *Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Roberta D. Cornelius, *The Figurative Castle: A Study of the Mediæval Allegory of the Edifice with Especial Reference to Religious Writings* (Bryn Mawr, Penn., 1930); and Friedrich Ohly, "Haus III (Metapher)," *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* 13 (1986): 905-1063. Jeffrey Hamburger has worked on edification in the Middle Ages in connection with material architecture. See, for instance, Jeffrey F. Hamburger, "The House of the Heart," in *Nuns as Artists: The Visual Culture of a Medieval Convent* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 137-175.

[257] 1 Corinthians 6:19: "What? know ye not that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost which is in you, which ye have of God, and ye are not your own?"

understood as the primal scene of literary "misreading" in Western culture.[258] It is the misreading, from a perspective of Christianity, of the books constituting the Hebrew Bible or, from the point of view of Christianity, what is called the Old Testament. Puritan typologists link the notion of "building a house," which first appears in the Old Testament, to the metaphor of the Christian community as Temple, which one finds in the New Testament. Coolidge writes, "The Old Testament conceives of communal identity entirely in terms of the patriarchal family or 'house'. Procreation, considered as the strengthening and maintaining of the patriarchal family, is the 'building' of the patriarchal house."[259] Paul further develops this idea in his Epistles. Coolidge asserts that Paul uses the Greek version of the verb "to build a house" or "to build" and the noun "building" "in a manner for which there is no exact precedent."[260]

Paul contrasts the "house built of wood and stone with the house 'built' by the generation of life in [godly] people…not by its visible institutions or its locality, or even by blood relationship or common traditions, but by a mysterious life permeating it."[261] Coolidge writes, "Although at first it might seem that living people had become frozen, like Niobe, into stone, it soon appears that, on the contrary, the building has become a living, growing thing."[262] The church is made of "living stones"—and it is by sticking together that they constitute the edifice. Edificatory identity is collectively and

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[258] See Jeffrey F. Hamburger, "Rewriting History. The Visual and the Vernacular in Late Medieval History Bibles," in *Retextualisierung in der Mitteralterlichen Literatur*, ed. Joachim Bumke and Ursula Peters (Sonderheft der Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie, 2005), 260-308; and Harold Bloom, *A Map of Misreading*, 2d ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).

[259] Coolidge, *Pauline Renaissance*, 27-28.

[260] Ibid., 27.

[261] Ibid., 35.

[262] Ibid., 36.

communally attuned. According to Coolidge, "Dismemberment will cause the destruction of this living body…"[263]

Coolidge goes on to point out that "to build" and "to plant" are "much the same" and that together "the compound idea [i.e. building and planting] is set off [in Christian typology] against the idea of destruction."[264] Christian building and planting are understood in relation to the body of Christ, the antitype for both the Hebraic house and the Temple in the Old Testament—in short, the body of Christ is the New Testament form of the Temple. Christ himself is the "head" of this body, and he is the Temple's cornerstone. Christian believers are living architectural "members," incorporated into Christ's building-like body. The commonplace-book of the Dedham, Massachusetts, pastor Joseph Belcher, now in the Massachusetts Historical Society, includes an entry regarding corporate "Membership." **(Figure 103)** (We looked at Cotton Mather's funeral sermon on Belcher as a holy walker in Chapter 2.) As Belcher indicates in his entry, the more believers empty themselves of self, the more nothing they become, and the more incorporated they are to Christ, their head.[265]

They are quickened by Christ, thus living or lively stones. They are also referred to as foundation stones, columns, pillars, rafters, beams, and walls—Puritan writers discuss these and other formal features of Christian living architecture, such as the believer's roofing and outworks. As Mather argues in *The Christian Temple*, faithful

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[263] Ibid., 50.

[264] Ibid., 29. Philip Steadman has helped me to think through the connection of building to planting in this discourse. See Philip Steadman, *The Evolution of Designs: Biological Analogy in Architecture and the Applied Arts*, rev. ed. (New York: Routledge, 2008).

[265] See Joseph Belcher, "Joseph Belcher commonplace-book, 1688-1793; bulk: 1688-1723," Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

Christians may also be called temples; inasmuch as they are communally a part of the templar body of Christ they partake of his and of that wholeness.[266] The relation of Christians to Christ is organic—he is at once a building and a plant (such as a vine), so that inhabiting him (or having him inhabit you) is also an ingrafting or an implantation into him as a divine organism. Edification depends, then, on an exegetical splicing of ideas about architecture and horticulture, and this splicing enables the development of an animated Puritan architectural theology.

Building Part 1

It is important, at this point, to clarify how the Puritan imagining of the human being to building interrelation diverges from another prevalent early modern idea about this matter, which is largely based on the ideas of the Roman architect and engineer Vitruvius.[267] I take some of the theoretical architectural drawings of the Italian artist and architect, Francesco di Giorgio, as my counter-example.[268] **(Figure 104)** Francesco is as fascinated by the relationship of person to building as Cotton Mather is, but in a different direction. In these drawings, from a treatise now in Florence, dating to sometime after 1493, Francesco depicts anthropomorphic temple designs—the first two floor plans image churches based on ideal male proportion, and the third drawing shows a church

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[266] Cotton Mather, *Christian Temple*, 2.

[267] On Vitruvian anthropomorphism, see Indra Kagis McEwen, *Vitruvius: Writing the Body of Architecture* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2003). And on the relationship of body and building more generally, including attention to Vitruvius, see Joseph Rykwert, *The Dancing Column: On Order in Architecture* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1996); and George Dodds and Robert Tavernor, eds., *Body and Building: Essays on the Changing Relation of Body and Architecture* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2002).

[268] See Henry Millon, "The Architectural Theory of Francesco di Giorgio," *Art Bulletin* 40:3 (September 1958): 257-261; and Lawrence Lowic, "The Meaning and Significance of the Human Analogy in Francesco di Giorgio's Trattato," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 42:4 (December 1983): 360-370.

elevation modeled on the form of an idealized man. In these imaginative renderings, the ideal male body becomes the basis for plans of Catholic churches that might be realized. As theoretically directed as Francesco's architectural writings are, they utilize the study of the human body (and the study of newly available versions of Vitruvius's *De architectura*) in service of the production of physical architecture, such as the church seen in **Figure 105**, which is related in several ways to such anthropomorphic designs. In Francesco's drawings we ultimately see the human form brought to bear on the theorizing and making of material buildings.

Puritan edification, on the contrary, is anti-Vitruvian: it is architecture brought to bear on a specific model of human subjectivity. In *The Christian Temple*, Mather comments,

> The Ancient Writers on Architecture, such as *Vitruvius*, inform us, That in the Building of a *Temple*, the Edifice will be Defective, as to the Symmetry and Proportion of it, Except it fetch from the Figure of MAN, the Rules of its proportion… But I must say unto you, MAN, MAN Himself, is the *Temple*, which the Lord Himself does most chuse to *Dwell* in for ever; A *Temple* in Comparison whereof the fairest *Palace* upon Earth is but a *Dunghill*.[269]

Thus, whereas Francesco's architectural treatises inform the production of material buildings, Puritan persons are understood to practice building (or edifying) as good Christian living. The good Puritan is characterized by means of certain architectonic qualities—strength or columnar uprightness, for example.

Near the beginning of *The Christian Temple* Cotton Mather writes, "[A] Good Man is a Temple of God," and "[a] *Rational Temple* is abundantly to be Preferr'd before

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[269] Cotton Mather, *Christian Temple*, 4.

any meerly *Material Temple*."[270] When he says "*Rational*" here he means something like "thinking." He commends "[the] *Living Temple*; A *Temple* that can argue about the Words and Works of God; A *Temple* that can know God, and Love God, and Praise God, and walk with God, and be sensible of Sweet Impressions from God…"[271] Throughout *The Christian Temple*, Mather compares/contrasts the animated architectural Puritan individual with other works of material architecture. He quotes from Eusebius, comparing the Puritan-as-living-temple to the early Christian churches commissioned by Constantine, the first Roman emperor to convert to Christianity. He suggests that a Puritan-person-as-architecture is the living version of a major Constantinian church like Old St. Peter's (now destroyed but shown in **Figure 106** in a seventeenth-century drawing) or akin to the Constantinian basilica on Golgotha in Jerusalem (**Figure 107** is a plan of that building as it appeared in the seventeenth century, from a popular early modern travel narrative by George Sandys that Mather probably would have known). Borrowing a phrase from Eusebius, Mather calls the Puritan-person-as-Constantinian-basilica: "*To all Good Men*, *a Desirable Spectacle*."[272] As I stated in the Introduction, Puritan ministers were enamored of "Primitive" Christianity. The early Christian Church was a purified Christian "Primordium," predating the corruption that would become associated with later Roman Catholicism.

Mather's critiques of what he pejoratively calls "matchless" architecture serve as a common version of his argumentation against ostentation and materialism. In the

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[270] Ibid., 3.

[271] Ibid., 4.

[272] Ibid., 30. For an analysis of edification in the writings of Eusebius, see Caroline Bryant Vandervelde, "Interpretation and Edification in Eusebius' 'Life of Constantine'" (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2003).

preface to his *Bonifacius*, he writes, "He that built a matchless castle for the *Poles*, for his *reward*, had his *eyes put out*, that he might not build such another. Such things are enough to make one *sick of the world;* but, my friend, they should not make thee *sick* of *essays to do good in the world*. A *conformity* to thy Saviour, and a *communion* with Him, let that carry thee through all!"[273] The Polish castle's architect is described (like an unacceptable painting or statue) as having been effaced for excessive materialism; Mather suggests that being good or doing good, through the imitation of Christ, is the preferable disposition, that the producer of impressive buildings misunderstands the purpose of life and is prideful.

On page 1 of *The Christian Temple*, Cotton Mather compares and contrasts the Puritan-as-living-architecture with Hagia Sophia, which he also calls a "Matchless *Temple*." **(Figure 108)** He quotes Justinian as remarking that with Hagia Sophia he had "*out-done*" Solomon in the making of the (First) Temple in Jerusalem, the Old Testament type for Christ's New Testament body/building. In other writings, Mather asserts that a Temple made of the Puritan person is superior to Justinian's Hagia Sophia (and, by extension, Solomon's Temple). In the same year he published *The Christian Temple*, he also published a text called *Vigilantius*, a discourse concerning the premature death of seven young Puritan ministers. **(Figure 109)** At the end of the work appears an elegy. **(Figure 110)** Referring to the writings of the Restoration-era poet and playwright, John Dryden, in the first highlighted section Mather describes the seven ministers as "*Low-roof'd Temples*," living architectural treatises on humility:

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[273] Cotton Mather, *Bonifacius*, 10. I have yet to determine the source of this anecdote. On pages 4-5 of *The Christian Temple*, Mather writes similarly, "It was a Speech let fall by a Great King of *France*, to a foreign Prince, who complained, That a *Chappel* which he show'd him was too narrow; *Sir*, said he, *The Great God is better lodg'd in the Heart, than in the greatest Edifice of Stone in the World!*"

> *Dryden* Sayes, *Look the Reformation round*,
> *No Treatise of* Humility *is found*.
> *Dryden*, Thou Ly'st; They *Write*, and more than (so,
> They *Live Humility*; they can be *low*.
> *Low* these were always in their own *Esteem*,
> But the more *highly* we Esteemed them.
> *Low-roof'd* the *Temples*, but more Stately than
> St. *Sophy's*, built by Great *Justinian*…[274]

In this passage the ministers who were "*Low-roof'd Temples*" are said to be better than Hagia Sophia because of their lowness, and by implication, their material modesty. Although it is not exactly clear what Mather means by low-roofing, it is seemingly a reduction in roof height to which he is referring, or perhaps a reduction in the steepness of a roof's pitch—with "high-roofing" constituting pride in architectural form. This idea of low-roofing appears elsewhere in early modern Protestant literature, and within Puritan practical theology it is an architectural iteration of anti-formal form.[275]

To return to Mather's elegy, it is curious on this page how Mather (and/or his printer) uses a change of typeface and the material weightiness of ink substantiating the word "Humility" in order to make an argument related to a dematerialized notion of humble living as architectural. (I will come back to this subject shortly.) At the bottom of the page Mather further describes the seven young ministers: "The *Liberal Arts* they knew; but understood / Most Thine, Great *Antonine*; That, [*To be Good*.] / And *Good to Do*, This was their main Delight…"[276] The thorough reader of Mather's writings will

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[274] Cotton Mather, *Vigilantius* (Boston, 1706), 31.

[275] Describing the "Humble man" in *Characters of Vertves and Vices* (1608), Joseph Hall writes, "He is a lowly valley sweetly planted and well watered; the proud mans earth, whereon he trampleth; but secretly full of wealthy Mines, more worth than he that walkes over them; a rich stone set in Lead; and lastly, a true Temple of God built with a low roofe." See Joseph Hall, *Heaven vpon Earth and Characters of Vertves and Vices*, ed. with intro. and notes Rudolf Kirk (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1948), 153. It is interesting to compare this early modern Protestant idea of low-roofed selfhood with, for example, the restrictions regarding towers and steeples in Cistercian architecture of the Middle Ages.

notice that his reference to a "Great *Antonine*"—and by this he means Marcus Aurelius—echoes that mention of Marcus Aurelius which appears in Mather's *Magnalia Christi Americana*, which I quoted in the Introduction. You will recall, in that text, in his life of the minister John Brock, Mather writes, "If one had asked Mr. John Brock that question in Antoninus, 'Of what art hast thou proceeded master?' he might have truly answered, 'My art is to be good'…It was chiefly by being a *good Christian* that he proved himself a *good artist*."[277] That Mather juxtaposes an allusion to the liberal arts and an allusion to Marcus Aurelius's advocacy of goodness as artistry is important. Briefly citing Marcus Aurelius on goodness allows Mather to concisely point to the art of good practice, even if it was his fellow Puritan William Ames who gave Puritans the most thorough account of this art.

Ames's *Technometria* became one of the main texts utilized in the university education of Puritan ministers. The beginning of the book defines the art of living to God as an architectural practice. **Figure 111** shows the original Latin passage in context—in the second edition of *Technometria*, published in a collection of writings by Ames in 1646. In the fourth section of Thesis #1 Ames writes about the form or likeness according to which Christian agents might act artfully. This is the English translation:

> Every agent not acting by chance acts first because of a form, for there could be no action unless he should have a form preexisting within himself through a likeness. Surely an agent acts as from art, either according to natural being (if he be acting naturally) or according to intelligible being (if he be acting from counsel). And that likeness of the form is called an

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[276] Cotton Mather, *Vigilantius*, 31. Puritan theologians often constrain the significance of the liberal arts vis-à-vis the art of living to God—or, they suggest that the art of living takes priority over these other arts. Isaac Ambrose, for instance, writes, "All knowledge, Art, learning is nothing to Christ; there is no fulnesse, no divine excellency in that mans knowledge that knowes not Jesus Christ." Ambrose, *Media*, 98.

[277] Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana*, 4:141.

> idea, just as the likeness of a house preexisting in the mind of an architect is called the idea of a house.[278]

This selection by Ames of an architectural image to explain the art of living to God is significant. Interestingly, in another section of his explication of the technometric system, Ames elevates architecture (or "the faculty of building well") to the status of what he calls a "more dignified" and "liberal" philosophical faculty—above the "less dignified," "mechanical," or "illiberal" faculties.[279] This elevation of architectural action within Ames's system is coincident with the rise of the architect above the "mere" builder in the seventeenth century.[280] And yet for neither Ames nor his fellow Puritan theologians is the identification of the Christian believer with the elevated position "architect" considered appropriate.[281] The builder (a more common person) remains the figure of identification within the Puritan theology of edification. Neither the practice nor products of so-called "material architecture" are of interest to the writers I have been studying. It is, rather, the action of building up the mystical Church as a function of *eupraxia* ("the idea of the art of good practice") that captures their attention and imagination.

That an architectural image occupies such a privileged place within Ames's explication of technometry helps to explain the regularity with which university-trained Puritan ministers are described as spiritual "builders" in Puritan writings. These are

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[278] Ames, *Technometry*, 93 (Thesis 1).

[279] Ibid., 118 (Thesis 128).

[280] For an instructive account of the unfolding of the history of building and architectural practice in England, including the emergence of the figure of the architecture and the modern architectural office, see Anthony Gerbino and Stephen Johnston, contr. Gordon Higgott, *Compass and Rule: Architecture as Mathematical Practice in England, 1500-1750* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, in association with the Museum of the History of Science, Oxford, and the Yale Center for British Art, 2009).

[281] In Puritanism, God is the architect.

mainly individuals who studied at Oxford or Cambridge, or at Harvard early on. In the Epistle Dedicatory to his son Cotton Mather's 1697 funeral sermon on Harvard College professor Jonathan Mitchel, Increase Mather compares Mitchel to John Preston, who had trained many Puritan ministers at Emmanuel College at the University of Cambridge: "Famous Dr. *Preston* chose rather to Live in *Cambridge*, than in any place in *England*, because by Reason of the University there, he had an Opportunity, *Non modo dolare Lapides sed Architectos*, to *prepare Builders for the House of God*."[282] **(Figure 112)** A more literal translation of the Latin is "not only to shape stones but builders." The "*Non modo*" in this quotation is sometimes replaced with the words "*non tantum*" in similar passages appearing in other Puritan writings.

In his life of Urian Oakes, a Puritan minister and early president of Harvard, Mather contextualizes Oakes's decision to settle in "rustic" Cambridge by borrowing Preston's formulation: "*Dolare non tantum Lapides sed Artifices*" [To shape not merely stones but artificers].[283] "*Non tantum*" is most closely translated "not merely." This emphasis on the action and practice of building is essential to the development and exercise of a theology of living architecture in Puritanism. Worker and work are conflated, building becomes builder and vice-versa, and these writers emphasize the intergenerational nurturing of lively-architecture-like Puritans who will edify. The aim of teaching for the Puritan builder-teacher is (through godly empowerment) to produce more builders, who, like the teacher himself, will perform in their living to God the work of Christian art. Here no material building results from the work of art.

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[282] Increase Mather, "Epistle Dedicatory," in Cotton Mather, *Ecclesiastes. The Life of the Reverend & Excellent, Jonathan Mitchel* (Boston, 1697), 28.

[283] Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana*, 4:187.

In a lengthy Latin epitaph on Increase Mather published at the end of Cotton Mather's filiopietistic biography (*Parentator*, 1724), Cotton's brother Samuel incorporates the following comment: "*Non tantum Lapides dolavit, / sed et Architectos fabricavit*" [Not merely to shape stones / but to build builders].[284] **(Figure 113)** Although the Latin term "Architectos" is used here and above (by Increase Mather to describe Jonathan Mitchel), the term does not necessarily carry the same associations as "architect" in English; I have found not a single instance of Puritans using the English word architect to refer to a godly Christian. Samuel Mather speaks to the shaping of Christian character that is Puritan pedagogy—in these lines he references Increase's involvement with Harvard College. Samuel reports on Increase's facility in the art of good conduct; in shaping his students, Increase fashioned them not into mere stones, rather into living, breathing builders. In imitating Increase, their teacher-builder, they themselves are said to become skillful and worthy to fashion the next generation of Puritans. Even as the Harvard student is construed as the work of art, even so, the student becomes, at once, an active subject and artist-pedagogue. Like Cotton Mather had in his elegy in the *Vigilantius*, Samuel Mather goes on in his epitaph on Increase to underline how a man as learned as Increase still knew his priorities with regard to art: "*In Caeteris Artibus peritus; / In Arte Deo Vivendi petitissimus / Multijuga Eruditione florentissimus*" [Learned in other liberal arts, / Learned most in one art, / the art of Godly living].[285] **(Figure 114)**

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[284] Samuel Mather, "*Epitaphium*," in Cotton Mather, *Parentator* (Boston, 1724), n.p. Note that William Scheick translates these lines more indirectly: "Not only did he sculpt students, / but sculptors of students did he make." See Increase Mather and Cotton Mather, *Two Mather Biographies: 'Life and Death' and 'Parentator,'* ed. William J. Scheick (Bethlehem, Penn.: Lehigh University Press, 1989), 218.

[285] Samuel Mather, "*Epitaphium*," n.p. This English translation is Scheick's. See Increase Mather and Cotton Mather, *Two Mather Biographies*, 219.

In his life of the English minister, Thomas Hill, in *A Collection of the Lives of Ten Eminent Divines*, Samuel Clarke writes of his subject's investment in teaching/tutoring students at Emmanuel College at Cambridge, terming Hill a "wise Master-builder" and referring to his work there as the "polishing of builders."[286] **(Figure 115)** The minister as "wise Master-builder" and "polisher of builders" is aptly compared to the description of Increase Mather as a "builder of builders," as well as to the Mathers on Preston, Mitchel, and Oakes as shapers of builders and/or artificers. In this collection of biographies, Clarke later refers to "St. Paul" as a "Master-builder," too.[287] Here, as in the previous passages, Puritan authors elide architectural reification—the object of edificatory action is a subject; builders model living buildings who are also builders. And an insistence that the material making of houses and/or church buildings is "mere" operates (discursively) to circumscribe—indeed to circumcise—the significance of physical architecture.

Like the discourse of the art of living to God as a whole (of which it is a part), Puritan edification serves as a negotiation of the Calvinist doctrine of predestination which, though it disallows the possibility of the assurance of salvation through good works, also extols goodness and virtuous action and allows that visible signs of Christic incorporation might be vectors demonstrating probability of election. Further, edification is conditioned by a desire for liberation from aspects of the Anglican ecclesiastical establishment and a desire for the proliferation, or the "dissemination," of "godly" religion. Edification displaces a focus on the authoritative bodies of Catholic and Anglican ecclesial figureheads with a focus on the materially absented body of Christ.

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[286] Clarke, *Lives of Ten Eminent Divines*, 86.

[287] Ibid., 145

The more Puritan believers conform themselves to the transcendent, missing body of Christ, the more they (somehow) go missing as material bodies themselves.

The stress Puritan writers lay on materially liberated architectural action should give us pause with respect to the materialist analysis of Puritan culture. For scholars in the early twenty-first century, it is impossible to lose sight of the very material ways in which Puritan anti-architecture was developed and disseminated. To return to the book with which I began, sent as a gift from Cotton Mather to "John Winthrop," Mather's efforts to have the book published and to dispatch it to Winthrop are the result of a complex web of material relations—social, economic, political—and to us the creation of a book is unquestionably a material process. *The Christian Temple* is an object designed to edify—a so-called edifying text. In terms of the role of man-made material architecture in the production and consumption of *The Christian Temple*, from Cotton Mather's diary (for us itself a material thing) we know that the book was conceived as an essay and never delivered as a sermon.[288] In this sense, it was alienated from the physical space of the meetinghouse.

But it is probable that Mather composed the essay in the study of his house in the North End of Boston, and that it was then printed within and distributed from man-made material buildings by Bartholomew Green. The text was sent to a "John Winthrop," who would have received and (maybe) have read it in his own man-made material house. According to Mather's essay, both he and Winthrop can understand themselves—or, the best versions of themselves—as living architecture. From the perspective of the Puritan discourse of edification they are, then, animated Puritan architecture living in dead

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[288] See Cotton Mather, *Diary of Cotton Mather* (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1957), 1:524-525.

houses. One begins to see the complexities involved in analyzing the role of material things and material architecture in the advancement of Puritan anti-architecture. Our own perspective as humanities scholars will tend to lay emphasis on material signification. Thus material social relations, the materiality of print, the Puritans' physical houses, and the heavy black ink constituting the word "Humility" as it is printed in Mather's *Vigilantius* elegy will be as important (if not more so) than the message conveyed by the use of that black ink, which is in its essence anti-material and anti-architectural.

Building Part 2

Puritans wanted to be living stones. As the cornerstone of their faith, Christ was the beginning of the foundation, the basis from which all else was built.[289] 1 Peter 2:4-5 reads, "To whom coming, *as unto* a living stone, disallowed indeed of men, but chosen of God *and* precious, Ye also, as lively stones, are built up a spiritual house, an holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ." The saints were Peter-like, chosen by Christ, and the collection of individual believers was the foundation of Puritan religion. Puritans may have discarded the Roman Catholic belief that the pope was the figure who carried on Peter's status as the rock of Christian religion, but as with many of the aspects of Catholic religion rejected by them, they developed their own version of a theology of building to displace that of Catholics.

The Boston minister, John Cotton, utilized the trope of the living stone when writing of the Hartford divine, Samuel Stone, in 1652:

How well (dear Brother) art thou called *Stone*?

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[289] On Christ-as-cornerstone, see Gerhard B. Ladner, "The Symbolism of the Biblical Cornerstone in the Medieval West," *Medieval Studies* 4 (1942): 43-60.

> As sometimes Christ did *Simon Cephas* own.
> A *Stone* for solid firmness, fit to rear
> A part in *Zions* wall : and it upbear
> Like *Stone* of *Bohan*, Bounds fit to describe,
> ’Twixt Church and Church, as that ’twixt Tribe and Tribe.
> Like *Samuel’s Stone*, erst *Eben-Ezer* hight;
> To tell the Lord hath helpt us with his might.
> Like *Stone* in *Davids* sling, the head to wound
> Of that huge Giant-Church, (so far renownd)[290] **(Figure 116)**

Samuel Stone becomes many different biblical stones, attacking and displacing those of the Catholic Church, figured here as Goliath. In the funerary literature on Stone, another writer (“E.B.”) puns on Stone’s name: “A *Squared Stone*, became Christs Building rare; / A *Peter’s Living lively Stone*, (so Reared).”[291] Elect Puritans formed a “*Living, lively*” temple building that competed with more worldly temples.

The living or lively stone had its lesser counterpart: the “dead stone.” As Thomas Hill had put it at the end of *The Season for Englands Selfe-Reflection, and Advancing Temple-Work*, delivered before Parliament in 1644 in the midst of the English Civil War, “The Apostle [i.e. Paul] represents Christ as the *Living Stone*, and if you come to him as *lively stones*, yee are built *up a spirituall house*; Temple-worke will not bee advanced by *dead stones*.”[292] **(Figure 117)** And in a sermon dating to 1650, the English Puritan minister, John Owen, writes of edification:

> Jesus Christ is the *Builder* of this House…This is a not a *Fabrick* for any workman but Christ. It is true, there are others imployed under him: and some so excellent, that they may be said to be *wise master-builders*, 2.*Cor*.3.10. But yet all the *Efficacy* of the labour in this building is not from themselves, but meerly from him, by whom they are imployed…If

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[290] John Cotton, “To my Reverend Dear Brother, M. Samuel Stone, Teacher of the Church at Hartford,” in Samuel Stone, *A Congregational Church Is a Catholike Visible Church* (London, 1652), n.p.

[291] E.B., quoted in Jeffrey A. Hammond, *The American Puritan Elegy: A Literary and Cultural Study* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 114.

[292] Thomas Hill, *The Season for Englands Selfe-Reflection, and Advancing Temple-Work* (London, 1644), 37.

> *dead stones* live, it must be, by *hearing the voyce of the Son of God*.[293] **(Figure 118)**

In this passage Owen develops an architectural version of the idea of borrowed light.[294] Such light makes the living stone warm, and warmth is a quality that separates the living from the dead stone. In a 1682 treatise, John Flavel writes, "If thou lay thine hand upon a stone wall, and feel it warm, thou mayest conclude the Sun beams have shone upon it; for warmth is not naturally in dead stones. Our love to God is but the reflex beam of his love to us, and we know there can be no reflex without a direct beam."[295] **(Figure 119)**

An interesting manuscript survives in the collections of the Connecticut Historical Society in which the term, "dead stones," is used. Adam Blakeman and Thomas Hanford, ministers at Stratford and Norwalk, Connecticut, respectively, coauthored a long letter to the Connecticut General Court in the winter of 1664-65 concerning the membership policy for the Congregational church. The Court was attempting to liberalize membership by approving the so-called "Half-Way Covenant." This would allow children of the second generation of Puritans in New England to attain church membership because their parents had themselves "covenanted." Blakeman and Hanford were conservatives who disagreed with the Half-Way Covenant. They wrote the following, voicing their opposition:

> But if the 2d Generation, doe reteine their membership, by virtue of their first Parents Couenanting for them in their minoritye, then in case all those Proparents be deceased, the 2d Generation would bee a true Church without any farther act or Couenanting; If they bee a true Church then,

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[293] John Owen, *The Branch of the Lord, The Beauty of Sion* (Edinburgh, 1650), 27.

[294] See the "Shining (after Copernicus)" section of my second chapter.

[295] John Flavell, *Two Treatises: The First, Of Fear…The Second, The Righteous Mans Refuge in the Evil Day* (London, 1682), 256.

> they haue full power to transact all church affaires, & acts of discerning; but from those acts they are excluded (by some) yet accounted Compleat members; which is as much as to say there is a Compleat Church where there is nothing but a company of dead stones, & no Possibility of acting in Church affaires: And will not this make way or Classes, & to exercise the power of Churches, which (according to christ) should be exercised within themselues & so the ordinance of christ be made of none effect? against which the Churches haue testifyed both in profession & practise. And if we build againe the things wee haue destroyed, shall wee not be Transgresors?[296]

To be a "company of dead stones" was to assume the mere appearance of the collective building blocks of the true temple. It was to be part of an improper, because structurally unsound, building. Those who embraced the Half-Way Covenant argued that being so covenanted they were as much potential living stones as the fully covenanted were. The Puritans who were labeled dead stones, whatever the reasons for them being so labeled, were thought of as surface without substance.

The metaphor of the self-as-stone was inherently communal. The temple edifice that the living stones constituted was made of many stones, stones that worked together and were supportive of one another.[297] In *Of Plymouth Plantation*, that colony's second governor, William Bradford, utilized this concept as a part of a historical rhetoric. He describes the Pilgrims' rationale for leaving Leiden (in the Netherlands) and coming to America: "Lastly (and which was not least), a great hope and inward zeal they had of laying some good foundation, or at least to make some way thereunto, for the propagating and advancing the gospel in the kingdom of Christ in those remote parts of the world;

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[296] The Connecticut Historical Society, MSS General Assembly, Folder 1631-1699, quoted in G. William Beardslee and William M. Baillie, "'A Company of Dead Stones': The Half-Way Covenant and Conservative Dissent," *Connecticut Historical Society Bulletin* 57:3-4 (1992): 135.

[297] On the collectivity of Puritan selfhood, see William J. Scheick, "Standing in the Gap: Urian Oakes's Elegy on Thomas Shepard," *Early American Literature* 9:3 (1975): 301-306.

yea, though they should be but even as stepping-stones unto others for the performing of so great a work."[298]

The pillars that stood in the Temple as described in the Bible were named Jachin and Boaz. **(Figure 120)** They were architectural forms personified, representing the uprightness and strength upon which the Temple was founded. In Puritan practical theology godly Puritans are frequently described as pillars. Heaven's gain was the earthly community's loss, and Puritan writers refer to the deaths of important community members, especially men with leadership roles, as missing and/or displaced pillars. Samuel Willard writes, "When a Saint *Dies* there is manifold ground of mourning; there is then a Pillar pluckt out of the Building, a Foundation Stone taken out of the Wall."[299] Upon the death of Thomas Savage of Boston, Willard wondered, "When the Pillars are gone, how shall the building stand?…When the Wall is pluckt down and the hedge is removed, who shall keep out the Bore of the Wilderness."[300] He incorporates a reference to the ordering capacity of the hedge, juxtaposing it with the ordering power of a person-as-pillar. (Bear this in mind when, in short order, I discuss edification and/as planting.) One writer hails Governor John Winthrop the Younger of Connecticut a "pretious Pillar in his earthly station."[301] The minister and early president of Harvard College, Charles Chauncy, termed his fellow minister, John Davenport, of New Haven, Connecticut, a

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[298] William Bradford, quoted in *Puritans in the New World*, 19.

[299] Samuel Willard, quoted in *The Puritans: A Sourcebook of Their Writings*, ed. Perry Miller and Thomas E. Johnson (New York: Harper and Row, 1963), 371-374.

[300] Ibid.

[301] Quoted in Hammond, *American Puritan Elegy*, 114.

"strong pillar" or "validam…columnam" who had fallen.[302] The godly person as a pillar or a column is a kind of vertical hyphen, connecting the earthly and the heavenly spheres. The person pillar is an "I," but a type of "I" that depends upon self-cancellation (a "Not I, but Christ").

Chauncy himself was the subject of the most elaborate expression of edificatory selfhood created in the culture of New England Puritanism. Edward Taylor, who as a student had known Chauncy at Harvard, composed a complex building-shaped elegy upon Chauncy's death in 1671 that is the earliest known Anglo-American pattern poem.[303] **(Figure 121)** Pattern poetry (in Latin *carmina figurata)* is the forerunner of modern concrete poetry, and it uses shape both to constrain one's versifying and to create meaning visually in a way that most other poems do not.[304] In pattern poetry verses are organized to form a picture and the picture typically relates to the topic or content of the poem.

We have many English pattern poems from the seventeenth century—a famous example is the metaphysical poet, George Herbert's "Easter Wings," which appeared in *The Temple*, a collection of poems published posthumously in 1633.[305] **(Figures 122 and**

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[302] Charles Chauncy, quoted in Hammond, *American Puritan Elegy*, 114.

[303] On Taylor's early life, including his years at Harvard, see Edward Taylor, *The Diary of Edward Taylor*, ed. with intro. Francis Murphy (Springfield, Mass: Connecticut Valley Historical Museum, 1964).

[304] The best book-length source on pattern poetry in English is Dick Higgins, *Pattern Poetry: Guide to an Unknown Literature* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1987). See also Dick Higgins, "Foreword" (Special Issue: "Pattern Poetry: A Symposium"), *Visible Language* 20:1 (Winter 1986): 5-7; Ulrich Ernst, "The Figured Poem: Towards a Definition of Genre," *Visible Language* 20:1 (Winter 1986): 8-27; and Higgins, "The Corpus of British and Other English Language Pattern Poetry," *Visible Language* 20:1 (Winter 1986): 28-51. (This is, in fact, the same Dick Higgins who was involved in the Fluxus movement.)

[305] George Herbert, *The Temple* (Cambridge, Eng., 1633), 34-35. According to Higgins there are no known English pattern poems dating from the eighteenth century. See Higgins, *Pattern Poetry*, 105. I myself know

123) Taylor was very much interested in Herbert's poetry. The relation of shape to textual content in "Easter Wings" is key to the poem's meaning. In the most basic sense, its two stanzas each take the shape of bird's or angel's wings and relate to the writer's desire to combine/fly in closeness with God, and to the spiritual elevation with which meditative poetry could supply a writer. As the lines contract, moving toward the center of each of the two pages, Herbert describes fallen man's loss of the originary image of God as both impoverishment and thinning. The broadest parts of each of the two stanzas, which read as the outer edges of wings, use linear lengthening to connote rising, flight, and growth in Christ.

Another well-known example of early modern English pattern poetry is Robert Herrick's "The Pillar of Fame," which appears at the end of his important collection entitled *Hesperides* (1648).[306] **(Figure 124)** In this poem Herrick compares and contrasts the resilience of the written word as an expression of fame with that of the sculptural monument. From Horace's "*exegi monumentum*" in the *Odes* to Shakespeare's 55th Sonnet, writers have made the claim that man-made stone and metal monuments are more susceptible to deterioration over time than works of literary genius.[307] I introduce Herrick here to better describe how Taylor's building elegy both grows out of and diverges from

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of no eighteenth-century American pattern poems. Although Higgins asserts that the earliest American pattern poem is an "elaborate acromesotelestic" by Edward Taylor dating to 1674, Taylor's building elegy on Charles Chauncy dates two years earlier. From what I have found in the existing scholarly literature on Taylor's poetry, the building elegy is not identified as pattern poetry. See ibid., 110.

[306] Robert Herrick, *Hesperides* (London, 1648), 398.

[307] See William Shakespeare, *The Poems and Sonnets of William Shakespeare* (Ware, Hertfordshire, UK: Wordsworth Editions Ltd, 1994), 30; and Horace, *The Odes of Horace*, intro. David Ferry (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1997). Shakespeare's engagement with the Horatian *exegi monumentum* is related to the development of the "Shakesperean epitaph." See Simon Watney, "Sky Aspiring Pyramids: Shakespeare and 'Shakespearean' Epitaphs in Early Stuart England," *Church Monuments* 20 (2005): 103-116. On words against things, see also Peter Schwenger, "Words and the Murder of the Thing," in *Things*, ed. Bill Brown (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 135-149.

this strand of early modern British poetry. The *exegi monumentum* is itself a kind of poetic iconoclasm. In the spirit of the *exegi monumentum*, Taylor's elegy supplants a stone monument as a memorialization of Chauncy. On the other hand, Taylor's poem figures Chauncy's work as an artist or artificer in building up Christ and the Church, rather than building up himself. In this sense, Taylor is very different from both Shakespeare and Herrick, whose interest in fame (to a Puritan such as Taylor) would seem much more self-interested or worldly. As we will see, Taylor goes to some lengths to show how Chauncy when built up as a building is nevertheless at odds with himself—a vexed version of individuated personhood.

Before further discussing and analyzing Taylor's building elegy, I would like to provide some examples of how Taylor's interest in edification manifests itself in his other (i.e. non-building-shaped) poetry—first, I want to look at the verses he composed upon the death of Zechariah Symmes, who was pastor of the Church of Christ at Charlestown, Massachusetts, and died in 1670/71. **(Figure 125)** Taylor writes of God's/Christ's architectural desires:

> [He'd have] them build his house complete, compact,
> [Measures the]n gave them on the mount exact
> [The whic]h they tended. & this Sims (alass
> [He ha]th laid down his Square) a Builder was
> [As well as] Pillar, & a Builder who
> [Both built], & long up[held] the building too.[308]

As characterized by Taylor, Symmes is both a builder and a building. It is important to realize, as well, that Taylor is playing on Symmes's first name, Zechariah, the Old Testament prophet whose biblical narrative is organized around the building of the Temple in Jerusalem.

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[308] Taylor, *Minor Poetry*, 21.

We have already seen in the memorial tributes to Samuel Stone that witty play on people's names is common in Puritan poetry. Another edification-related elegy by Taylor from this early period incorporates verses derived from anagrams on the subject, John Allen's surname. Allen was a Puritan pastor who lived and worked at Dedham, Massachusetts, and he died in 1671. Taylor writes,

> The GRACES ALL ON Allen showing bright
> Are calld ALL IN bed, & bid Good night
> *** of *** builder *** building
> Temples for Christ, who builded builders yielding
> Of him a testimony full, & just,
> Hath Pitcht his Tabernacle in the Dust.[309]

The Puritan cultural investment in shining comes together with edification in this elegy, so that Allen as builder-building is likewise said to have "showed bright" in graces.

We can see that even when he is not writing pattern poems Taylor—especially in his early poetry—is preoccupied with edification. Indeed edification becomes for him a topic for thinking through the practice of poetic composition (which is itself a kind of literary "building").[310] The acrostic is the primary unit of the shaped poem in early modern English literature.[311] Most acrostics use basic biographical information, especially the name, to form a single vertical column, from which the rest of the poem is then derived. See, for instance, the painted acrostic epitaph on merchant William Smart (died 1599) in the church of Saint-Mary-le-Tower at Ipswich, Suffolk. (**Figure 126**) A

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[309] Ibid., 31.

[310] Emily Dickinson is the nineteenth-century heir of Taylor's edificatory poetics. For a thought-provoking rumination on architecture and/in Dickinson's poetry, see Diana Fuss, "Dickinson's Eye: The Dickinson Homestead, Amherst, Massachusetts," in *The Sense of an Interior: Four Writers and the Rooms That Shaped Them* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 23-69.

[311] For an interesting collection of acrostics on Queen Elizabeth I, see Sir John Davies, *Hymnes of Astræa, in Acrosticke Verse* (London, 1599). The acrostic columns for these verses all read "ELISA BETHA REGINA."

New England Puritan example appears at lower right in **Figure 127**, a broadside elegy on Lydia Minot of Dorchester, Massachusetts, who died in 1667. One finds three anagrams on the lower half of the page, as well.[312] I illustrate this elegy on Minot in particular to point out that although Puritan women are rarely, if ever, called "pillars" or "columns" in Puritan biographical literatures, acrostic poetry makes the visual argument that, like men, they might be regarded as pillar-like or columnar.

The literary historian, Jeffrey Hammond, has observed that acrostics "found precedent in the alphabetical verses of Lamentations and in nine Psalms in which each line begins with the succeeding letter in the Hebrew alphabet (Psalms 9, 10, 25, 34, 37, 111, 112, 119, and 145)."[313] Thus the Bible provided a pattern for the pursuit of this type of verse. In his elegy on Charles Chauncy, Edward Taylor deploys a highly elaborate "Quadruble Acrostick" to create the building elegy's structure. Prior to developing his elegy on Chauncy, Taylor composed a triple acrostic elegy on Francis Willoughby, Deputy Governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, who died in 1671. **(Figure 128)** (Note: this elegy on Willoughby is replete with descriptions of the subject's lapidary sparkling.) Taylor uses Willoughby's full name ("FRANCIS WILLOUGHBY") to create the poem's three columns. We might think of this elegy as a kind of close-up of part of a building, showing, say, a section of a colonnade. With his elegy on Chauncy, Taylor

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[312] In Puritan anagrams letters of a deceased person's name, if (un)scrambled, could reveal instructive yet previously hidden messages. Some examples: Benjamin Tompson's anagram on Elizabeth Tompson: "o i am blest on top"; John Wilson's three anagrams based on the Latin form of John Norton's name: "Nonne is honoratus?" ("is he not to be honored?"), "Jesu! Annon Thronos?" ("Jesus! Is not [yours] the throne?"), and "Annon Jesu Honor Sit?" ("Is there not to be honor to Jesus?"); and John Wilson's English anagram on Norton: "Into Honnor." See Kenneth B. Murdock, *Literature and Theology in Colonial New England* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949), 9; *Early American Latin Verse, 1625-1825: An Anthology*, ed., with intro. and notes Leo M. Kaiser (Chicago: Bolchazy-Carducci, 1984), 14; and Murdock (as in this note), 90-91. All quoted in Hammond, *American Puritan Elegy*, 173.

[313] Hammond, *American Puritan Elegy*, 172. Hammond supplies examples of acrostics on 172-173.

zooms out to provide a view of the entire side elevation of a building. The poem relates specifically to the forms of early brick buildings at Harvard. Taylor almost surely modeled the poem's overall shape on a Harvard College building that is now destroyed, though similar to the side elevations of Massachusetts Hall, for instance, which was built from 1718-20 and still stands in Harvard Yard today. **(Figure 129)**

The framing members of the superstructure of the building read "CHARLES CHA / VNCY." And down below in the three columns there: "PRESIDENTD Y ED / ACALINCHVRCHES / [ACALINCHVRCHES]." Where the superstructure meets the substructure, Taylor has indicated that the "Trible" of the "Quadruble Acrostick" "is an anagram": "Charles Chauncy" becomes "A Call in Churches."[314] Whereas the textual content of this elegy is not especially rich in overtly architectural associations, the poem is, through its shape, a part of Taylor's edificatory writings. The building's roof is peculiarly truncated, and this may be Taylor cropping the pitch of Chauncy's "roofing." That Taylor has almost certainly used a side elevation rather than a façade as a basis for the elegy is significant. In doing this he associates his poetic practice and the presentation of godly examples with the indirect (unfrontal, or not facing) view.

One topic through which Puritan ministers think about and theorize formalism is the architectural frontispiece. Note that the word "frontispiece" is employed in early modern England to refer first to the heavily designed and ornamented architectural "face" of a building, and only secondarily to what we now call the "frontispiece" of a book. Indeed, within books frontispieces are now termed frontispieces because of the

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[314] In the *Oxford English Dictionary* "trible" is related to the words "treble" and "triple." As such, it means "consisting of three members." Taylor refers to the tripartite structure of the lower half of the poem.

development in the early modern period of an architectonic type of title page.[315] In *The Godly Mans Picture, Drawn with a Scripture-Pensil* (1666), Thomas Watson describes the character of "the godly man," distinguishing it from that of the sinner. **(Figure 130)** Watson refers several times herein to the architectural frontispiece. Early in the work he writes, "The godly are as well an *Holy* as a Royal Priesthood, I. *Pet*. 2. 9. Nor have they only a Frontispiece of holiness like the *Egyptian Temples*, which were fair without; but they are like *Solomons Temple*, which hath gold within; they have written upon their heart *Holiness to the Lord*: The holiness of the Saints consists in their conformity to Gods Will, which is the rule and pattern of all Holiness."[316] For an example of the type of Egyptian temple frontispiece Watson means, see **Figure 131**, which shows the frontispiece of the Great Temple at Abu Simbel.

Puritan theologians are preoccupied with theorizing the art of living to God in terms of architectural integrity, contrasting it with the hypocrisy of the sinner, which is epitomized in connection with the masking function of the architectural frontispiece. Later in *The Godly Mans Picture*, Watson writes of how the "godly man is much in closet-prayer":

> Hypocrites, who have nothing of religion, besides the frontispiece, love to bee seen. Christ hath Characterized them, *Mat*. 6. 5. *They love to pray in the corners of the streets*, *that they may be seen:* The hypocrite is devout in the Temple; there all will gaze on him; but he is a stranger to secret communion with God; he is in the Church a Saint, but in his closet an Atheist; a good Christian holds secret intelligence with heaven…[317]

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[315] On the early history of title pages in Europe, see Margaret M. Smith, *The Title-Page, Its Early Development, 1460-1510* (New Castle, Del.: Oak Knoll Press, 2000).

[316] Watson, *Godly Mans Picture,* 35.

[317] Ibid., 241.

In the epistle dedicatory to a 1657 sermon based on Psalms 37:37 ("Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright: for the end of that man is peace") and entitled *The Upright Mans Character and Crown* **(Figure 132)**, Watson argues,

> [*I*]*f there be any thing of moment to be look'd after*, *it is* truth in the inward parts, *by this we resemble him who is Truth*; *and without it our title to heaven is but forged…How many glorious frontispieces of profession have fallen*, *because built upon unsound and crack'd foundations*; *it is the designes of this ensuing discourse to Characterize*, *and decipher the* upright man…*We have many sights to be seene in this City*, *but if there be any shew worth seeing*, *it is* to behold the upright man, *who hath the* Spirit of glory, and of God resting on him. *Uprightnesse is that currant coyne which hath Gods impresse stamped upon it*, *and though it may want something of angelical perfection*, *yet it shall alwayes have graines of allowance…*[318]

The upright man is, for Watson, a sight worth seeing, in competition (for the visitor to London's attention) with the man-made material monuments and buildings. He is "*that currant coyne which hath Gods impresse stamped upon it*."

Watson goes on to suggest that a person's frontispiece-like exterior is always an expression of interior character, but following from rather than preceding it:

> The upright man is a pattern of holinesse; he treads evenly; *he walks as Christ did* 1 Joh. 2.8. Though the maine work of Religion lies within, yet *our light must so shine*, that others may behold it; The foundation of sincerity is in the heart, yet its beautiful frontispiece appears in the conversation. The Saints are called jewels, because they cast a sparkling lustre in the eyes of others. An upright Christian is like *Solomons Temple*, gold within and without*:* sincerity is a holy leaven, which if it be in the heart, will work it self into the life, and make it swell and rise as high as heaven, *Phil*.3.20.[319]

Thus, the upright man is a human version of a precious metal (gold) as well as leavened bread dough. He is risen because of his practice of the sincere art of living to God, and

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[318] Thomas Watson, *The Upright Mans Character and Crown* (London, 1657), "Epistle Dedicatory," n.p.

[319] Ibid., 38-39.

his appearance, if it is at all fine, this results from the yeast-like interior working of God of Christ that leads to good practice; appearance is not prior to that working.[320]

Although architectural frontispieces were not in and of themelves heavily coded as Catholic in early Modern England, for many Puritan writers they took on associations of problematic worldly outwardness associated with Catholicism.[321] As a part of the Anglican Counter-Reformation, led by the Archbishop of Canterbury, William Laud, who came to power in the English Church during the 1630s, a number of elaborate (and sometimes quasi-Catholic) frontispieces were constructed in England. Two particularly impressive examples were executed while Laud was Chancellor of the University of Oxford—in quadrangles at St. John's College and Oriel College. **(Figures 133 and 134)** While the St. John's College frontispiece is an example of the importation of Italianate classicism to the British Isles, the latter is much more of a hybrid, combining a kind of ornamental gablework and detailing that is Flemish in origin with both Gothic and Renaissance design elements (with Gothic predominant). The frontispiece from the Front Quadrangle at Oriel College is boldly capped with a chubby statue of the Virgin Mary holding the Christ child. Laud was vehemently anti-Calvinist, and he worked hard to reverse many of the reforms that had been instituted in the English Church under Puritan-leaning leaders such as Elizabeth I, including reforms related to art and architecture.[322]

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[320] For a productive analysis of the relation between interior and exterior as it pertains to Christian image theory, see Jeffrey F. Hamburger, "Visible, Yet Secret: Images as Signs of Friendship in Seuse," *Oxford German Studies* 36:2 (2007): 141-162.

[321] Indeed so-called "Cromwellian classicism" sometimes incorporated highly decorative frontispieces. See Timothy Mowl and Brian Earnshaw, *Architecture Without Kings: The Rise of Puritan Classicism under Cromwell* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1995).

[322] See Graham Parry, *The Arts of the Anglican Counter-Reformation: Glory, Laud and Honour* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: Boydell Press, 2006).

Long after he was beheaded for treason during the English Civil War (in 1645), Laud's reforms remained symbolic, for Puritan writers, of sin and worldliness. Watson's and other Puritan authors' usage of the architectural frontispiece as a figure of hypocrisy or ostentation may well have something to do with Laud's investment in installing major frontispieces at Oxford and elsewhere.

Self-consciousness about the limitations of writing as a form of expression and a sense of his own impotence as a writer often enters into Edward Taylor's poetry. In an excellent essay on the figure of the knot as a model for understanding Puritan literature, Michael Clark describes "the failure of language" as a "popular theme in Taylor's poetry and in that of other religious poets."[323] He calls upon William Ames's concept of the "crucified phrase" to characterize Taylor's poetic self-consciousness.[324] Ames described godly writing as (in Clark's words) "[a] dramatic cancellation of the sensible basis of language and experience."[325] Puritan poetry is, in this respect and according to Clark, "a ritual gesture which cancelled words and things in the sacramental hush of the poem."[326]

In looking at his building elegy, one senses that the production of this poem was for Taylor a kind of ritual gesture, perhaps even a cancellation. Taylor's poem is, among other things, a Puritan version (and displacement) of the tradition of the Catholic chantry in England. Chantries were chapels commissioned in late medieval and early modern England by Catholics so that surviving clergy could say masses and loved ones could say

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[323] Clark, "Honeyed Knot," 77.

[324] William Ames, from *The Marrow of Sacred Divinity*, quoted in ibid., 79.

[325] Clark, "Honeyed Knot," 79.

[326] Ibid., 82.

prayers for the dead.[327] Chantries could be interior to larger church structures, or they could adjoin them. They could also stand on their own. One especially remarkable late medieval chantry that combines poetry and architecture in a complex way is the Clopton chantry chapel adjoining Holy Trinity Church at Long Melford in Essex. **(Figure 135)** Commissioned in the final decade of the fifteenth century by John Clopton, the chapel's interior bears two still-legible sets of verses excerpted and adapted from the writings of the late medieval monk-poet John Lydgate. **(Figure 136)** After Chaucer, Lydgate was perhaps the most important late medieval English poet. Although I will not go into the interrelation of chantry architecture/function and Lydgate's verses here, the literary historian Jennifer Floyd has, in a recent dissertation, underlined the complexity of poetic-architectural coordination at the Clopton chantry.[328]

With the Reformation came the Protestant abandonment of the Catholic doctrine of purgatory, and chantry building and praying for the dead were widely regarded as economical misappropriation and/or idolatry. Henry VIII and Edward VI implemented the Abolition of Chantries Act (1545 and 1547), which eventually led to the disuse of chantries (at least for the purposes for which they were originally designed). Of course colleges and universities were often founded in England as chantries, and the naming of colleges and universities was many times associated with the person to whom masses or prayers should be said. The naming of colleges in the British colonies, such as Harvard, grew out of this practice, which had begun long before the Protestant Reformation. No

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[327] See Simon Roffey, *The Medieval Chantry Chapel: An Archaeology* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: Boydell Press, 2007).

[328] See Jennifer Eileen Floyd, "Writing on the Wall: John Lydgate's Architectural Verse" (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 2008). The ceiling beams of the Clopton chantry bear small scrolls with prayers in Latin. The chapel also houses a late medieval Lily-Crucifixion in stained glass.

college was ever named for Chauncy, and Taylor's poem is very much involved in the iconoclastic displacement of Catholic chantry culture in Protestantism. The builtness of the poem excises, by a "sacramental hush," the more obdurately material builtness of a chantry or college bearing the name Chauncy.

Taylor's building elegy also relates to and diverges from the country house poem, a popular poetic form during the seventeenth century in England.[329] The genre is usually said to begin with Ben Jonson's "To Penshurst" (1616), which praises Robert Sidney by means of attention to his home, Penshurst Place. The country house poem is rooted in classical pastoral poetry by, for example, Horace and Martial. Perhaps the most famous of all country house poems is Andrew Marvell's "Upon Appleton House," composed in the 1650s, though not published until after Marvell's death (in 1681).[330] Marvell's poem uses his patron Thomas, Lord Fairfax's country house, at Nun Appleton in Yorkshire, as the basis for praising him. **(Figure 137)** Taylor's building elegy on Chauncy is, in a way, a sort of anti-worldly Puritan country house poem. Chauncy is worthy of praise not for his material wealth, but because built up in, through, with, and by Christ. The praise is directed ultimately not to Chauncy but to God or Christ, and the pastoral setting is an estate not in Yorkshire but in paradise.

The presentation of a building's side elevation in Taylor's elegy on Chauncy is not a complete and utter "crucifixion" or "cancellation," but it is in something like this spirit that we can understand Taylor's decision not to base the poem on a building's

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[329] For an introduction to and collection of country house poems, see Alastair Fowler, ed., *The Country House Poem: A Cabinet of Seventeenth-Century Estate Poems and Related Items* (Edinburgh, Scotland: Edinburgh University Press, 1994). The classic treatment of this literary form is the Marxian interpretation by Raymond Williams. See Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), esp. 55-59.

[330] See Andrew Marvell, "Upon Appleton House," in *Miscellaneous Poems* (London, 1681), 76-103.

façade.[331] For it is *facing*, above all else, that signified directness of access to God and/or the supernatural in Puritanism. Here Taylor provides an indirect look at a templar Charles Chauncy. If Chauncy's name and title are the basis for the poem's columns, the words that stretch from left to right across the page take the place of windows (as in the side elevation of Massachusetts Hall). And yet words are not simply windows. In the context of Puritan poetry, the word-as-window is likewise a shutter. Michael Clark sums up the self-critical tenor of Puritan poetics by quoting Taylor: "I eate my Word…I now Unsay my Say."[332]

Though it seems to have been uncommon, some Puritans composed acrostics on themselves as a form of meditational writing. Two such auto-acrostics appear in a commonplace-book in the collections of the New England Historic Genealogical Society in Boston.[333] **(Figures 138 and 139)** The man who composed the poems, John Dane, was a Puritan and tailor who lived in Ipswich, Massachusetts, in the late seventeenth century.[334] Both address Dane's relationship to Christ. The second acrostic faces another he has written on the phrase "CHRIST MY RIGHTIOUSNES." **(Figure 140)** It is this form of facing—the facing of the believer and Christ—that provides the model for the anti-formal art of living to God. Dane rehearses edificatory living through writing. He considers what it is to be columnar. Notably, and meaningfully, the column of text

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[331] In this sense Taylor's poem participates in the tradition of the *carmen cancellatum*, a form that became important to Christian devotional writing beginning with the fourth-century poetry (in Latin) of Publilius Optatianus Porfyrius. See Higgins, *Pattern Poetry*, 25-53.

[332] Edward Taylor, quoted in Clark, "Honeyed Knot," 82.

[333] John Dane, "John Dane commonplace-book, 1682," New England Historic Genealogical Society, Boston.

[334] See John Dane, "A Declaration of Remarkable Providences in the Course of My Life," *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 8 (April 1854): 149-156.

constituting Dane's acrostic on Christ is much longer than the column of text constituting either of the acrostics on his own name.

Before I move on to a discussion of the importance of planting to the theorization of edification, I want to compare the Puritan theological investment in a type of building that does not result in the production of a durable structure to a similar building project in the annals of performance art: namely, Allan Kaprow's 1967 happening called *Fluids.* The text of the flyer advertising the happening, which took place in and around the city of Los Angeles, reads as follows: "During three days, about twenty rectangular enclosures of ice blocks (measuring about 30 feet long, 10 wide and 8 high) are built throughout the city. Their walls are unbroken. They are left to melt." **(Figure 141)** In the fugitivity of the act of building, Kaprow's project resembles the building actions of godly Puritans. It is like Taylor "Unsaying his Say." As with Francis Alÿs's *Paradox of Praxis*, the work is made/unmade by melting. Much as Puritan builders waged their temple-work by building together with Christ and other godly believers, Kaprow enlists other interested parties, through a social compact, to create a communal building action. As I will explore in the conclusion to this dissertation, documentation of art actions in more recent performance practices is, in many respects, an analogue to the biographical literatures of Puritanism, which document the art actions of the godly.[335] **(Figure 142)**

Ingrafting

The Puritan theological concept of edification combines ideas about architecture and horticulture, so that living buildings and builders are also thought of as living plants

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[335] Kaprow's *Fluids* has been re-performed numerous times. For a collection of documents related to one such re-performance, see Allan Kaprow, *Fluids* (Köln: König, 2005).

who are rooted in Christ. Thus the art of living to God is considered a spiritual version of the arts of planting or grafting.[336] (See **Figures 143 and 144** for title pages of two early modern English treatises on these arts.) In thinking about both the lily-likeness and the sunflower-likeness of the godly, we have already observed instances of how the Puritans utilize plant life as a model for spiritual life. "Ingrafting" or "implanting" is the splicing of scion-like believers into Christ as a rootstock. Isaac Ambrose writes of godly living as the "radicat[ion]" (or, taking root) of grace in the souls of believers.[337] Christ is the only medium through which Christians can flourish as plant life, and godly Christians are a medium through which an absented Christ will continue—until the end of time, that is—to present himself/his image to the world.

Thomas Hooker composed two important texts in which the art of living is called the ingrafting or implanting of the believer's soul in Christ.[338] **(Figures 145 and 146)** The Puritan belief in the "naturalness" of Christ as a medium is indicated by the title of the later of the two treatises, *The Soules Implantation into the Naturall Olive* (1640). Ambrose refers relatedly to the "ingrafted word" "written in our souls and in the tables of our hearts; that it may be incorporated and naturalized into our inward man."[339] It has

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[336] On gardening metaphors in Puritanism, especially as they relate to ideologies of colonialism, see Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, "Colonization as Spiritual Gardening," in *Puritan Conquistadors: Iberianizing the Atlantic, 1550-1700* (Stanford, Cal.: Stanford University Press, 2006), 178-214. For the best book-length study regarding American art and planting or gardening, see Alison Syme, *A Touch of Blossom: John Singer Sargent and the Queer Flora of Fin-de-Siècle Art* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010). And for a provocative discussion of ingrafting in the context of early American art, specifically the paintings of John Singleton Copley, see Jennifer L. Roberts, "Failure to Deliver: *Watson and the Shark* and the Boston Tea Party," *Art History* 34:4 (September 2011): 674-695.

[337] Ambrose, *Media*, 87.

[338] See Thomas Hooker, *The Sovles Ingrafting into Christ* (London, 1637); and Hooker, *The Soules Implantation into the Naturall Olive* (London, 1640).

[339] Ambrose, *Media*, 357.

been suggested that the verb "to graft" is connected etymologically to the Greek verb *graphein* ("to write") and to words like "graph" and "graphic"—thus to conceptions of writing or drawing. Indeed, a scion is visually similar to a stylus (*graphion* in Greek), and, it is thought, the practice of grafting may have received its name because of this.[340] If coincidentally, the image appearing in Figure 142 nicely diagrams how scion-like Christians, rooted in Christ, are given life by him. Christ as mediating rootstock is a culturally specific instantiation of twentieth-century communications theorist, Marshall McLuhan's idea that a medium is like fertile potting soil—medium is something that permits growth.[341]

Puritan authors characterize the godly-Christian-as-living-image as a living plant. In the posthumously published *A Meditation of Mans Mortalitie* the Elizabethan Puritan, William Bradshaw, writes of victory over death in Christ: "[L]et vs striue to be Plants in Gods house, liuing Plants, trees of righteousnesse, Planted by the rivers of his Sanctuary. And then wee shall neuer be cut downe*:* Our leaues shall neuer fall, our branches neuer wither."[342] **(Figure 147)** Bradshaw's formulation is reminiscent of the aphorism *Ars longa, vita brevis*, which is the Latin equivalent of an expression from the Greek writings of Hippocrates.[343] In *The Upright Mans Character and Crown*—at which we looked in thinking about anti-formalism and the architectural frontispiece—Thomas Watson writes,

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[340] See "graft," *Oxford Dictionaries* (Oxford Univ. Press, April 2010), accessed December 25, 2012, from http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/graft.

[341] See Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media: the Extensions of Man* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1964); and Mark Federman, "What is the Meaning of The Medium is the Message?" retrieved December 25, 2012, from http://individual.utoronto.ca/markfederman/MeaningTheMediumistheMessage.pdf.

[342] William Bradshaw, *A Meditation of Mans Mortalitie* (London, 1621), 23.

[343] It translates, "Art is long, life is short."

“The Saints are compar’d to *pillars*, Rev. 3.12. the pillar stands upright. Unsound Christians are *ex salice*, like willows which will bend every way, a good Christian is like the *palm tree which grows upright*, Jerem. 10. 5.”[344] The uprightness of pillar or column and the uprightness of the tree are closely connected in this literature. As a building is built up, so a tree grows upward.

Ideas about growth are crucial to the discourse of the art of living. One quality that distinguishes the godly Puritan as living image from man-made material images is its capacity to grow. In his 1657 exposition on the Epistle of Jude, Thomas Manton writes of “*growth in grace*”:

> Where there is *life* there will be *growth*; and if grace be *true*, it will surely *increase*. A *painted flower* keepeth always at the same pitch and stature; the Artist may bestow *beauty* upon it, but he cannot bestow *life:* A *painted child* will be as little ten years hence as it is now. So a pretence to Religion always keepeth at the same stay; yea when their *first heats* are spent, they are *fearfully blasted:* But now they that have *true grace* are compared to a *living plant*, which increaseth in bulk and stature, *Psal* 92.12,13. And to a *living child*, which groweth by receiving kindly nourishment, I *Pet* .2.2.[345] **(Figure 148)**

In a sermon addressing the Lord’s Supper collected in his *Body of Practical Divinity*, Thomas Watson contrasts “living plants” and “dead stones”: “There is a difference between *Dead Stones* and *Living Plants*. The Wicked who are *Stones* receive no spiritual Encrease, but the Godly, who are Plants of Righteousness, being watered with Christ’s Blood, grow more fruitful in Grace.”[346] **(Figure 149)** Fruitfulness—particularly in grace or in good works—is another key quality of the godly Puritan as living plant.

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[344] Watson, *Upright Mans Character and Crown*, 22.

[345] Thomas Manton, *A Practical Commentary, or An Exposition with Notes on the Epistle of Jude* (London, 1657), 118.

[346] Thomas Watson, *A Body of Practical Divinity* (London, 1692), 415.

In *The Sovles Ingrafting into Christ*, Hooker writes that God "breakes the cursed Combination betwixt Sinne and the Soule, hee drawes us from sinne to himself."[347] John Rogers, Puritan pastor at Dedham in Essex, writes similarly of spiritual ingrafting and "drawing" in his *A Godly & Fruitful Exposition Upon All the First Epistle of Peter*: "Another branch of the benefit that believers have, being received of Christ, and united to him, namely, That whereas they were unholy, now he makes them holy; whereas they might not come near God, neither their persons nor their works, now they are advanced to this dignity, to be a Priesthood, and every of them an holy Priest to draw near unto God…"[348] **(Figure 150)** As I have already suggested, there is an important etymological and conceptual connection between the idea of ingrafting and writing/drawing. There is a remarkable theorization of the art of living to God as drawing that appears within the theological writing on edification; drawing not as the movement of a pen or pencil across the surface of a piece of parchment or paper, but as the movement of the believer across the surface of experience nearer to God or Christ (and vice-versa).

In edificatory discussions in *Media: The Middle Things*, Ambrose describes the art of living as "vertuous drawing."[349] And in a 1662 collection of thirty-two sermons on John 6:44 and three sermons on Romans 2:28-29, the English Puritan minister, Richard Vines (with a fitting name for this discussion), defines conversion as "Gods Drawing." **(Figure 151)** Vines opens his main text with John 6:44: "*No man cometh to me*, *except that my Father which hath sent me draw him*." And on the first page "drawing" is

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[347] Hooker, *Sovles Ingrafting*, 2.

[348] John Rogers, *A Godly and Fruitful Exposition Upon All the First Epistle of Peter* (London, 1650), 206.

[349] See, for example, Ambrose, *Media*, 46, 260, 345-346.

equated with "*coming* into Christ upon his Call…and *Conversion* unto God."[350] Vines addresses the challenge of understanding whether it is God or human beings who do the drawing:

> This Conversion sometimes denotes the potent and immediate work of God, renewing and converting; and this is called in my Text Gods *drawing* of a man to Christ in these words, *Except my Father draw him*.
>
> Sometimes it denotes the action of man, converting himself to God, by the Faith and Repentance which he doth receive from God…
>
> In time, these two can hardly be distinguisht; but in order of causality, they are easie to be distinguished one from another. I mean Gods work, converting or drawing man; and mans action, converting and coming unto Christ: The act of man in coming to Christ, thats not first; but the work of God drawing in to Christ, that is first; and the act of mans coming must needs follow; as the Sun must of necessitie first shine upon the wall, before the wall can give or reflect light or heat from it self back again.
>
> *Facti sumus opus Dei*. We are first made the works or workmanship of God; there is Gods drawing. Then (*Facimus opera Dei*) we do the work of God, or walk in the works of God which he hath ordained, *that we should walk in them*, Ephes. 2. 10. There is our coming.[351]

We see, once again, the conjoining of ideas about edification and the borrowed light of living imagistic shining. Vines then proceeds to explain how conversion is new imagistic implantation:

> [A]t the first the Image of God was planted in man by creation; for God created man after his own image: The first man did not work the image of God in himself, but it was planted in him by that creation by which he was made a man: So this conversion comes not by any work of man; this new Image of God is replanted by a second creation: And therefore its said in *Ephes*. 4. 24. *The new man is created after God in righteousness and holiness*. This I speak, to shew that this flower needs not a watering only, but a new plantation in our Garden; that I might bring you to pray, and give God no rest, till you find this work wrought in you.[352]

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[350] Richard Vines, *Gods Drawing, and Mans Coming to Christ* (London, 1662), 1.

[351] Ibid., 2-3.

[352] Ibid., 43-44.

In a related formulation in his *Ta Diapheronta*, Samuel Crook proffers the drawing of sap as a way of thinking about Christic incorporation and living imaging:

> He *liveth* by the true sap of grace drawn effectually from the root…and he groweth up into him in all things from a right inward principle of spiritual life derived to him from Christ, because *partaker of the divine nature*…he as a living member sucks and draws more and more from Christ, as the branches of the Vine from the root; he corrupts it not in the drawing, as the spider in taking in the best juice of the choicest flowers; but, but incorporateth it into himself, and is transformed himself into it, and bears a lively image of him that hath created him unto good works.[353]

Crook correlates drawing and living imaging. A person who is drawn images God, and God draws said lively image.

Vines alludes to prayer and the role it can play in spiritual ingrafting. Puritan theologians often characterize prayer, as well as conversion, as drawing. In a 1666 work by Samuel Whiting, who was pastor of the Puritan congregation at Lynn, Massachusetts, Whiting indicates that there is a correspondence between Christians being drawn in prayer and their possession of God's image upon themselves:

> [T]here's no *drawing near* to God, when the *heart* is gone: there must be something *within*, else the duty of Prayer is but a dumb idol…It is not to *draw near with multitude of words*, as if God made any account of them; he cares not for being loaden with words: they should be *few* when we pray to him, *Eccles.*5.2. *Mat.*6.7. We may be far from God, when we pour out most words before him. This is not to *draw near* to God, when we word it with him…We shall finde, that when we draw nearest unto God we have *most his Image upon us*…[354] **(Figure 152)**

Thus, Whiting comments, one lives most as God's image in drawing near to him… God draws believers, and believers, being drawn, wed themselves to him and his image.

Vines further explains conversion's similarity to the art of grafting:

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[353] Crook, *Ta Diapheronta*, 204. John 15:5: "I am the true vine, and my Father is the husbandman."

[354] Samuel Whiting, *Abraham's Humble Intercession for Sodom* (Cambridge, Mass., 1666), 6-20.

> Christ and a Believer make but one body; Righteousness they have none at all but what they have through him; spiritual and eternal life they have none but what they have from him, as is shewn in *Rom*. 11. 24. by a comparison given of the branches of the tree: *Thou wert cut off from the Olive tree wild by nature*, *and wert grafted contrary to nature in the good olive-tree:* Where you see that conversion of a man to Christ and Gospel-grace is compared to an ingrafting contrary unto nature; for the graft grows not naturally, but contrary to nature; so that there must be a transplantation, a cutting off man from the Crab-tree of natural corruption, that he may, contrary to nature, be planted into Christ Jesus, unto which work, that man is unwilling, may appear by these two expressions, *Thou wert cut off*, and *To be grafted contrary to nature:* For to be cut off by sharpness from a condition to which a man is naturalized, though it be worse, and to be ingrafted contrary to nature, though into a better, man cannot be willing.[355]

Vines calls the possession of man's will by God "a stroak." In early modern English the word stroke carries associations of both pictorial marking—as in the drawing of a line, the painting of a brushstroke, or the carving of a piece of stone—and of the blow that accompanies acts of physical punishment or material damage/destruction. Here, as elsewhere in Puritan practical theology, the living image is said to consist formally, which is to say, anti-formally, of such "stroaks": "It is this drawing you to come to Christ that strikes the stroak; this teaching of God which teaches you to believe, that gives you the particular assurance of salvation. And therefore though God hath sent Christ, yet there are thousands of reprobate and rejected persons in the world. It is Christ in you, and you in him by Faith, that strikes the stroak."[356] Living images, then, are drawings made up of anti-formal strokes; like the grafted scion they have been "cut off

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[355] Vines, *Gods Drawing*, 85-86.

[356] Ibid., 190 (actually 193).

by a sharpness from a condition to which a man is naturalized" (i.e. sinning as formal imaging).[357]

The living image is fruitful. Vines writes, "[M]an doth not work or act that he may be made a new Creature, and walk in Gods way; but first he is made *G*ods workmanship, drawn by Divine grace, and then acts, and brings forth fruit to *G*od…"[358] In the collection of three anti-formalist sermons with which Vines's volume ends, he makes a distinction between "the inward man" and the "outward" qualities of the "painted" "Hypocrite":

> In this inward man, wrought by an inward work, consists the being of a true Christian; for without this he that is called a Christian is no more a Christian than he that acts the part of a King is a King; the name of a Christian is given or may follow from the outward profession, but the nature is in this inward man: He that begets, communicates his Nature to the begotten; he that paints a man imploys Art only, but communicates no Nature*:* God is a Christians new birth, communicates holiness, which is the Divine Nature; but in an Hypocrite there is nothing but Art (as I may say) or some outward work; for the outward forms may be painted, yet inward forms cannot; the lineaments of a Christian may be drawn to the life upon the white wall of an Hypocrite; but the inward man, which that *quod dat esse*, gives being to a Christian, that cannot be, but in a true Christian.[359] **(Figure 153)**

In the following chapter I consider in more detail how Puritans developed models for thinking about the living image's anti-formal form. It is this type of form that separates the godly Puritan as living image from the formal deadness of mere, man-made, material images, to which category sinning persons themselves belong.

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[357] Jennifer Roberts reminded me of the conceptual similarity here to the modern discourse of the image as a "cut" taken out of the world. On the image as cut, see, for example, Rosalind Krauss, "Stieglitz/'Equivalents'," *October* 11 (Winter 1979): 129-140.

[358] Vines, *Gods Drawing*, 226.

[359] Ibid., 326.

Chapter 4 Anti-Formal Form

In Puritan practical theology, the unreliability of physical form as a signifier of the metaphysical, and of formal-analytical procedures as conduits to knowing, means that the reception of godly Puritans as living pictures of God or Christ by viewers is far from straightforward. Is the image of God/Christ within a Christian expressed in the external aspect of the person? If so, what are its forms? How do we describe the anti-formal form (or the artless art) of godly persons as living images in Puritanism?[360]

I propose that Puritan thinkers developed ideas about anti-formal form to clarify and constrain the significance of exemplary persons, who as living images were believed to mediate the image of God or Christ.[361] The iterations of anti-formal form are numerous. We have seen a few of them already—the borrowed light of living imagistic shining; the walking picture as "divine Land-skip"; the low-roofing of living templar building; and the excise strokes of spiritual ingrafting. In this chapter I will discuss five additional versions of anti-formal form: 1, the plainness of showing; 2, poverty and almsgiving as formal subtraction; 3, pictorial abstraction; 4, the art of swimming and/as anti-material drawing; and 5, the interiority of virtuous ornamentation.

Puritans conceived, too, of anti-formal models of reception. As I mentioned in the Introduction, Cotton Mather, for instance, writes of "looking off" as the ideal relation of the godly Christian to material signs, and—in the end—he includes both living and dead images within this category…after all, anti-formal form is still form, and living images

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[360] Martin Berger's work on the tension between, or incompatibility of, the ideology of whiteness and externalization as form has helped me to think about this subject. See Martin A. Berger, *Sight Unseen: Whiteness and American Visual Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).

[361] Louis Marin supplies a helpful rumination on constraint in his writing on the paintings of Caravaggio and Philippe de Champaigne. See Louis Marin, "An Analytic Strategy and a Mythical Ruse," in *To Destroy Painting*, trans. Mette Hjort (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 115-125. I thank Jonathan Bordo for calling Marin's analysis to my attention.

cannot be fully purified of their earthiness. At the end of the chapter I will address writings by Isaac Ambrose, Thomas Watson, and Mather that theorize looking away as the ultimate ideal of Puritan reception.

As I have explained, the godly Puritan becomes a living image of God or Christ by means of the art of living to God. Whereas the living image is aligned with virtue, self-negation, heavenliness, and Christian devotion, the dead image has associations of sin, selfishness, worldliness, and idolatry.[362] There exists a large literature composed by Puritan ministers on sincerity and hypocrisy in which the distinction living versus dead image is discussed. One good example of such writing is Thomas Watson's *The Godly Mans Picture, Drawn with a Scripture-Pensil*. While Watson understands the godly man to be a sincere image, he describes the sinner as similar to man-made pictures, which he labels "dead." Near the beginning of the text, he writes,

> It will first be enquired, *What Godliness is?* I answer in general, Godliness is the sacred impression, and workmanship of God in a man, whereby of carnal he is made spiritual. When Godliness is wrought in a person, he doth not receive a new soul, but he hath *another spirit*, Numb. 14. 24. The *faculties* are not new, but the *qualities*; the Strings are the same, but the Tune is mended.[363]

A few pages later, Watson offers a "*A Reproof to such as are but Pretenders to Godliness*," defining the formalist, a type of sinner preoccupied with saying over doing, outwardness over inwardness, as a person who paints himself and is, thus, a dead painting:

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[362] Although I learned of the book too late to take account of its content and arguments in this dissertation, Amy Powell's *Depositions: Scenes from the Late Medieval Church and the Modern Museum* includes thoughtful discussions of the dead image in the early modern period, as well as interesting homohistorical frameworks for analyzing late medieval and early modern art. See Amy Knight Powell, *Depositions: Scenes from the Late Medieval Church and the Modern Museum* (New York: Zone Books, 2012).

[363] Watson, *Godly Mans Picture*, 5.

> Here is a sharp Reprehension to such as are Alchimy Christians, who do only make a show of godliness…They do not *Virtutem colere*, but *colorare*. In ancient times a third part of the Inhabitants of this Island were called *Picts*, which signifies *painted*; 'tis to be feared they still retain their old name: How many are painted only with the Vermilion of a Profession, whose seeming lustre dazles the eyes of beholders, but within there is nothing but putrefaction.[364]

The distinction Watson draws is between man-made material coloring (*colorare*) and cultivating (or living in) virtue (*Virtutem colere*). Like a painter mixing pigments—painting is often compared to alchemy in early modern art theories—the formalist is a kind of alchemist who attempts to make something precious (virtue, the art of living) out of base materials (vice, sinful practice). Watson's idea that formalists are Picts in their painted outwardness appears here and there throughout Puritan anti-formalist literature, and it allies sinning with ethnic non-Englishness. The Picts were "primitive" people associated with the Irish and the Scottish. **Figure 154** illustrates what is perhaps the most famous image of a Pict created in the early modern period, a watercolor of circa 1585 (now in the collection of the Yale Center for British Art) by the French artist, Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues. "A picture is like a man, but it wants breath," writes Watson later in the text, "The Hypocrite is an Effigies, a picture, he doth not breathe forth Sanctity; he is but like an Angel on a Sign-post: A godly man answers to his profession, as the Transcript to the Original."[365]

Like warmth and growth, breath is a key quality that distinguishes living and dead images in this literature. Ideas of spirit and breath are closely linked both in scripture and in Western thought more generally. In this literature, the breath of the living image is

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[364] Ibid., 8-9.

[365] Ibid., 131-132. Compare this to Thomas Hooker: "But the image of God in *Adam* was like a picture; not a livelesse, but a lively picture." Hooker, *Paterne of Perfection*, 12.

often figured as the possession of fire (i.e. real fire). In his *Ta Diapheronta*, for example, Samuel Crook writes, "[A]n hypocrite can take no great delight in the exact Christian, whose true piety and fire of zeal will too much discover and eclipse his hypocrisie and painted fire."[366] The idea that the art of living of God is the possession of fire is a Puritan take on the Prometheus myth; Prometheus, who stole fire from the gods, is, like Mercury, another type for the early modern artist. The fire of the Puritan artist is not stolen, though, but freely given by God.

Opening Matthew 23:27, Puritan ministers often compare hypocrites to tombs. The passage from Matthew reads, "Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye are like unto whited sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful outward, but are within full of dead men's bones, and of all uncleanness." Crook writes,

> [A]bove all descriptions our Saviours similitude of a painted Sepulcher, bringeth us neerest to the repugnant constitution of this sinner. A *painted Tomb!* …I need not mention those *Mausolœa* and *Pyramides*, at which the world to this day wondreth; every man is willing his Tomb should be fairer then his house…but open these Sepulchers, and their inside is most horrible and loathsome…Tombes give a spectacle to the eye of the beholder, but cannot give life to the interred; so hypocrisie maketh *a faire shew* in the flesh, but the hypocrite remaineth dead in regard of the life of God.[367]

In *The Vain Religion of the Formal Hypocrite* (1660), the English Puritan, Richard Baxter, of the same generation as Thomas Watson, describes formal outwardness in terms of Catholic "*Church-images*":

> *Hypocrisie* is a natural *Popery:* It filleth the places of *worship* with *Images*. Instead of *prayer*, there's the *Image of prayer:* and instead of preaching, hearing, praising God, and other parts of worship, there is the *Image* of worship: and instead of *Christians*, *Believers*, *Saints* (and I was

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[366] Crook, *Ta Diapheronta* , 325.

[367] Ibid., 7.

> going to say, *of men*) there are so many *Images* of these. *Church-images* are usually handsomly *adorned*, and placed in a *posture* of *reverence* and *devotion*; and so are *they*. But *life* they have *none*, but meerly *natural*. They are *seeing*, *hearing*, *speaking Images*: but *Images* they are. They have *eyes*, but *see not*; *ears*, but *hear not*; *hearts*, but *understand not*.[368] **(Figure 155)**

The association of hypocritical Christians with dead "*Church-images*," of their characteristics and behavior with the forms of man-made material drawings, paintings, and sculptures, is found throughout Puritan literature, from the late sixteenth century well into the eighteenth century. As I suggested in the Introduction, anti-formalism is a vital disposition or practice that makes Puritanism a coherent tradition.

Baxter further underlines the distinction between living and dead images: "Children can make them a baby of clouts*:* And the statuary can make a man of Alabaster or stone: But none can give life, which is essential to a man indeed, but God. There needeth the Spirit of the living God, by a supernatural operation, and a kind of new creation, to make a man a real holy Christian."[369] Like Richard Vines, Baxter allies sincere Christianity with a kind of anti-formal integrity:

> Thy Religion must be as the *heart* in thy breast, which is alwaies working, and by which thou livest; which cannot stop long, but thou wilt die. But the Hypocrites Religion is like the *Hat* upon his head, for ornament and shelter from the weather, and not for life*:* in the night when none seeth him he can lye without it; and in the day he can put it off for the sake of a friend, and perhaps stand bare in the presence of a greater person that expecteth it. So can the Hypocrite too oft dispense with his Religion.[370]

One of the most concise yet potent statements of Puritan anti-formalism can be found in John Preston's 16-page treatise, *The Deformed Forme of a Formall Profession*,

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[368] Richard Baxter, *The Vain Religion of the Formal Hypocrite* (London, 1660), 73-74.

[369] Ibid., 107-108. "Clouts" refers to rags or small pieces of cloth.

[370] Ibid., 268-269.

published posthumously in Edinburgh in 1632. Preston contrasts the integral colors of sincere Christianity with the “washie colours” of formalism: “[W]hat is meant by the power of *Godlynesse*, and for that you shall know there is G*odlynes*, which is not only in words and complements, but in deed and truth, for it not onely puts upon a man a washie colour of perfection, but dyes his heart in grai[n]e in holynesse.”[371] Preston later calls outward Christianity a “bare picture,” which has the “outward lineaments of nature,” but lacks substance or life.[372]

In contrast to the hypocrite, a decidedly dead image, the godly Puritan inhabits the spiritual image of God by the work of art. Preston writes,

> [T]hou art able to abstaine from sins by nature, but *godlynes* as we say of Physicke, helpes when nature failes, and as although a naturall man with his sight see far, but with an optick glasse see further, so when nature falls short, Art helpes, as though by nature a man may measure or count, yet if he comes to a large piece of ground, or a great summe, Art is required, so though thou mayest do many things by nature, yet when *godlines* comes, it helpes out in things wherein nature failes, as *Sampson* could doe many ordinary things by his owne strength, but when he came to take downe or cary away the gates of a citty, and to pull downe an house, it is still said, *the spirit of the Lord came upon him*, *the Lord went with him*, and even so it is heere.[373]

Alluding to medicine, as well as optics and mathematics—the latter typically considered part of the liberal arts in this period—Preston indicates that the art of living to God effects liberation from base material existence (that liberation being regeneration, material existence being sinfulness).

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[371] Preston, *Deformed Forme*, n.p.

[372] Ibid., n.p.

[373] Ibid., n.p.

It is no coincidence that Preston draws on stories of Samson destroying physical structures in defining this art—the art of living is supernatural, iconoclastic, and anti-material (or anti-formal). The Book of Judges relates that in his battles against the Philistines, Samson tears down the Gates of Gaza, and at the end of his life, after being blinded, he destroys a temple dedicated to the Philistine deity Dagon. It is notable that in the latter feat Samson himself is killed. This is one of a number of biblical narratives in which idol destruction and self-annihilation are wed, and these narratives provide a medium through which iconoclastic Puritans can think about anti-materialism and a particular type of selfless selfhood as conjoined. The Christian self that is sought by the Puritan artist is both anti-idol and anti-self. The imitation of Christ—which as we have seen is the main model for artful behavior according to Puritan theologians—is hitched to *kenosis*, or self-emptying—and this self-emptying is a kind of idol destruction—with the selfish self as the primary idol for Puritans. The more Christ-like one becomes, the more akin to nothing (that is, "no thing").

Despite the anti-materialism of the art of living, one finds, perhaps surprisingly, that Puritan writers describe the godly Christian, the artful person who imitates Christ, as a draughtsman or painter. Rather than making material pictures of Christ, though, by the acting of God within them godly persons inscribe his image into their practice of living, becoming pictures of Christ themselves. Watson writes, "The knowledge of a godly man is transforming, 2 *Cor*. 3. 8. *We all with open face*, *beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord*, *are changed into the same Image*. As a Painter, looking upon a face, draws the face like it in the Picture: So looking upon Christ in the glass of the Gospel, we are changed into his similitude."[374] We find similar formulations in the printed works of later New England Puritans. In *Man's Chief End to Glorifie God*, published in Boston in 1689, John Bailey, pastor at Watertown, Massachusetts, writes, "[I]f Christ be not your *principle* and *patern*, he will not be your *price*, you ought to walk as he walked, to be daily *Looking* unto him, *Heb* 12.2. as a man that's drawing a Picture, or a School-boy at his Copy."[375] **(Figure 156)** (I quoted from Cotton Mather's funeral sermon on Bailey at the beginning of my Introduction.) Bailey cites Hebrews 12:2 in this passage, which concerns looking to, or fixing one's eyes upon, Christ.

In picturing Christ through their actions, godly Christians bear anti-formal qualities associated with sincerity. Puritans do not only understand sinful formalists in terms of the properties of paintings, but good Christians have formal qualities, too (however anti-formal). Recall Preston's distinction between the superficial, "washie" colors of formalism and the integral "dye" of "holynesse" coloring the sincere Christian's heart. In that passage, Preston's pun on the word "dye" is an example of the Puritan obsession with word play—which is often times rather quirky—and he implies that the form of the dyed image—in its integrity—annihilates formal outwardness. That is to say, it dies. He also puns on "holynesse," which can be read as meaning both saintly and full of holes ("holey"). The anti-formal forms of the living image are very much like, and indeed every bit as fraught, as the holy dye (holey die) of sincerity according to John Preston.

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[374] Watson, *Godly Mans Picture*, 19-20.

[375] John Bailey, *Man's Chief End to Glorifie God* (Boston, 1689), 86.

1. Plainness of Showing

Although now applied by scholars to everything from pictorial form in portrait painting to the spareness of meetinghouse interiors, the notion of a "plain style" in Puritanism is derived primarily from the ministerial culture of preaching. Many Puritans were said to be plainspoken in their preaching and writing, and this was understood to be a virtue.[376] One example is Richard Mather, grandfather of Cotton Mather, and the first of that family to settle in New England…at Dorchester in the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1636. In his 1670 biography of his father, Increase writes, "His way of Preaching was plain…Whence he studiously avoided obscure phrases, Exotick words, or an unnecessary citation of Latine Sentences, which some men addict themselves to the use of…So did this humble man look upon the affectation of such in a *Popular Auditory* to savour of Carnal wisdome…He would often use that Saying, *Artis est celare Artem*."[377] The Latin phrase at the end of this passage is usually translated "the function of art is to conceal art." As William Scheick has pointed out in an excellent study of concealed verbal artistry in the lives/works of Richard Mather and Edward Taylor, "The ideal of concealed art is a Classical one often attributed to Horace. It is found in various guises throughout Renaissance writing and emerges [as well] in Ramistic thought and English Puritan discourse."[378] I would like to suggest that notions of plainness informed one of the models according to which Puritan thinkers imagined anti-formal form.

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[376] On the longer history of the humble or plain sermon, see Erich Auerbach, "*Sermo Humilis*," in *Literary Language and Its Public in Late Latin Antiquity and in the Middle Ages*, trans. Ralph Mannheim (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993) 25-82.

[377] Increase Mather, *Life and Death*, 31.

[378] Scheick, *Design in Puritan American Literature*, 24.

We find a discussion of plain showing in Cotton Mather's interesting little text *Virtue in It's Verdure* of 1725, which explains how a godly Christian is a living olive tree. **(Figure 157)** On the whole, Cotton Mather was himself not at all plain stylistically in either preaching or writing, but ornamental in the extreme (particularly in writing), and he worked in a style that some scholars have called colonial baroque.[379] This text is intended to edify the Christian reader, and as with many of his publications, framed as models for Christian living, Mather refers to the text as a kind of "exhibit." At the end of this 28-page work, Mather incorporates a concise description (supposedly by someone who knew her well) of the recently deceased Abigail Brown of Salem, Massachusetts:

> She was sincere, chearful, humble, modest, meek, gentle, peaceable, tender-hearted, patient, and full of goodness; respectful to all her *Equals*; courteous, affable, easie of access and compassionate to the *poor* and afflicted; Exemplary (and a singular pattern) in the affluent *Estate* unto which GOD raised her; unaffected with & mortified unto this vain and *showy* world; as her whole carriage, face, speech and garb did plainly show.[380]

This acquaintance of Abigail Brown is attempting to explain here how Brown, who was wealthy, "plainly showed" that she was "not showy." In publishing this text, which develops an interesting account of how an exemplary Christian, a living image, is akin to an olive tree, Mather, like a fisherman, casts the idea of showing only to then reel it back in. He opens an exhibit only then to restrict access to it or to close it. The plain showing of non-showiness—a kind of artless art—is one formulation related to the anti-formal form of the living image.

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[379] For an informative analysis of Cotton Mather's baroque style, specifically as relates to ideas about *copia* (i.e. copious citationality), see Jan Stievermann, "Writing 'To Conquer All Things': Cotton Mather's *Magnalia Christi Americana* and the Quandary of *Copia*," *Early American Literature* 39:2 (2004): 263-297.

[380] Cotton Mather, *Virtue in It's Verdure* (Boston, 1725), 27. Underlining here is mine.

2. Poverty and Almsgiving as Formal Subtraction

In Mather's character of Abigail Brown there is an allusion to her compassion toward the poor. Both poverty as a condition and almsgiving as a practice are subjects Puritans utilize to think about how form is subtracted from the living image. In Chapter 2, in my discussion of the art of walking, we have already seen some of Thomas Watson's assertions about the poor as walking pictures of Chirst. Building on Greek and Roman philosophical precedents, in the early Christian period theologians distinguished between ownership of material things as reality and the "true reality" (*ta onta* in Greek) of the practice of virtue. Gregory of Nazianzus, the fourth-century archbishop of Constantinople, for example, defined material possessions as "a semblance" (*ta phainomena* in Greek) and contrasted them with "the supreme virtue" of "love for the poor."[381] The theologian Donald Winslow writes of Gregory's position on poverty that "disregard for the poor can efface the image in us of God the Creator, it can also forfeit the inheritance given by God the Redeemer."[382]

As Margaret Aston, Shannon Gayk, and Lee Palmer Wandel have pointed out, there are traditions in later iconoclastic cultures, including English Lollardy and Zwinglian Protestantism, of associating social injustice with the commissioning, making, maintaining, and reception of material images.[383] The idea is that the money spent on

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[381] Donald F. Winslow, "Gregory of Nazianzus and Love for the Poor," *Anglican Theological Review* 47 (1965): 350.

[382] Ibid., 353.

[383] See Aston, "Lollards and Images"; Shannon Gayk, "Lollard Iconographies," in *Image, Text, and Religious Reform in Fifteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 15-44;

material images is better spent on the poor, who in their poverty are like Christ, and therefore serviceable models for thinking about people as living images of God. In a provocative volume in which she does much to overturn Max Weber's association of Calvinism with "the spirit of capitalism," the theologian Bonnie Pattison has demonstrated that for Calvin "poverty and affliction" rather than "splendor and glory" are what "mark and manifest the kingdom of God on earth."[384] In Puritan image theory, the materially depleted condition of poor persons, and the practice, by those with money, of giving away material wealth through charity, become subjects for thinking through how living images are anti-material or anti-formal.

Thomas Tuke—who as a young man was a Puritan, having come under the influence of William Perkins at Cambridge—writes against material painting using the subject of women's make-up in his remarkable *A Discourse Against Painting and Tincturing of Women* of 1616. **(Figure 158)** Tuke's treatise is both a rich account of formalism and an example of Puritan image theory.[385] At the beginning of the text Tuke quotes Saint Ambrose, the fourth-century archbishop of Milan:

> *Thou art painted, O man, and painted of the Lord thy God. Thou hast a good Artizan and Painter: doe not deface that good picture* (non fuco, sed veritate fulgentem) *shining not with deceitfull stuffe, but with true colours…Doe not take away Gods picturing, and assume the picture of an harlot, because it is written,* Shall I take the members of Christ, and make them the members of an harlot? God forbid. *If any man adulterate the worke of God, he committeth a grieuous offence. For it is an hainous crime to thinke that man can paint thee better then God…*[386]

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and Lee Palmer Wandel, *Always Among Us: Images of the Poor in Zwingli's Zürich* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

[384] See Bonnie Pattison, *Poverty in the Theology of John Calvin*, Princeton Theological Monograph Series 69 (Eugene, Ore.: Pickwick Publications, 2006).

[385] For another work of image theory by Tuke, one that is likewise a work of edificatory theology, see Thomas Tuke, *The Picture of a True Protestant, or, Gods House and Husbandry* (London, 1609).

Here as elsewhere in the literature of Christian image theory, idolatry is characterized as spiritual adultery. Tuke expands on Ambrose, comparing the dissembling of the formalist with harlotry typified by trompe l'oeil painting:

> What a contempt of God is this, to preferre the worke of thine owne finger to the worke of God? What impietie is it to goe about to haue that thought Gods, which is thine owne? What iniustice to conceale his worke, and ostent thine owne, and indeed to spoile his with thine owne? *Innocentius* saith, *An artificiall forme is drawne over*, *and the naturall face is painted*, *as if the artifice of man exceeded the art of God*. And is not this a tricke of a wanton, to vse these arts to procure and tie the eies of people to thee, or to gaine some *unfortunate seruant?* Is it not a foolish wilinesse, and a certaine wily kind of folly by these lime-twiggs, these painted *lime-twiggs*, to labour to thinke or labour to catch a Wood-cocke, or a Wild-goose? Are these deuises allowed, as stales, or snares, to take men in them? Dost thou deeme men as simple, as those birds, that were deceiued by the Painters artifice, flying to grapes, that were but painted? Because *Lycoris* pleases her selfe being painted, being otherwise as blacke, as an ouer-ripe Mulberry, doth she therefore thinke to gaine an husband, who knowes an ill face wel painted, is but as a peece of counterfeit siluer, or as a faire carper ouer an vnhandsome table?[387]

Tuke's text utilizes women's self-painting by make-up to theorize the sinfulness of formalism. Although he comments that his directive against self-painting is meant as much for male as for female readers, the association of sin with female gender in this text is strong.[388] A woman who paints herself, according to Tuke, is a type for the outward sinner (as are the Picts for Thomas Watson, as we have seen). Tuke writes a good deal in this tract, as well, about non-self-painting good Christians as true images, opposing their godliness (and God-madeness) to women who wear make-up, and who, in a sense,

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[386] Thomas Tuke, *A Discourse Against Painting and Tincturing of Women* (London, 1616), 2-3.

[387] Ibid., 12-13. I have yet to determine which Innocentius Tuke is quoting in this passage.

[388] Early modern reformers criticized painted sculpture in similar terms. See Michael Baxandall, *The Limewood Sculptors of Renaissance Germany* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980).

craftily "make themselves up" (i.e. as human inventions/fictions).[389] Tuke and other Puritans write about formalists as trompe l'oeil paintings, which are a key vehicle for thinking about the dead image. Tuke also engages metaphors of architectural-ornamental "rough-casting," and "pargetting" to characterize the formalist.[390] Both rough-casting and pargetting are terms that refer to decorative plasterwork applied to the exterior of half-timbered buildings. The Ancient House at Ipswich, built in 1670, preserves fine examples of pargetting. **(Figures 159 and 160)**

Having established the relationship between painterly self-construction and formalism, Tuke queries, "Were it not much better to bestow this cost on the poore, which are creatures and images of God, then on such idle images and workes of their owne creation?"[391] Cotton Mather also uses the idea of almsgiving to characterize the living image in his *Vigilantius*. At the end of the work appears an elegy, and in part of this he describes John Clark, who was minister at Exeter, New Hampshire, as follows:

> *Painters*, Thy Pencils take. Draw first, a *Face*
> *Shining*, (but by himself not seen) with *Grace*.
> An Heav'n touch'd *Eye*, where [what of *Kens* is told]
> One might, MY GOD, in *Capitals* behold.
> A *Mouth*, from whence a *Label* shall proceed,
> And [O LOVE CHRIST] the *Motto* to be Read.
> An *Hand* still open to relieve the Poor,
> And by *Dispersing* to *increase* the Store.
> Such was my CLARK; so did he *Look*, and so
> Much more than *Look*, or *Speak*, so did he *Do*.[392] **(Figure 161)**

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[389] On early modern art/image theory in relation to make-up, see Jacqueline Lichtenstein, "Making Up Representation: The Risks of Femininity," trans. Katharine Streip, *Representations* 20 (Fall 1987): 77-87; and Patricia Phillippy, *Painting Women: Cosmetics, Canvases, and Early Modern Culture* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006).

[390] See Tuke, *Discourse Against Painting*, 43.

[391] Ibid., 30.

[392] Cotton Mather, *Vigilantius*, 33. Mather's allusion to "*Kens*" remains obscure to me.

There is a reference to the art of living at the end of these verses, and to its vexed relation to outward appearance. In Mather's laudatory description of Clark as an animated image, he figures Clark as a specific type of late medieval or early modern imagetext one finds in a variety of media in England (**Figures 162 and 163** show a couple of examples, one from a funerary monument and one a manuscript drawing).[393] Mather's description is itself a portrait drawing in textual typeface of a living image. That Clark is said to give alms is important; it is by giving form or materiality away that he "*increases* the Store" and may be considered living rather than dead. Dissemblers might spectacularize almsgiving to try to trick God or for worldly praise—this is what Puritan writers call performing "eye service"—but because God can see into one's interior, and discern the state of his image therein, he will always recognize insincerity.

3. Pictorial Abstraction

In 1610, the Elizabethan Puritan, Richard Bernard, published a textual collection of pictures that could be completed by readers in their practice of good living. **(Figure 164)** In his "picture of goodness," for instance, Bernard writes of how godly "workes" "paint" goodness "out to the world."[394] **(Figure 165)** This type of incorporable textual portraiture is related to character writing, an important literary form revived in the early modern period following the rediscovery of the characters of the Greek philosopher Theophrastus and the printing of the character collections of the Anglican divine Joseph

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[393] Mather would also surely have known the title page to Richard Baxter's *The Saint's Rest*, first published in London in 1651, which carries a complex emblematic grouping of different figures speaking with the aid of speech balloons.

[394] Richard Bernard, *Contemplative Pictures: With Wholesome Precepts* (London, 1610), 64.

Hall around the year 1600.[395] Works like Watson's *The Godly Mans Picture* and Cotton Mather's *The Pourtraiture of a Good Man, Drawn with the Pencils of the Sanctuary* are typical of the genre. (Mather's treatise is directly based on Watson's.) Character writing would become the foundation of Puritan exemplary biography, an abstracting form of life writing.[396] Characters are personifications of virtue or vice; they possess general traits that are readily recognized and understood.

Writers such as Bernard, Watson, and Mather compose textual portraits of characters as a part of their practice of the art of living.[397] In *The Upright Mans Character and Crown*, Watson writes, "I have set before you the upright man, he is worth a *marking* and *beholding*. I have drawn the upright mans picture; and the *use* I would make of all is this, that you would fall in love with this picture, and that you would endeavour to resemble it."[398] Mather describes his aim similarly at the beginning of *The Pourtraiture of a Good Man*: "To set a Lively *Pourtraiture of a GOOD MAN* before you; And if it may be, so to *Describe* such an One, as to *Produce* him in the doing of it." Interestingly, he furthers this description of his practice of portraiture through building-related metaphors: "Now, first, I am to do the Part of a *Good Builder*, and lay my *Foundation* well. And here, first; The *Foundation* must be *Laid Low* enough. The

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[395] See Joseph Hall, *Characters of Vertues and Vices: In Two Bookes* (London, 1608); and idem, *Salomons Diuine Arts, Of 1. Ethickes, 2. Politickes, 3. Oeconomicks* (London, 1609).

[396] For accounts of character writing in early modern England and colonial New England, respectively, see Ronald J. Corthell, "'Characters of Vertues and Vices': A 'Novum Repertum'," *Studies in Philology* 76:1 (Winter 1979): 28-35; and Josephine K. Piercy, "The 'Character' in the Literature of Early New England," *New England Quarterly* 12:3 (1939): 470-476.

[397] At the beginning of *Contemplative Pictures*, Bernard explicitly states that the "mentall pictures" he paints are not idolatrous. See Bernard, *Contemplative Pictures,* "Epistle Dedicatory," n.p.

[398] Watson, *Upright Mans Character*, 42-43.

Goodness of One that is a *Good Man*, begins with a deep Apprehension and Acknowledgment of his *Badness*."[399]

Mather characterizes himself as a portrait painter throughout his writings on the art of living. He frames *The Good Old Way*, a treatise on primitive Christianity (1706) as a portrait painted in three sittings. **(Figure 166)** Part of the way into the text he writes, "But thus much may Suffice to Paint out the *Sobriety* of the *Primitive Christians*. We art got thro' but one *Third Part* of our Work. There must be *Two Sittings* more, before our Picture of the *Primitive Christianity* can be accomplished."[400] And in *Desiderius* (1719), written upon the death of the Bridgewater, Massachusetts, minister, George Keith, Mather remarks, "Alas, The *Angel of the Church of* Bridgwater has this Last Week heard that *Voice from Heaven* unto him, *Come up hither!* And he's flown! A *Desireable Man*, if any among us were worthy to be Esteemed so! Yea, you now know, whom I had in my Eye, while I was describing, *A Man Greatly Beloved:* It was HE who Satt, for my Pencil to take the Features from him!"[401] **(Figure 167)**

One begins to sense from Bernard, Watson, and Mather how Puritan ministers attempt to negotiate the problem of form through abstraction. Even when dealing with specific individuals in composing funeral sermons or biographies, they insistently abstract them—sitting for portraits with Mather, when painted George Keith becomes "*A Man Greatly Beloved*." Recall that in the character of Abigail Brown from *Virtue in It's Verdure*, Brown is imaged by means of a laundry list of virtuous abstractions.

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[399] Cotton Mather, *Pourtraiture of a Good Man*, 4.

[400] Cotton Mather, *The Good Old Way* (Boston, 1706), 34.

[401] Cotton Mather, *Desiderius* (Boston, 1719), 27. Mather alludes to the *imitatio angeli*, an iteration of the *imitatio Christi* about which he and other Puritan ministers sometimes write.

Accounts of the abstract forms of living images leave a reader wondering what such an image could possibly look like. At times Mather explicitly states that these and related abstract qualities are the anti-formal medium constituting living images. In his life of John Wilson, first published in 1695 and reprinted in the *Magnalia*, Mather notes that he has “made an essay to draw [Wilson’s] picture, by this account of his life,” and “[i]ndeed, if the Picture of this *Good*, and therein *Great* man, were to be exactly given, *Great Zeal*, with *Great Love*, would be the two Principal Strokes that, joined with *Orthodoxy*, should make up his Pourtraiture.”[402] **(Figures 168 and 169)** John Wilson is a *“Good*, and therein *Great* man,” whose anti-formal forms include “*Great Zeal*, with *Great Love*,” as well as “*Orthodoxy*.” The idea that a portrait “exactly given” could be—according to our understanding of the meaning of exactness—so inexact, is interesting. Our authors sometimes explain this in/exactness as incompleteness. In his 1715 treatise *Benedictus*, written upon the death of the pastor Thomas Bridge—and in which Mather provides the character of “a good man”—he remarks that he has deliberately made his textual portrait of Bridge both general and incomplete: “Shall a GOOD MAN, be now Exhibited in all his Lineaments? It must now be only with some *General Strokes*, and such as may be dispatched at *One Sitting*. *My Hearers*. *You* shall fill it up; *You* shall finish it; *You* shall by your own *Good Conversation in Christ give Life* unto it.”[403] **(Figures 170 and 171)**

The death of the Boston pastor, Thomas Bridge, is an occasion to paint him as “a good man.” He is composed of “*General Strokes*,” an incomplete image that must be

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[402] Cotton Mather, *Memoria Wilsoniana* (Boston, 1695), 24.

[403] Cotton Mather, *Benedictus* (Boston, 1715), 8-9. Mather aligns his text with a pictorial sketch, implying that the reader’s practice of goodness is the equivalent of a more fully worked up painting.

enlivened by readers through the practice of the art of living of God. Mather would certainly approve of what Watson writes in *The Godly Mans Picture*—that the abstract colors of which a godly person is made are suspended in sincerity, an oil-like medium. Watson writes, "[T]hose colours hold best, which are laid in oyle; if we would have our profession hold its colour, it must be laid in the oyl of sincerity."[404] Although formalists are described by means of vicious abstractions in the writing of negative characters, those abstractions are connected to earthly materiality in a way that anti-formal (i.e. virtuous) abstractions are not.

The ministerial production of incomplete portraiture in godly texts mirrors their theorization of the art of living as formal (which is to say, anti-formal) incompleteness. In *The Upright Mans Character and Crown*, Watson writes,

> [A] limner that hath begun the rude draught of a picture, he looks upon it what he intends to make it; he intends to lay it in its own orient colours; in this life there is but the first draught, the imperfect lineaments of grace drawn in our soules, yet God calls us perfect, because he intends by the pensil of the holy Ghost to draw us out in our orient beauty, and lay the *Virmillion* colour of glory upon us.[405]

The godly Christian is, then, a "first draught," an underdrawing that is in need of further painterly coloring. Watson's use of the term "orient" here connects the living image with the east, perhaps more because the east is the place where the sun rises than because of its association with Asian art/culture, though the latter became increasingly important in early modern England through British imperial activities in the Far East. In *The Godly Mans Picture*, Watson describes the sincere Christian as a half- or three-quarter-length portrait:

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[404] Watson, *Godly Mans Picture*, 306.

[405] Watson, *Upright Mans Character*, 46-47.

> We esteem of a picture, though it be not drawn at the full length: So though the graces of Gods people are not drawn at their full length, nay, have many scars and spots, yet having something of God in sincerity, they shall find mercy; God loves the sincere, and 'tis the nature of love to *cover* infirmity.[406]

He suggests that Christians cannot realize themselves as full-length images of God until they die and go to heaven.[407] Like abstraction, formal incompleteness or truncation serves to sever the beholder's access to the repletion of the living image, whether one is seeing a godly Christian on the street, at home, or imagining one's appearance while reading a godly text.

4. The Art of Swimming / Anti-Material Drawing

In *The Poor Doubting Christian Drawn to Christ*, first published in 1635, Thomas Hooker describes conversionary drawing as a rejection of "outward comforts," adopting "the Art of Swimming" as a type for the art of living:

> So when a Man finds no rest in any thing the Creature affords, and can get no footing for the Soul there to stay itself upon, then it betakes it self to Christ the Ark, and goes home to the Promise, and rests there, and expects from thence what is needful for it. As (therefore) in the Art of Swimming; he that will swim, must pluck his Feet from the bottom, and commit himself to the Stream to bear him up: So in this our purpose to Heaven, we must draw our Hearts from these vain things below, and these from them; and though we have Honour and Preferments, yet we must put no Confidence in them, but pluck our Affections, as it were Feet, from them, and learn by our believing to commit ourselves wholly to the power of the Promise, and thence to receive Comfort, and permanent abiding.[408]
> **(Figures 172 and 173)**

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[406] Watson, *Godly Mans Picture*, 140.

[407] This idea is reminiscent of Durandus of Mende's explanation of the half-length format of icons, which he regarded as a strategy for covering the lower parts of the body and hence as a way of rendering sitters more holy. I thank Jeffrey Hamburger for calling this relationship to my attention.

[408] Thomas Hooker, *The Poor Doubting Christian Drawn to Christ*, 12th ed. (London, 1700), 94-95. William Perkins recommends diving into Christ's blood as a way of thinking about conversion: "Therefore

Hooker's engagement of the art of swimming to model conversionary drawing as anti-materialism is quite interesting. As with crafts such as painting and sculpture, formerly considered debased, relatively speaking, because manual or mechanical, in early modern England other types of skilled physical activity would be newly nominated or elevated as arts.

Several treatises on the art of swimming were published in late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England. The first of these is a beautifully illustrated Latin text by one Sir Everard Digby, published in 1587.[409] **(Figures 174 and 175)** This treatise was issued in an English translation eight years later with a set of related woodcut illustrations.[410] **(Figures 176 and 177)** And in 1658 and 1699 appeared two other such treatises, the latter a translation from the French.[411] Figure 177 pictures a swimmer doing a stroke called the "bell turne"…if Hooker had known one of these texts it would have been Digby's Latin treatise or the English translation from it.

One thing that interests me about Hooker's adaptation of the art of swimming as a type for (the art of living as) anti-material drawing is that early modern swimming

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in any wise be carefull to applie Christ crucified to thy selfe…content not thy selfe with Thomas to put thy finger into his side, but euen dive and plunge thy selfe wholly both bodie and soule into the woundes and bloode of Christ. This will make thee to crie with Thomas and say, *My Lord*, *my God*; and this is to be *crucified with Christ*." William Perkins, *A Declaration of the Trve Manner of Knowing Christ Crvcified* (Cambridge, Eng., 1596), 3-4.

[409] Sir Everard Digby, *De arte natandi* (London, 1587).

[410] Sir Everard Digby, *A Short Introduction for to Learne to Swimme*, trans. Christofer Middleton (London, 1595).

[411] See William Percey, *The Compleat Swimmer* (London, 1658); and M. Thévenot, *The Art of Swimming* (London, 1699). For an essay on the art of swimming and early modern English literature, see Michael West, "Spenser, Everard Digby, and the Renaissance Art of Swimming," *Renaissance Quarterly* 26:1 (Spring 1973), 11-22.

treatises focus, in the main, on how learning to swim will help readers to preserve their lives if/when they are in dangerous waters. Digby, for example, opens his book:

> Although from the beginning, amongst all the Authors of Artes and Sciences, there are fewe or none which have bestowed any paines in the explayning or publishing this Art of Swimming, it being so profitable a thing as it is, towards the preserving of mans lyfe, when as he is at any time distressed in the greedie iawes of the swelling Sea…[412]

One could take lines from Digby and insert them seamlessly into a work of Puritan practical theology. Digby is writing about the art of swimming, but he gives us a fitting description of the art of living to God: "[Man] hath wisdome, by Arte to perfect that in himself, which by nature is left unperfect…"[413] Addressing the "sinister occasion" of a "fall into the water," Digby asserts that the art of swimming enables a swimmer to negotiate this "fall."[414] In one of the later swimming treatises, by William Percey, the author says that swimming is "a facultie which Nature hath denyed to man," but that "man by Art…excels all other creatures in Swimming."[415] As in the discourse of the art of living, the curating or conservation of breath as constitutive of life is a leitmotif in the literature on the art of swimming.

In the 1699 work translated from the French, the translator includes a prefatory discourse "concerning Artificial Swimming, or keeping ones self above Water by several small Portable Engines, in cases of danger."[416] The portable engines in question include the early modern equivalent of "swimmies," made out of animal bladders, as well as

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[412] Digby, *A Short Introduction*, n.p.

[413] Ibid., n.p.

[414] Ibid., n.p.

[415] Percey, *Compleat Swimmer,* 3, 8.

[416] Thévenot, *Art of Swimming*, title page.

objects made of cork, “Girdles of several sorts,” “oyl’d Cloths, and several sorts of Leather,” as well as sundry “little Machines.”[417] Swimming treatises have salvation as a theme (albeit bodily salvation), and Hooker tweaks this to ruminate on the process of spiritual conversion and to explain what he means by anti-material drawing.

The portable engine that preserves the Christian is, above all else, faith. Isaac Ambrose compares faith to “the corke that is upon the net, though the lead on the one side sinke it down, yet the corke on the other side keeps it up in the water.”[418] And Samuel Whiting deploys swimming imagery to distinguish idolatrous “Brain-knowledge” from good-practical spiritual “drawing”:

> *The life of* Reading, *is in the* performance *of our duty in what we learn*. Words *are but* empty sounds, *except we draw them forth in our* lives. Printed Books *will do* little good, *except Gods Spirit print them in our hearts*. Gods words *written with Ink will not profit*, *except they be also written with* the Spirit of the Living God. *They are the blessed ones that* know and do, *Joh*.13.17. *and they ever* know most *that* practice most…*As for* Brain-knowledge, *it may* puff a man up, *and so bring him down low to destruction*; *it may* raise him high, *that he may have the deeper fall into Hell*; *it may* swell him like a bladder, *and when the bladder breaks*, *then like an unskilful Swimmer*, *he drowns*…[419] **(Figure 178)**

In an essay published in 2008 in *The American Scholar*, about the interrelation of the physical and spiritual in swimming, Willard Spiegelman suggests that “to swim” “is to take hold of water’s meaning, and in that meaning we come to learn something about ourselves, our world, and the relations between the two.”[420] And, like our early modern swimming theorists, he asserts, “Swimming does not come naturally to anyone…it’s an

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[417] Ibid., “Translator’s Preface,” n.p.

[418] Ambrose, *Media*, 135.

[419] Whiting, *Abrahams Humble Intercession*, “To the Reader,” n.p.

[420] Willard Spiegelman, “Buoyancy,” *The American Scholar* 77:3 (Summer 2008): 99-108.

activity fraught with fear—of sinking, drowning, losing sight, losing control—until one learns to give oneself in or up to water's buoyancy."[421] Above all it is the necessity of giving oneself up to water's buoyancy in swimming that is, for Hooker, what makes it useful as a vehicle for thinking about conversion, an aspect of the art of living. Of course buoyancy has associations of both floating and happiness. Surely, too, as Spiegeleman puts it, water's "cleansing, purifying powers" also make human beings' interactions with water an attractive subject for thinking through and defining the art of living.

With the help of water, the artful swimmer works against the forces of gravity, swimming at once against the stream of worldliness and with the stream of Christian faith. Since anti-material drawing depends on divorcing oneself from material things, indeed from materiality itself ("As (therefore) in the Art of Swimming; he that will swim, must pluck his Feet from the bottom, and commit himself to the Stream to bear him up: So in this our purpose to Heaven, we must draw our Hearts from these vain things below…"), one wonders, as with the notion of the living image as pictorially abstract, about its appearance. If godly Puritans are anti-material drawings, what are their forms? Well, as writers like Hooker suggest, their forms are anti-formal, whatever that might mean. Perhaps we can say that they are something like erased drawings, which, if not altogether materially obliterated, as well as erased, would bear the stamp of God's Word/image.

In the discourse of the art of living, the non-negotiation of bodies of water, such as the sea, by good swimmerly action, is characterized as "material" drawing. This goes not only for bodies of water themselves, but also for their seductive inhabitants. In an

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[421] Ibid.

anti-formalist sermon of 1714, Samuel Moody, Puritan pastor at York, Maine (Maine was at that point still part of Massachusetts), connects the seductions of mermaids to this type of drawing: "*Pliny* tells us that the *Mermaids* delight to be in green Meadows, into which they draw men, by their inchanting Voices; but *saith he*, there always lie heaps of dead Mens bones by them. A lively Emblem of a bewitching World! Good had it been for some Men if they had never known what the *Riches*, and *Honours*, & *Pleasures* of this World meant."[422] **(Figure 179)** The worldly person is drawn to worldly things. Moody complicates the usual metaphor of the art of living as buoyant, as he argues that its buoyancy depends upon the "sinking down into the bottom of [one's] Heart" of the "Knowledge of Christ":

> Tis Likeness, and Interest that draw Love. Alas! Thy Knowledge of Christ consisteth only in some dry, superficial and barren Notions of his Worth; floating in thy Head, never sinking down into the bottom of thy Heart; so as to influence thy Will unto ready Obedience unto his Commands, and chearful Suffering for his Sake. If thou Lovest Christ above all, How is it that, among a Thousand Objects, the least and lightest of them all, should have more Power to attract thy Affections, than all *His Ravishing Beauty & Unsearchable Riches*?[423]

Moody is perhaps best known today (if/when he is known at all, that is) for his iconoclastic actions at the Siege of Louisbourg (1745), a battle that took place at Cape Breton Island in what is now Nova Scotia between the English Protestants and French Catholics, who were, in the mid-eighteenth century, fighting for control of territory in eastern Canada. A force of New England soldiers traveled to Nova Scotia to aid in the fighting, and during the Siege of Louisbourg, in which the aged Moody participated, he is

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[422] Samuel Moodey, *Judas the Traitor Hung Up in Chains* (Boston, 1714), 52. The author's surname is usually spelled "Moody."

[423] Ibid., 64.

recorded as having destroyed Catholic images there. In his *History of York Maine*, Charles Edward Banks writes,

> One of his successors has aptly said that Parson Moody 'was of heroic mould.' When seventy years of age, when most men are seeking the comforts of the fireside, he went with the Provincial troops as Chaplain in the expedition under Col. William Pepperell to Cape Breton in 1745, which resulted in the capture of Louisburg, and was the beginning of the downfall of French power in America. When the fortress was surrendered he was prepared to express his Protestantism in the Roman Catholic chapel. Armed with an axe, which he called the 'Sword of the Lord and of Gideon,' he proceeded to demolish all the 'graven images' and other objects of 'papal idolatry.' The victory was now complete. Here was a disciple of Cromwell, after the Protector's own heart, an hundred years after the Puritan Commonwealth.[424]

The iron cross pictured in **Figure 180** was among the spoils taken back to New England by Puritan soldiers following the siege, a fragmentary relic of their acts of iconoclasm.[425] In the context of my dissertation, it is tempting to consider the Siege of Louisbourg and its aftermath not in terms of the "material practice" of iconoclasm, as scholars today are apt to describe it, but as a more literal version of anti-material drawing. The transverse arms and peak of the cross terminate in fleurs-de-lis, the same symbol used by John Flavel to direct the viewer or reader of his spiritual compass in "godlily" living in *Navigation Spiritualiz'd*. Flavel might observe that this cross's fleurs-de-lis point not only up but also to the left and right, and thus leave a viewer without direction, unsure as to which way to go.

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[424] Charles Edward Banks, *History of York Maine in Three Volumes* (Baltimore, Md.: Regional Publishing Co., 1967), 2:137-138.

[425] For many years, the so-called "Louisburg Cross" was housed and/or displayed at Harvard University. It was probably presented to Harvard sometime before the year 1800. Early articles discussing the cross include Daniel Denison Slade, "The Louisburg Cross," *The Bostonian* (March 1896): 551-558; and Robert Magrane, "The Louisburg Cross," *Harvard Illustrated Magazine* 2:3 (1900): 69-74. In commemoration of the 250th anniversary of the battle in 1995 the cross was restored to the Fortress at Louisbourg, where it can be seen today. See Alison D. Overholt, "University Returns Louisbourg Cross to Canada: 'Permanent Loan' Is Part of 250th Anniversary Celebration," *Harvard Crimson*, Friday, June 30, 1995, News section.

5. Interiority of Virtuous Ornamentation

In *Media: The Middle Things*, Isaac Ambrose writes, "Purity in the inward parts, is the most sound evidence of our portion in the purity and power of Christ."[426] We have already seen quite a bit of discussion of imagistic interiority in the anti-formalist texts about which I have written in this chapter. Tuke discusses virtuous ornamentation in his *Discourse Against Painting and Tincturing of Women*; he claims that "the true ornaments of Christian women, young and old, high and low, are *shamefastnesse*, *modestie*, *and good workes*, together with the *incorruption of a meeke and quiet spirit*."[427] He contrasts these internal virtuous ornaments with external ornamentation, such as fancy clothing, jewelry, and make-up. Although it may seem that anti-formalist Puritan literature is so heavily gendered as to be patriarchal in the extreme, a thorough look at the range of writings makes this something of an oversimplification.

In *The Vnloueliness, of Love-Lockes* (1628), the English Puritan polemicist, William Prynne, writes as much, if not more so, against the vanity of men—specifically targeting the popular practice of wearing one's hair long. **(Figure 181)** Sin is to Prynne, however, as elsewhere in Puritan literature, gendered feminine. Prynne writes of the man with long hair: "*His Amourous*, *Frizled*, *Womanish*, *and Effeminate Haire*, *and Locke*, *will draw him on to Idlenesse*, *Pride*, *Effeminacy*, *Wantonnesse*, *Sensualitie*, *and Voluptuousnesse*, *by degrees*; *and from thence to Incontinency*, *Whoredome*, *Deboistnesse*, *and all Prophanenese*, *to the eternall wrecke and ruine of his Soule*."[428]

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[426] Ambrose, *Media*, 49.

[427] Tuke, *Discourse Against Painting*, 22.

Prynne instead recommends the following true Christian ornaments, some of which are virtuous abstractions: "[I]f *we will needes adorne our bodies too:* let vs Paint our Faces with the candor of Simplicitie, and Vermilian-blush of Chastitie: and our Eyes with Modestie: let Silence, or Holy conference, be the ornament of our Lips; the Word of God our Earings, and the Yoake of Christ our Necke-bracelets…"[429] Like Tuke before him, Prynne contrasts the externalist pictorial self-construction of the sinner with an understanding of human beings as integral images both originally and newly created by God. Material ornamentation of one's body is

> *an Art that offers violence unto God himselfe*, *in obliterating that Naturall*, *and liuely Image*, *Forme*, *and Beautie*, *which he hath stamped on his Creatures: in Correcting*, *Changing*, *and Nullifying of his Worke*; *and so taxing him for an Imperfect*, *Bungling*, *or Vnskilfull Workeman: in preferring those artificiall Faces*, *and Infernall varnishes*, *which Satan hath Portraitured*, *and set out to Sale*; *before that Naturall*, *and comely Countenance*, *Face*, *and Feature*, *which Gods owne Curious*, *and neuer-erring Finger hath carued out unto us…*[430]

In *Ornaments for the Daughters of Zion* (1691), Cotton Mather extends these formulations. Like Tuke and Prynne he builds on the writings of Church father, Tertullian, and he advocates the metaphorical wearing of "hidden," interior ornaments of virtue, over and against literal, visible, vicious ones.[431] He writes of the human face as created by God: "Our *Face* is a Seat which ha's much of the Divine *Image* and *Wisdom* appearing in it; and it is a Vile Affront unto God, for a Woman to *Deface* the Workmanship of the Almighty there; by such an *Inversion*, as the Hebrew word for this

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[428] William Prynne, *The Vnloueliness, of Love-Lockes* (London, 1628), "To the Christian Reader," n.p.

[429] Ibid., "To the Christian Reader," n.p.

[430] Ibid., 1-2.

[431] For a good account of Tertullian's image theory, see Moshe Barasch, *Icon: Studies in the History of an Idea* (New York: New York University Press, 1992 and 1995), 108-126.

Painting signifies."[432] Of outward ornaments Mather writes, "There is no *Sincerity* in these *Butterflies*."[433] This idea of interior ornamentation, like pictorial abstraction, not only frustrates our desire to be shown what a living image so ornamented would look like, but it even frustrates the visual imagination. If we had to imagine them, interior ornaments, it seems, would face inward rather than out; they would be turned away from us.

The idea of the godly Puritan as a "divine Land-skip," which we find in Thomas Watson's *Autarkeia*, and which I discussed as part of my analysis of the art of walking, is very much connected to this notion of interior ornamentation. In early modern England, landscape as a genre was defined as a depiction of the "interior parts" of a country.[434] I imagine the early modern landscapist standing with his back to the sea. The resulting image was a picture of an interior. One must think of the anti-formal form of the Puritan artist/living image in similar terms. The anti-formal Puritan is an artist inwardly directed, and as such he or she turns his or her back on the world at large. The living image's imagistic inwardness becomes its own form of showing and its inward forms a new kind of pictorial exteriority at odds with externalization.

"Looking Off"

To conclude this chapter, I would like to discuss the most important model of anti-formal reception developed by the authors about whom I have been writing: "looking

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[432] Cotton Mather, *Ornaments*, 18.

[433] Ibid. In anti-formalist writings, butterflies are a type for vain persons because of their short life span and brightly painted wings.

[434] The first definition of "landscape" appearing in the *Oxford English Dictionary* describes it as a picture of "inland scenery, as distinguished from a sea picture, a portrait, etc."

off." One finds what is perhaps the richest theorization of looking off in Isaac Ambrose's popular *Looking unto Jesus*, a work about the art of living to God that was first printed in 1658 and reissued many times in the late seventeenth century and beyond.[435] **(Figure 182)** Ambrose and other Puritan ministers base their idea of looking off on Hebrews 12:2: "Looking unto Jesus the author and finisher of our faith…" In Book 1 of Ambrose's treatise there is a lengthy explanation of "*how to look off all other things*." Ambrose writes, "*We look not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen*, saith *Paul*. A Christians aime is beyond visible things."[436] Ambrose exhorts the reader, "Consider the difference of these objects, Christ, and all other things; as thus, all other things are vanities, but Christ is a real, solid, substantial, excellent, glorious thing; all other things are temporary, fading things…"[437] And referring to Psalms 119:36-37: "Cry mightily unto God, that he would take off your hearts and eyes, *turne away mine eyes from beholding vanity*, prayes David; either God must do it, or you will be wearied in the multitude of your endeavours; but if the Lord draw off the eye, it will be drawn indeed."[438] Ambrose suggests that looking off is a kind of anti-material drawing.

Looking off from the world is, at the same time, an "inward, experimental *looking unto Jesus*."[439] Thomas Watson characterizes looking off specifically as looking away from material pictures. In his 1671 publication, *The Mischief of Sinne, It Brings a Person*

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[435] For a new account of the practical theology of Isaac Ambrose, see Tom Schwanda, *Soul Recreation: The Contemplative-Mystical Piety of Puritanism* (Eugene, Ore.: Pickwick Publications, 2012).

[436] Isaac Ambrose, *Looking unto Jesus* (London, 1658), 7.

[437] Ibid., 13.

[438] Ibid., 17.

[439] Ibid., 23.

Low, Watson writes of “a clownish Rustick” who “when he goes to Court, is much taken with the gay Pictures and Hangings.” Watson contrasts this “Rustick” with “a Privy Counsellor” who “passeth by those things as scarce worthy of his notice” – “his business is with the King.” **(Figure 183)** He writes. “So a carnal mind, is much taken with the things of the world, but a Saint passeth by these gay things with an holy contempt, his business is with God.”[440] The godly person exhibits refinement in walking by material images without even looking, reducing them to ineffectual wallpaper.

Puritan ministers ultimately define looking off as the ideal relation of the godly Christian to ALL images other than that of God or Christ—that is, whether living or dead. In his *Magnalia Christi Americana*, Cotton Mather writes about the limitations of the mediations of godly Christians as living images in Christian practice. He refers to Paul’s exhibition(s) of saints’ lives in the New Testament:

> When the Apostle had set before Christians the Saints, which were a *Cloud of Witnesses*, by imitating of Whose Exemplary Behaviour we might *Enter into Rest*, he concludes with a *Looking unto Jesus*; or, according to the Emphasis of the Original, *A Looking off* (from them) *unto Jesus*; as the incomparably most perfect of all. So, Let my Reader do, when all that was *Imitable* in the *Lives* of these Worthy Men, has had his Contemplation and Admiration; They all yet had their *Defects*, and therefore, *Look off unto Jesus*; *Following Them* no farther than they *Followed Him*.[441] **(Figure 184)**

In other writings, Mather effects a similar circumscription of living imagistic mediation, further discussing this notion of looking off. In *Febrifugium. An Essay for the Cure of Ungoverned Anger* (1717), he writes, “Bright examples of meekness have been set before us; Let us observe the Examples, till we can Follow them…But after all, I will rather say Run with Patience, looking off unto JESUS, ; [*sic*] A JESUS, Fairer than the Children of

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[440] Thomas Watson, *The Mischief of Sinne, It Brings a Person Low* (London, 1671), 81-82.

[441] Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana*, 3:13.

Men!"[442] **(Figure 185)** And in his *Manuductio ad Ministerium*, Cotton writes, “Be sure, that whatever you see Great, and Good, and Bright, in any Excellent Person…you look off to the Glorious JESUS, as having in HIM all these Excellencies after a Transcendent Manner, and as being the Author and Giver of them to the Distinguished Glowworm.”[443] **(Figure 186)**

From the sixteenth century, radical English Protestants mounted brutal attacks on the material signifiers mediating devotional practice in the Roman Catholic Church and, subsequently, within the Anglican ecclesiastical establishment. Saints’ images were, of course, a primary target of this critique. According to Puritans, material images of saints were clogs blocking rather than conduits facilitating access to the divine. By the early eighteenth century, as the culture of Christian exemplification (which displaced the Catholic cult of saints) waxed more and more important for Puritans, Cotton Mather would insist that while attending to living images is to some extent valuable, such images only fulfill their purpose if and when the viewer turns away from them and towards Christ.[444] Compared to Christ’s sun-like shining, Puritan saints are dim “Glowworm[s].” To function properly, living images must be arrows pointing away from themselves and in the direction of Christ, from whom (like the moon from the sun) they borrow their brightness. Believers “fix” their eyes on the metaphysical image of Christ by looking off from material signs of Christ.

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[442] Cotton Mather, *Febrifugium. An Essay for the Cure of Ungoverned Anger* (Boston, 1717), 33-35.

[443] Cotton Mather, *Manuductio*, 67.

[444] For the best (and only) discussion of Cotton Mather on “looking off,” see Clark, “Eschatology of Signs.”

Susan Sontag remarks in her 1967 essay “The Aesthetics of Silence,” “In one of its aspects, art is a technique for focusing attention, for teaching skills of attention.”[445] This is certainly the case with the Puritan art of living to God. If Puritans wanted to see God or Christ clearly, they had to look away from signs potentially tainted by form or materiality. If the non-biblical godly texts documenting the artful actions of Puritans were to some extent safer than material paintings or sculptures, their status as signs mediated by human agency meant that they were always idols in waiting. When it comes to the question of form, then, living and dead images are perhaps not so different after all. Even when anti-formal, form is still form. The taint of materiality cannot be fully subtracted.

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[445] Susan Sontag, “The Aesthetics of Silence,” in *Styles of Radical Will* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1966), 13. Sontag writes generally of practices of art making here, rather than specifically about art as the production of material things.

Chapter 5 Conclusion

In the course of my dissertation research, I have become fascinated by the extent to which, in early modern English culture, writers are as apt to talk about human beings' insides (the heart, the soul, and the mind) as spaces for the drawing, printing, painting, and hanging of images, or for the erection of statues or monuments, as they are to talk about such images or objects as they might be exhibited outside, in the world. We need look no further than the sonnets of William Shakespeare or the poetry of John Donne to find numerous engagements with the idea that one's personal interior is a gallery that houses various kinds of images. I think of Shakespeare's 24th Sonnet or Donne's "The Damp"—each of these poems deals with the image of a lover hanging inside the poet's heart.[446] There was a culturally specific interest in the human-interior-as-gallery among Puritans, and it is this interest that I take as the first subject of my conclusion. I address a strand in Puritan practical theology that defines ministration, or pastoral practice, as a type of curatorship/conservation of congregants' interior images of God or Christ.

Pastoral Practice as Image Curatorship or Conservation

I begin with a quotation from William Bates's funeral sermon on Thomas Manton, published in 1678. Bates writes,

> Can any pains be sufficient to the salvation of Souls, for which the Son of God did not esteem his Blood too costly a price? Is not incessant unwearied industry requisite to advance the work of Grace in them to perfection? In this the work of the Minister has its peculiar disadvantage, that whereas an Artificer how curious and difficult soever his work be, yet has this encouragement, that what is begun with Art and Care, he finds in the same state wherein 'twas left: A Painter that designs an exact Piece, draws many Lines, often touches it with his Pencil to give it life and

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[446] See Shakespeare, *Poems and Sonnets*, 14; and John Donne, *The Complete English Poems*, ed. A. J. Smith (London: Penguin Books, 1971, 1996), 51.

> beauty; and though unfinish'd, 'tis not spoild by his intermission. A Sculptor that carves a Statue, though his labour be hard from the resistance of the matter, yet his work remains firm and durable. But the Heart of Man is of a strange temper, hard as Marble, not easily receptive of heavenly impressions, yet fluid as Water, those impressions are easily defac'd in it; 'tis expos'd to so many temptations that induce an oblivion of eternal things, that without frequent excitations to quicken and confirm its holy purposes, it grows careless, and the labour is lost that was spent on it.[447] **(Figures 187-189)**

A similar formulation appears in Bates's 1687 funeral sermon on the minister Thomas Jacomb:

> The Work of a Minister is not like the Work of an Artificer: A Statuary with long Labour cuts the Marble to form it into a noble Image, but he leaves his work at his Pleasure; and when he resumes it, the Matter being durable, 'tis in the same state towards finishing as when he left it. But the Heart of Man is of a strange Nature, hard as Marble and fluid as Water; Heavenly Impressions are with difficulty made in it, and easily defac'd. When by many Prayers and Tears, many tender Addresses of Ministers the Heart is softened, and the Image of Christ, the Lineaments of his Divine Graces and Vertues are first drawn in it, without a continual Eye and Attendance upon the Work, how soon are those blessed Beginnings spoiled, and the carnal Lusts regain the Heart?[448] **(Figure 190)**

Bates suggests that pastoral practice is not like the work of a painter or a sculptor—the "Art and Care" required to curate the image of Christ within the believing Christian is an ongoing process, as the image of Christ drawn in the Puritan congregant's heart, "hard as Marble and fluid as Water," cannot be fully fixed and can therefore be defaced. The curating or conserving of the drawing will go on and on, thus, since repairs or restorations will be wanted regularly. The pastor labors to stabilize this unstable interior image.[449]

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[447] William Bates, *A Funeral Sermon, Preached Upon the Death of the Reverend and Excellent Divine Dr. Thomas Manton* (London, 1678), 55-56.

[448] William Bates, *The Way to the Highest Honour* (London, 1687), 37-38.

[449] See Paul R. Kolbet, "Athanasius, the Psalms, and the Reformation of the Self," *Harvard Theological Review* 99:1 (2006): 101.

The New England Puritan, Ebenezer Pemberton, pastor of Old South Church in Boston, picks up on Bates's formulation concerning the labor of a minister vs. that of an artist in his 1707 funeral sermon for Samuel Willard **(Figure 191)**:

> It has been faithfully observed by a Great Divine [*Dr. *Bates*], what a vast difference there is between the work of an Artificer and a Minister: 'The Statuary with long labour cuts the Marble to form it into a noble Image, but he leaves his work at his pleasure; and when he resumes it, the Matter being durable, it is in the same state towards finishing, as when he left it.' But it is not so with the hearts of men, which Ministers are at work upon. Flesh, World and Devil are joyned in a cursed Concert to ruine their work, and to deface all good impressions that at any time are made upon the hearts of their People: And their diligence is equal to their policy and malignity in counter-working Christ's Labourers…And thus the work of Christ's Ministers is often undone, nay, goes backward, rather than forward.[450]

Pemberton describes "Flesh, World and Devil" as a "band" of vandals, who work (or play) during the intermissions of pastoral labor—they counter the work of the pastoral curator or conservator.

According to Azariah Mather, pastoral labor may also be meaningfully contrasted with the labor of a carpenter. He quotes John Chrysostom on the subject an ordination sermon for his colleague Daniel Kirtland (1725):

> *Chrysostom* was wont to say, *The Work of a Minister was MORE Laborious than that of a Carpenter*; for when he wrought hard all Day and goes home at Night, & comes again in the Morning, he finds his work as he left it; but 'tis not so with a Minister, if he bows & makes some impression on a crooked rough Piece, Satan and the World will often undo all, and the work is to do over again. Oh! How oft when some hopeful Impressions are made on a Sabbath at a Sermon, Convictions are buried, Affections ___ in Company, in the Shop, or in the Field, ere another opportunity? The Work is in every way great.[451] **(Figure 192)**

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[450] Ebenezer Pemberton, *A Funeral Sermon on the Death of that Learned & Excellent Divine The Reverend Mr. Samuel Willard* (Boston, 1707), 34-35.

[451] Azariah Mather, *The Gospel-Minister Described, by the Important Duty of His Office* (New-London, Conn., 1725), 24-25.

Azariah Mather's remark about the un-carpenter-like pastor making an "impression" on "a crooked rough Piece" is an allusion to the builder's work of planing, and more obliquely, to the interior imagistic straightening that the pastor was understood to perform. "Satan and the World" negatively impacted the condition of the interior image of God or Christ in the Christian's heart or soul, causing that image to hang crookedly. Layered allusions connecting the different aspects of the discourse of the art of living—such as edification and image theory—are common in this literature.

Even as Puritan practical theology understands the godly Christian as a whole to be a living image of God, it also describe the hearts, souls, and (sometimes) minds of congregants as internal galleries for the exhibition of the image of God or Christ. In the passages I have quoted here, ministers characterize the work of the Puritan pastor as a never-ending cleaning, restoring, and straightening of the image of God or Christ within congregants' gallery-like interiors. They explicitly contrast the labor of pastors and the labor of draughtsmen, painters, sculptors, and carpenters. I would like to argue that this current in Puritan writings—in which pastoral work is described in opposition to artistic practices—should not be understood as a rejection of the Puritan development of a notion of godly living as a work of art. Rather, pastoral practice as curatorship or conservation of interior images is a part of the art of living to God. It does not refuse the idea that the minister's work is art, but makes "taking care" a part of art. I also aim to show that the curatorial or conservationist "not art" of the Puritan pastor is informed by models of labor derived from art understood as material making. Although it utilizes material art making to describe what pastoral practice is like, it does so to then disassociate the art of living to

God and the production of material objects such as drawings, paintings, sculptures, or architecture as art.

Patristic literature contains a number of important discussions of interior image curatorship and conservation. We have seen in the passage I quoted by Azariah Mather a reference to the writings of John Chrysostom. Puritans were interested, as we have seen, in Augustine, Eusebius, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory of Nazianzus, Ambrose, Tertullian, and John Chrysostom. They were also familiar with the writings of Athanasius of Alexandria. The spiritual images of God or Christ inside of the Christian believer are as susceptible to damage and decay as exteriorized man-made material images. In Christian theology there was a history of thinking about the degraded status of the interiorized *Imago Dei* in terms of condition-related issues pertaining to man-made material images. An early instance of such thinking appears in the treatise, *On the Incarnation of the Word*, by Athanasius, the fourth-century Bishop of Alexandria (in Egypt). In **Figure 193** appears an illumination of Athanasius standing before an image of Christ—the image is from the Theodore Psalter, made in 1066 in Constantinople, now in the collection of the British Library in London. *On the Incarnation of the Word* dates to about 335, and in it, Athanasius expounds the imagistically restorative effect of the incarnation of Christ for fallen human beings:

> For as, when the likeness painted on a panel has been effaced by stains from without, he whose likeness it is must needs come once more to enable the portrait to be renewed on the same wood, for, for the sake of the picture, even the mere wood on which it is painted is not thrown away, but the outline is renewed upon it; in the same way also the most holy Son of the Father, being the image of the Father, came to our region to renew man, once made in his likeness, and find him, as one lost, by the remission

> of sins; as he says himself in the Gospels, 'I came to find and to save the lost.'[452]

The incarnation of Christ is conceived here as a second sitting to repair a portrait. The first sitting corresponds to the originally perfect image of God portrayed (by God, the prime artist) in Adam, which was damaged because of Adam's disobedience, leading to his banishment from the Garden of Eden. This degraded image persists in later human beings, who are subsequently thought to be imagistically imperfect by nature.

As Athanasius writes, and for Puritans, too, the "death" of original sin was "brought to nought by Christ."[453] The Incarnation, which is likened to the renovation of a panel painting, is a pattern for the curating or conservation activity of the Puritan pastor. The pastoral maintenance of congregants' interior images is the coming and bringing, again and again, of a cleansing Jesus Christ (the restorative image of God, the second Adam) to the believer. Like today's conservators, who are usually trained as artists, pastors repair images using artistic skills—the pastor's skills are those of a Christian proficient in the art of living to God.

Athanasius's account of the Incarnation as a second sitting to restore a damaged portrait is derived, in part, from a discussion that appears in Plotinus's First Ennead—in the sixth tractate, addressing beauty. Plotinus exerted a tremendous influence on early Christian theology, as well as later Neoplatonism, including the Cambridge Platonists, a group of seventeenth-century philosophers associated with the University of Cambridge, which was (as I have mentioned) also the most important educational institution at which

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[452] Athanasius. "On the Incarnation of the Word," in *Christology of the Later Fathers*, The Library of Christian Classics Vol. 3, ed. Edward Rochie Hardy and Cyril C. Richardson, trans. Archibald Robertson (London: S.C.M. Press, 1954), 68. Similar formulations appear in the writings of Origen and Gregory of Nyssa. See Ladner, *Idea of Reform*, 91-93.

[453] Ibid., 84.

English Puritan ministers were trained. Although the Cambridge Platonists and Puritans disagreed about numerous matters theological and philosophical, they were interested in many of the same writers. And the Puritan fascination with the Christian Primordium meant that late antique philosophers such as Plotinus, who anticipated formulations in Christian theology and image theory, would have appealed to them, in some respects. At least it is fair to say that many Puritan ministers would have read some of Plotinus, together with Plato, Aristotle, and other ancient Greek and Roman philosophers.[454]

Plotinus writes of "the ugliness of the Soul":

> If a man has been immersed in filth or daubed with mud, his native comeliness disappears and all that is seen is the foul stuff besmearing him: his ugly condition is due to alien matter that has encrusted him, and if he is to win back his grace it must be his business to scour and purify himself and make himself what he was.
>
> So, we may justly say, a Soul becomes ugly—by something foisted upon it, by sinking itself into the alien, by a fall, a descent into body, into Matter. The dishonor of the Soul is in its ceasing to be clean and apart. Gold is degraded when it is mixed with earthy particles; if these be worked out, the gold is left and is beautiful, isolated from all that is foreign, gold with gold alone. And so the Soul; let it be but cleared of the desires that come by its too intimate converse with the body, emancipated from all the passions, purged of all that embodiment has thrust upon it, withdrawn, a solitary, to itself again—in that moment the ugliness that came only from the alien is stripped away.[455]

The "native comeliness" of the Plotinian man is muddied by his materiality—"by a fall, a descent into body, into Matter." Likewise, Adam, original man, was rendered ugly by "alien matter" (sin) that "encrusted him." He was golden, but was "degraded" when "mixed with earthy particles." The purified "Soul" as described by Plotinus is "gold with

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[454] The first early modern edition of Plotinus was printed in 1492. I had the opportunity to examine a copy of this text at Dr. Williams's Library in London: Plotinus, *Opera*, 2 vols., trans. with comment. Marsilius Ficunus (Florence, 1492). Like many of the volumes in Dr. Williams's Library, it was in an extremely poor state of conservation. Indeed, their Plotinus was, quite possibly, the dirtiest book I have ever handled. This is ironic considering Plotinus's interest in cleansing and restoration, which I discuss here.

[455] Plotinus, *Enneads*, 51.

gold alone." The perfected image of God or Christ in the Puritan heart or soul may in some measure be likened to a picture or a statue that is in pristine condition, well-curated and conserved—therefore free from "foreign" "earthy particles."

A key difference between the Plotinian and Puritan models for thinking about condition in debased people-as-images is the character and extent of corruption. Puritan theologians would have agreed with Athanasius, who argues that "the corruption which had set in [in postlapsarian man] was not external to the body, but had become attached to it."[456] The mud was not *on* the Puritan soul but *in* the Puritan soul. Also unlike the Plotinian man, the muddied man in Puritanism cannot "scour and purify himself." This implies an agency incongruent with a Calvinism in which "man's corruption which is entailed in the fall can be healed only by God's action in Christ."[457] The art historian and classicist, Margaret Miles, writes of the significance of the Incarnation for refreshing the inner paintings of God in Christians:

> In Athanasius's account of humanity's need for reformation, Plotinus' essential *connection* between the source of life and its myriad forms is lost. Plotinus's image required the continuous informing presence of its original (as does a mirror or pool of water). For Athanasius, even though the damaged painting is still arguably an image of its original, restoration of the likeness requires that the absent original return to provide a model for the renovations. It is not enough, as it was for Plotinus, for human beings to turn toward the source of their being, strengthening a connection that is unbroken but is cluttered and overgrown through lack of use. Athanasius taught that without God's initiating action, humans are helpless.[458]

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[456] Athanasius, "On the Incarnation of the Word," 99.

[457] Andrew Hamilton, "Athanasius and the Simile of the Mirror," *Vigiliae Christianae* 34:1 (March 1980): 14.

[458] Margaret R. Miles, "Image," in *Critical Terms for Religious Studies*, ed. Mark C. Taylor (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 164.

Early modern emblem books, popular among Catholics and Protestants alike, sometimes include depictions of Christ cleaning up the Christian's heart. In the circa 1600 Antonie Wierix emblem reproduced in **Figure 194**, for instance, the Christ child, with broom in hand, sweeps "a brood of reptilian monsters" from the believer's heart.[459] For Puritans, material things and material images—indeed materiality itself—are part of what must be swept away. In his 1649 sermon entitled *Gods Anatomy upon Mans Heart*, Thomas Watson likewise suggests that it is the "initiating action" of God that works in the believer to maintain or improve the condition of his or her interior— including the image of God that is housed therein. Watson aligns this curating and the practice of anatomy. **(Figure 195)** He writes of "an Anatomie, where is a dissection and cutting-up of every part, the Mesentery, the Liver, the Arteries. Such a kind of Anatomy doth God make in the soul; an Heart-Anatomy: He doth cut up the inward parts, and makes a difference; This is Flesh, that is Spirit; this is Faith, that is Fancie."[460] In the literature that defines pastoral practice as curating, it is important to realize that ideas about curating are often expressed through metaphors of medical "curing." The curator and the doctor are kindred spirits. Yet it is not ultimately the conservation of material images or material bodies that concerns Puritan theologians. It is these practices understood spiritually.

I would like to look now at the 1973-74 *Maintenance Art Performance Series* of Mierle Laderman Ukeles in relation to the Puritan description of pastors as curators or conservators of interior images.[461] **Figure 196** shows a photograph documenting Ukeles's

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[459] For useful analyses of related heart emblems, see Hamburger, "The House of the Heart," and Armando Maggi, "Visual and Verbal Communication in Francesco Pona's *Cardiomorphoseos* (1645)," *Word & Image* 16:2 (April-June 2000): 212-224.

[460] Thomas Watson, *Gods Anatomy upon Mans Heart* (London, 1649), 2.

Hartford Wash: Washing Tracks, Maintenance Outside of 1973, and **Figure 197** a photo documenting her *Maintenance Inside* performance, a related action which also took place at the Wadsworth Atheneum Museum of Art in Hartford, Connecticut, in 1973. These performances are a part of a larger series (with fifteen performances in all) entitled *Maintenance Art Performance Series* (1973-74).[462] This series is an important early example of Institutional Critique, and it has recently received thoughtful analysis from art historians—in particular Helen Molesworth and Miwon Kwon.

In 1968, Ukeles gave birth to her first child, and she then became interested in maintenance as a subject—the idea of "taking care"—as well as the relation between taking care and art, taking care and culture. She believed that because of its (often dull) repetitiveness that maintenance was not valued in Western culture. If an artist was not making something new, moving forward, the work was not valuable. Also, the culture of art, like culture in general, depended upon maintenance for its existence, even though this dependence was either unacknowledged or invisible. The work of maintenance is undertaken, to some extent, by everyone, but especially by home-making women, minorities, and an under-class of persons who drive garbage trucks, mop floors, clean toilets, and so on. For Ukeles, maintenance includes everything from the daily tasks of individuals in their own households to the work of large-scale urban sanitation departments.

In her *Manifesto for Maintenance Art*, composed in 1969, she writes, "Maintenance is a drag; it takes all the fucking time (lit.) The mind boggles and chafes at

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[461] My understanding of Ukeles's practice has been very much enhanced by seeing/listening to her lecture at the University of Houston in November 2011.

[462] Mierle Laderman Ukeles, with responses by Miwon Kwon and Helen Molesworth, "Maintenance Art Activity (1973)," *Documents* 10 (1997): 5.

the boredom. The culture confers lousy status on the maintenance jobs = minimum wages, housewives = no pay."[463] Both pastoral curatorship and Ukeles's maintenance art are person-centered forms of anti-art. Both consider (or reconsider) the relations of things that are inside to things that are outside, and vice-versa. In Ukeles's case, what is inside the modern museum's white box versus what is outside, what is inside "culture" versus what is outside. And, for Puritan ministers, what is inside the believer versus what is outside in the world, what is inside "art," however defined, versus what is outside of it.

But here we can also notice an important difference between pastoral care in Puritanism and Ukeles's *Maintenance Art Performance Series*. In Puritanism this work is practiced by a class of white Anglo male ministers. Puritan pastoral curatorhship does not undercut an existing patriarchal social hierarchy but is part of a discourse buttressing the authority of those already in power. Puritan believers can to some extent self-curate their interior images through meditation and self-examination practices—in his elegy on Sarah Leveret, Cotton Mather calls this "the Art of managing our Hearts."[464] Self-curatorship and pastoral curatorship are both termed "Heart-Work." Aside from self-care, only pastors (as, in some respects, surrogates of God or Christ on earth) have the ability to care for the interior images of their congregants.[465] Ukeles, on the other hand, exposes and

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[463] Ibid., 6.

[464] Cotton Mather, "A Lacrymatory," in *Cotton Mather's Verse in English*, 82. Mather contrasts this art with "the *Liberal Arts*."

[465] For a reflection on self-curating "Heart-Work," see Cotton Mather, *Work Within-Doors* (Boston, 1709). Mather writes of of self-curating as frame-related conservation: "Charge *your own Hearts*, to fall into no *Frames*, but what may become an *heart in the Fear of the Lord all the Day long*. Our *Hearts* are sooner & oftner out of Order, than any *Clock* or *Watch*, of the most various Motions in the World. We ought to be very *Watchful* over the *Frames* of our *Hearts*. We should always be able to say, Psal. 57. 7. *My heart is fixed*, *O God*, *my heart is fixed*. Watch against a Lifeless, and Slothful *Frame* of Heart, in attending on the Business of this *World*. Watch against a *Carnal Frame* of Heart in *Prosperity*; against an *Impatient*, and a *Discontented Frame* of Heart in Adversity; against a Fretful, Froward, *Unadviseable Frame* of Heart under

critiques the unequal class relations between artists and different kinds of maintenance workers, by making maintenance visible in a museum context, thus democratizing social relations, having maintenance = art and art = maintenance to these ends.

Both Puritan ministers and Ukeles are interested, though, in tearing down the boundaries between worlds of art and worlds at large. The reasons are not altogether different—the Puritans whose works I have addressed in this dissertation are writing at a moment when drawing, painting, sculpting, printing, and building are emerging in Anglo culture as "art" for the first time—the first English museums were founded in the later seventeenth century, which employed the first keepers of collections (forerunners of today's curators). Educated Puritans reject the culture of material making as art, replacing such making with the art of living to God—a type of art making that pervades lived experience; it is not art making as sequestered in an artist's studio. Eupraxian exhibitions occur at home and in the streets, potentially in all of the daily actions of a virtuous Puritan. One's inner image is expressed to some extent outwardly in conduct, although as we have seen, form is a very complicated matter when it comes to determining whether Puritan artists/living images are sincere or insincere.

Like much of the performance art of the 1960s and 70s, Ukeles's performances are likewise a critique, among other things, of the materialism of the art world, of art defined as the manufacture of material objects for capitalistic consumption by a monied class, substituting for object-making an emphasis on action, practice, and process—in particular on practices of taking care. For both the Puritan ministers who curate/conserve

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Provocation. Such *Frames* will be distastful to the Lord, who says concerning this *heart* of ours, *I have desired it for my Dwelling-place*" (16-17).

interior images and Ukeles, maintenance is infinite labor—the work is "never done."[466] To Ukeles, maintenance is "work that goes nowhere," but it is also "*the work that makes all other work possible*."[467] Something similar may be said about the curatorial and conservationist labor of the Puritan pastor, at least from his own perspective. The labor of caring for congregants' inner images may never end, but it is only by taking care of these images that one's congregants can (hope to) live artfully.

Figure 198 illustrates a photograph documenting another Ukeles performance at the Wadsworth Atheneum—this performance is called *Transfer: The Maintenance of the Art Object* (1974). Ukeles is shown cleaning a vitrine containing a female mummy; this was usually the work of the janitor. Helen Molesworth writes,

> [Ukeles] cleaned the case as a 'maintenance artist,' as opposed to a maintenance person, making what she called a 'dust painting.' The cleaned case, now designated a 'maintenance art work,' could only be cleaned by the museum conservator. Here the 'work' in art work and the 'work' in maintenance work (or housework) were made analogous as three different jobs became the same job. And as the labor of cleaning metamorphosed from maintenance to art, it became work that demanded the attention of museum professionals.[468]

Ostensibly cleaning a case housing a mummy, Ukeles muddies the categories of artist, conservator, and janitor. In the Puritan discourse I am studying, it is fair to say that the third term—janitor—has no place. Pastoral curatorship is not a critique of the self-effacing character of maintenance as underpinning the anti-democratizing effects of a patriarchal capitalism. (Also, conservation = restoration for Puritan ministers, unlike the notion of conservation versus restoration today.)

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[466] Ukeles, with Kwon and Molesworth, "Maintenance Art Activity," 18.

[467] Ibid., 18-19.

[468] Ibid., 20.

But there is a similarity here, too. And it was only in looking at works of 1960s and 70s performance art and reading the scholarship on such works that I realized this. The sources describing the discourse of the art of living to God in Puritanism, including pastoral curatorship (which, as I have argued, is a part of the art of living) are almost always biographical literatures, including funeral sermons. These textual sources, we could say, are to the artful performativity of practicing Puritans what the documentary photograph is to performance art. The sermons record (or construct) lives lived artfully (which, like performance art, conflate artist and artwork), and without these texts, the artful performances of Puritans would be unknown to us. We might even go so far as to say that the documentation of Ukeles's performance is a photographic funeral sermon to a late Puritan action, and that there may be something to be gained, as well, by scholars of contemporary art considering the *Maintenance Art Performance Series* of Ukeles in relation to the discourse of the art of living in Puritanism.[469] It is notable coincidence that Ukeles's performances at the Wadsworth Atheneum took place directly across the street from Center Church, the First Church of Christ in Hartford. The congregation that worships there today is descended from the Puritan congregation that was established by Thomas Hooker in the 1630s. Like the Puritan pastors of Hartford before her (such as Hooker, as well as Samuel Stone), Ukeles made taking care a part of art.[470]

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[469] Jennifer Roberts's new metacritical work on ideas of earliness and lateness in the study of American art helped me to arrive at this conjecture.

[470] Both Hooker and Stone are interred in the Ancient Burying Ground, abutting the church.

Lives of the Artists / Puritan Life-Writing as a History of Art and Architecture

As I began this project, I was reading in the works of Cotton Mather and was surprised to find that he sometimes writes about painters and sculptors both ancient and modern (that is, in the sense that art historians usually mean "painters" and "sculptors"). Mather mentions Cimabue and Titian at the beginning of his *Bonifacius*, in both cases using anecdotes associated with their practices as painters to think about his own practice as an author of godly texts (which is for him also a part of his practice of the art of living to God). Mather writes,

> That writer was in the right of it, who says, 'I can't understand, how any honest man can print a book, and yet profess, that he thinks none will be the wiser or better for the reading of it.' Indeed, I own that my subject is worthy to be much *better* handled, and my manner of handling it is not such that I dare do as the famous painter *Titian* did on his pieces, write my name, with a double, *Fecit*, *Fecit*, as much as to say, 'Very well done': and I must have utterly suppressed it, if I had been of the same humor, with *Cimabue*, another famous painter, who, if himself or any other spied the least fault in his pieces, would utterly deface them and destroy them, though he had bestowed a twelvemonth's pains upon them. Yet I will venture to say, the book is full of *reasonable* and *serviceable* things; and it would be well for us, if such things were hearkened to; and I have *done well* to offer them.[471]

Mather refers to the "*Fecit*, *Fecit*" signature on the well-known *Annunciation* by Titian in the church of San Salvador in Venice. **(Figure 199)** Although a number of Titian Annunciations were engraved and circulated in the Atlantic world in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, none that I have seen bear the double *Fecit* signature. Mather likely read about the signature of Titian in some book, possibly a travel account like that written by George Sandys. In Giorgio Vasari's "Life of Cimabue," the author includes a gloss from 1334 on Dante's famous passage in *Purgatorio* comparing Giotto

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[471] Cotton Mather, *Bonifacius*, 14.

and Cimabue: “Cimabue was a Florentine painter who lived at the time of the poet; he had outstanding ability, but he was so arrogant and disdainful that if anyone remarked any fault or defect in his work or if he had noticed any himself, he immediately rejected it, no matter how precious it might be.”[472] In his comments about Cimabue and Titian, and elsewhere in his writing, Mather’s reduction of the history of material art making to anecdote is—it seems to me—a deliberate strategy. For Mather to anecdotalize material art making is to diminish it.

It seems clear, though, that in order to do this Mather has taken the time to read about Cimabue (who around 1700 is not an artist much written about) in either Dante or Vasari. We can be certain that he knew Dante; no copy of Vasari’s *Lives* exists in the remains of the Mather libraries, though it is possible, if not probable, that he had seen or read Vasari in the original Italian. **(Figure 200)** The first English translation of Vasari’s *Lives*, a selection by William Aglionby, was published in 1685. But Aglionby’s digest does not contain either of these anecdotes.[473] In the existing scholarship on the history of American art, there is no sense that anyone in the English colonies read Vasari’s *Lives*, and that it is not until the early nineteenth century (once the colonies had become the United States) that anyone knew or cared about Vasari or other European writers of art/architectural history

There is an early copy of Vasari in the collections of Dr Williams’s Library in London. Founded in 1715/16, this library is devoted to the study of the long history of English Protestant nonconformity. Daniel Williams, a leading nonconformist minister,

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[472] Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the Artists*, 2 vols., trans. George Bull (London: Penguin Books, 1965 and 1987), 1:55.

[473] See William Aglionby, *Painting Illustrated in Three Diallogues* (London, 1686).

provided for the establishment of a library in his will, and among the books that form the basis of the collection are those from the library of William Bates, about whom I have written a lot in this dissertation. That Bates owned their Vasari cannot be definitively proved, though the library's director, David Wykes, asserted during my time researching there that most of the "literary" holdings in the collection are presumed to have come from him.[474] Bates owned, for example, a First Folio Shakespeare (one of only forty or so complete copies in existence), sold by Dr. Williams's Library at auction for £2.5 million in 2006. I mention this information about Mather's writing on Cimabue and Titian and about the Dr Williams's Library Vasari, because it suggests that Puritan ministers were more familiar with writings about the history of art and architecture (that is, as we usually conceive of it) than we might suspect. A text such as Vasari's *Lives* would be interesting to them as a history of art and architecture and also as an important example of biographical writing. Indeed, Vasari's *Lives* is as significant to the history of biographical writing as it is to the history of art.[475]

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[474] Conversation with David Wykes, March 2010.

[475] On Vasari as biographer, see Reed Whittemore, *Pure Lives: The Early Biographers* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988). In thinking beyond Mather's writings, students of early American art would do well to consider the importance of writing on art in other contexts in which one is not necessarily so much used to seeing it. Indeed, some of the most telling texts dealing with art published in colonial New England are works that are not ostensibly about art or artists. One of the most interesting writings I have located is a book in the American Antiquarian Society's collections, dating to 1733, of anonymous authorship, and published in Boston, entitled *The Pleasant and Profitable Companion, Being a Collection of Ingenious and Diverting Historys; With Suitable Applications or Morals for Instructing the Mind, and Encouraging Virtue*. It is essentially a book with stories meant to edify the reader and to make him or her a good Christian. The 61st history in the book—"Of an Italian Painter, &c."—is a remarkable historical fabrication concerning Giotto. It is constructed to satisfy a Protestant readership with anti-Catholic sentiments and ambivalent feelings concerning image practice. The story tells, in short, of Giotto's strapping a model for Christ to a cross in his studio, murdering him, and then painting a crucifix from the perverse assemblage. Although the pope is greatly angered initially for Giotto's having killed a man in order to facilitate his painting the dead Christ, he later recants, praising the painting, and the author writes, "[T]hey say this Crucifix is the original by which the most famous Crucifixes in *Europe* are drawn" (165). The suggestion is that Catholic crucifixes are ultimately based on a dead model (not the true Christ), and as such they are idols or dead images. It seems likely, if not certain, that this story is derived from Vasari's

The projects of Vasari and Puritan biographers are, in many ways, similar. Both Vasari's *Lives* and Puritan biographical collections (e.g. by Samuel Clarke in England or Cotton Mather's *Magnalia* in New England) are a kind of history comprising biographies of great artists. Vasari has collected and composed biographies of Italian artists, and some architects, beginning with Cimabue and Giotto—his *Lives* reach their apex in his account of Michelangelo. Clarke and Mather have collected/composed biographies of Puritan "artists" or "builders." Both Vasari and the Puritan biographers formulate their books as textual monuments for the artists' lives they record/invent. They are both understood as devices for preserving the names and effecting the immortality of ideal white men (Georges Didi-Huberman has described Vasari's *Lives* thus, and Nanette Salomon and other feminist art historians have deconstructed Vasari's art historical masculinism)—in this sense, both books perform resurrection, raising the dead and breathing life into them again.[476] Early printings of Vasari's *Lives* sometimes include depictions of the resurrection on the title page or endpapers. **(e.g. Figure 201)**

Although it is not usually described as such by art historians, Vasari's *Lives* is a decidedly *Roman Catholic* history of art and architecture.[477] Paul Barolsky refers to it as "a holy history of art," "a deeply reformist work, born of the spiritual resonances of the

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assertion that Giotto revived the practice of drawing from a life model. See Vasari, *Lives of the Artists*, 1:58.

[476] See Nanette Salomon, "The Art Historical Canon: Sins of Omission," in *(En)Gendering Knowledge: Feminists in Academe*, ed. Joan E. Hartman and Ellen Messer-Davidow (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1991), 222-236. Didi-Huberman's analysis of Vasari's *Lives* is particularly outstanding. See Georges Didi-Huberman, "Art as Rebirth and the Immortality of the Ideal Man," in *Confronting Images: Questioning the Ends of a Certain History of Art*, trans. John Goodman (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005), 53-84.

[477] On the religiosity of Vasari's *Lives*, see Dónal J. O'Connor, "Art Friars of the Renaissance in Georgio [*sic*] Vasari," *Irish Theological Quarterly* 63:2 (1998): 167-195; and Paul Barolsky, "The Theology of Vasari," *Source: Notes in the History of Art* (Spring 2000): 1-6.

Counter-Reformation, and, as such, is a book of profound piety, of deep spirituality, not dissimilar in spirit to the fervent poetry written in the same years by Michelangelo."[478] Reading Vasari's lives from a more disinterested perspective as art historians of the early twenty-first century, we can see it as a collection of exemplarly lives, an early modern outgrowth of the traditions of Catholic hagiography. We can see the paintings and statues made by Italian Renaissance artists as expressions of their piety.

For Puritan readers such as Mather or Bates this would be different. Whereas in Vasari's *Lives* the fame and memory of Roman Catholic artists and architects is primarily predicated upon the material objects and structures they created, in Puritan life-writing the records of biographical subjects depend upon their iconoclastic and anti-material practice of the art of living to God. Puritan artists and builders are distinguished for their skillfulness in artful living and edificatory building. Samuel Clarke's collections of lives and Cotton Mather's *Magnalia* are to Anglo- and Anglo-American Puritan art and architecture what Vasari's *Lives* is to Italian Renaissance art and architecture. All Puritan biographers are, in this sense, historians of art and architecture, with figures such as Clarke and Mather of particular importance. Mather composed well over one hundred biographies in his lifetime. Funeral sermons and broadside elegies can also be considered histories of Puritan art and architecture. Understanding these types of literature in light of the discourse of the art of living to God supplies a new and (I think, or hope) exciting way of understanding them. Puritan biography is, then, perhaps the earliest iteration of Anglo-American art and architectural history, predating William Dunlap's 1834 *History*

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[478] Barolsky, "Theology of Vasari," 5-6. On Counter-Reformation-era Roman Catholic art and/as piety, see also Alexander Nagel, *Michelangelo and the Reform of Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States by one or two centuries.[479]

Puritan biographical literatures are also something like the Puritan equivalent of documentation of performance art practices. While pictorial form was too much freighted with associations of formal outwardness for portrait paintings or portrait prints to serve as bearers of information documenting the art of living to God, texts were more reliable. As we have seen, one had to be careful, as even biographies of godly persons could become idols, and looking off of all things and persons to Christ was, ultimately, an ideal relation (or non-relation) to the world. Biographers also had to evaluate the anti-formal forms of the persons they memorialized. One imagines that this was not easy.

Funerary monuments in Puritanism look different from the perspective of our study of the discourse of the art of living (rather than from the perspective of material culture methods). **Figure 202** pictures the tombstone of Thomas Bailey at Watertown, Massachusetts (died 1688). Thomas was the brother of John Bailey, with whose biography, by Cotton Mather, we began. Skilled in the art of living, Bailey is described in terms of a group of virtuous characterizations and then termed “A good Copy for all Survivors.” In New England, Puritan grave markers are, for the most part, text-centered and thus closely linked with Puritan literary traditions, especially life-writing, which as we have seen can be considered a history of art and architecture. Puritan ministers themselves often composed the epitaphs that appeared on tombstones.[480] But their

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[479] See William Dunlap, *History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of the United States*, 2 vols. (New York: George P. Scott and Co., Printers, 1834). On Dunlap’s book as the first history of American art, see Maura Lyons, *William Dunlap and the Construction of an American Art History* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2005).

[480] The history of epitaph composition as a literary form in early New England is as yet unwritten.

obdurate materiality makes funerary monuments a category of object that is different from a godly text in print or in manuscript. Puritan gravestones do not have quite the same anti-material associations as these other types of texts. In England Puritan funerary monuments, especially those situated inside of chapels, as at Oxford or Cambridge, can bear carved or painted pictorial portraits and little or no text.[481] **(e.g. Figure 203, the circa 1607 mural monument to the Elizabethan Puritan John Rainolds at Oxford)** And as we have seen, the theorization of the dead image in Puritanism is directly connected to the idea of the tomb (recall Matthew 23:27 on hypocrites as "whited sepulchres"). It is ultimately unclear to what extent tombs might be considered reliable as histories of Puritan art and architecture. Their status as site-specific terminal commodities in some measure excepts them from the problems associated with the possessability and exchangeability of other types of worldly objects.

If for Puritans Christ was the prime mediator, sent to the world to reconcile fallen humans with God, his followers were second-order mediators. Godly texts in print and manuscript that describe and archive the art of living further mediate these mediations. Their pages incorporate the art of living and its histories and, in turn, the Puritans who accessed the texts and performed the art of living metaphorically re-incorporated them. To conclude: Puritans were self-described nonconformists but also deeply occupied with theorizing a model of good living as art work that is all about conformity—conformity of the believer to a mystical Christological corporation. The art of living is not pure medial extension; it is also a form of constraint. Although not always explicitly theorized as

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[481] On academic memorials at Oxford, see Peter D. Sherlock, "Academic Commemoration: Monuments at Corpus Christi College Oxford, 1517-1700," *Church Monuments* 14 (1999): 80-87; and Stefanie Knoell, "An Eternal Academic Community: Oxford Memorials, 1580-1680," *Church Monuments* 16 (2001): 58-64.

such, the art of living and its attendant image theory are patriarchal. It can be hard to reconcile the gender bias built into some of this writing with the social consciousness that is there, as well. As I have mentioned their art/image theories include radical identifications with the poor as true images of Christ, and these theories are clearly a part of a long history of socialistic Christian egalitarianism that does this. But the theories also identify sin with various "others" and their bodies.

In some especially unappealing passages in *Media: The Middle Things*, Isaac Ambrose talks about sin as a dirty "menstruous rag."[482] Many Puritan ministers equate misleading, dead, worldly picturing (broadly then, lying or hypocrisy) with the self-painting of ethnic others (Picts) and women's make-up, contrasting this false painting with true godly living picturing. In character writing and biography the qualities according to which the woman's art of living is defined are strongly gendered. Ambrose even writes that the image of Christ is to some extent naturally present in male authority figures like husbands and masters—and this no matter how sinful their behavior.[483] Other works of Puritan practical theology indicate that ministers have a proximity to the image of Christ that non-ministers lack.

On the one hand, the Puritan critique of art defined as the material making of things like paintings and sculptures and its replacement with a theory of godly living as painting, drawing, shining, walking, printing, pressing, building, and planting is radical, even potently resistant. Their theorization of a mediate, rather than an immediate, art of living—where art is the instrumental possession of believers by God or Christ and insistently a means but never an end in itself—can be appealingly self-conscious. But at

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[482] Ambrose, *Media*, 404. Ambrose also describes the idol as a "*menstruous cloth*" (101).

[483] Ibid., 280, 285-286.

the same time, their art theory is embedded in a cultural system that can seem a lot like what we call corporate media, which serves certain interests more than others' and populates the world with mystifying, authoritative mediate images whose veracity must ultimately be taken on faith…images as concealing (of historical materialism, social labor, and the politics of social relations) as they are revealing (of the thirst of certain cultural producers for creating consensus and for fixing measures of truth).[484] We might even consider this subject an episode in the history of the corporate image or corporate media. Indeed, modern and contemporary theories of the corporate image/media depend heavily on earlier theories of image and media appearing in the literature of Christian corporate theology. The thoroughgoing deployment by artists of their own and other human bodies to contest authoritarian ideologies—of Western culture, of art history, of the archive, of social inequality, etc.—so significant to more recent performance art—is not in evidence in this Puritan discourse in the same way.

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[484] In thinking about the similarity of the corporate image in Puritanism to the corporate image in contemporary culture, I have benefitted from Ann Kibbey, "The Capitalist Theory of the Image," in *Theory of the Image: Capitalism, Contemporary Film, and Women* (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 2005), 5-44. Kibbey so insists that the living image in Calvinism is reified, though, that she obscures the complex dialectics of living imagistic reification and living imagistic dynamism in Calvinist cultures, including Puritanism.

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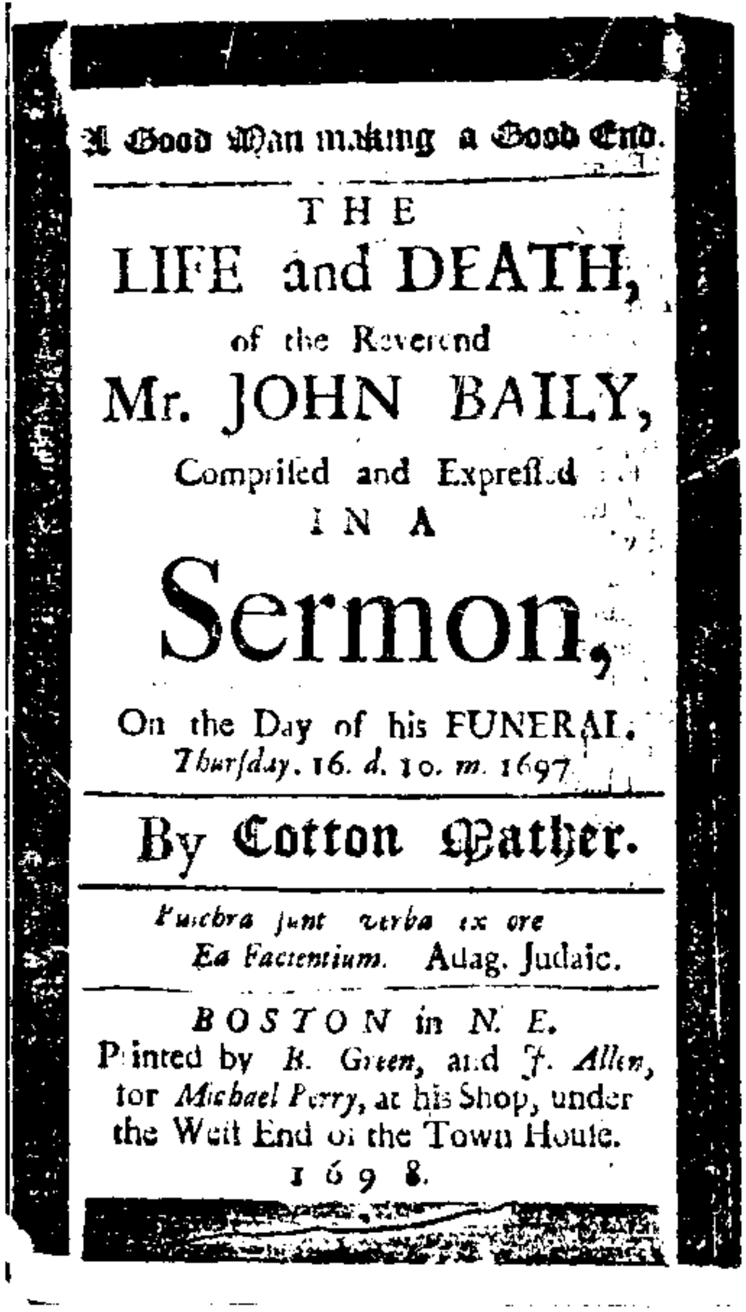


A Good Man making a Good End.

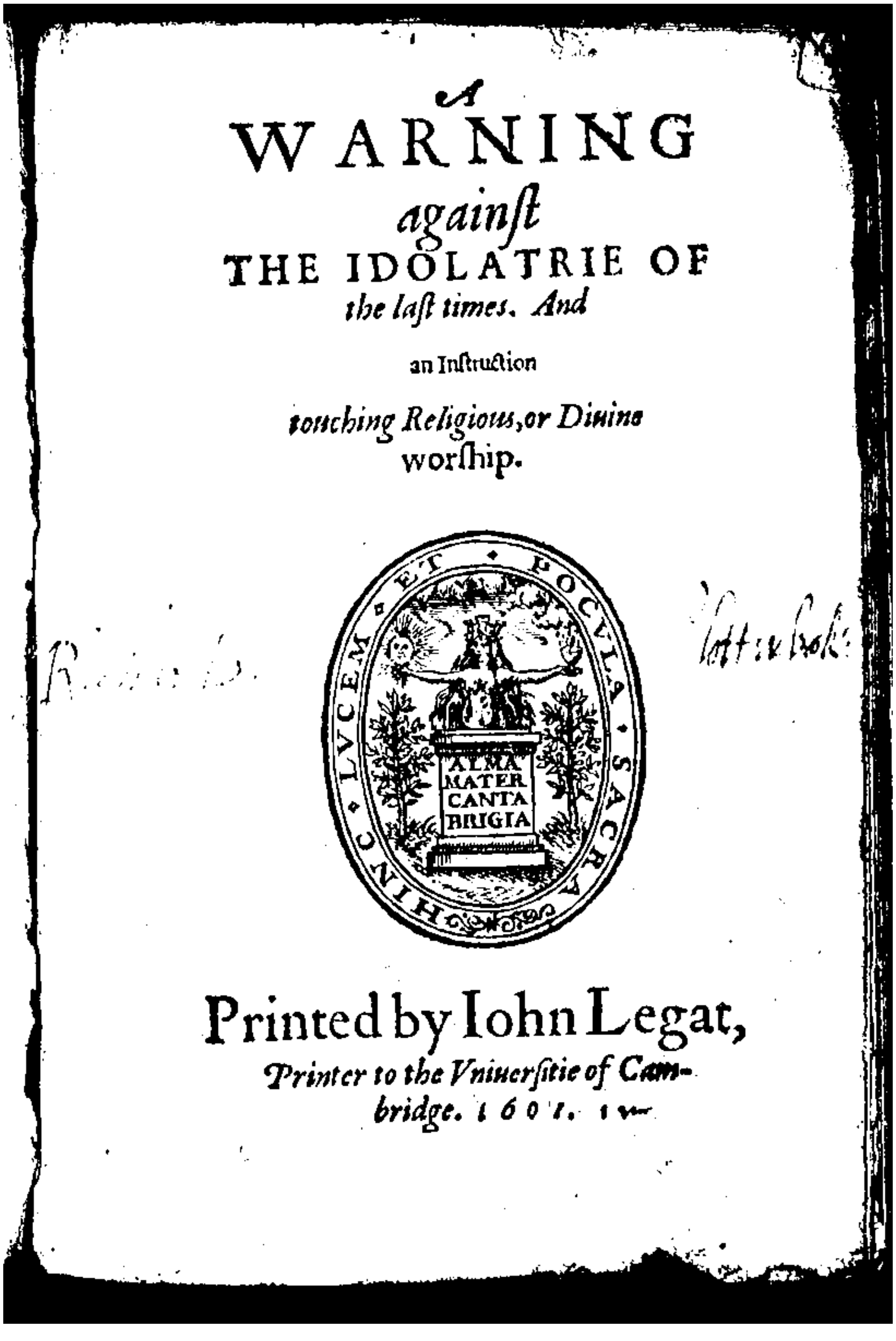
THE
LIFE and DEATH,
of the Reverend
Mr. JOHN BAILY,
Compriſed and Expreſſed
IN A
Sermon,
On the Day of his FUNERAL.
Thurſday. 16. *d.* 10. *m.* 1697.

By Cotton Mather.

Pulchra ſunt verba ex ore
Ea Facientium. Adag. Judaic.

BOSTON in *N. E.*
Printed by *B. Green*, and *J. Allen*,
for *Michael Perry*, at his Shop, under
the Weſt End of the Town Houſe.
1698.

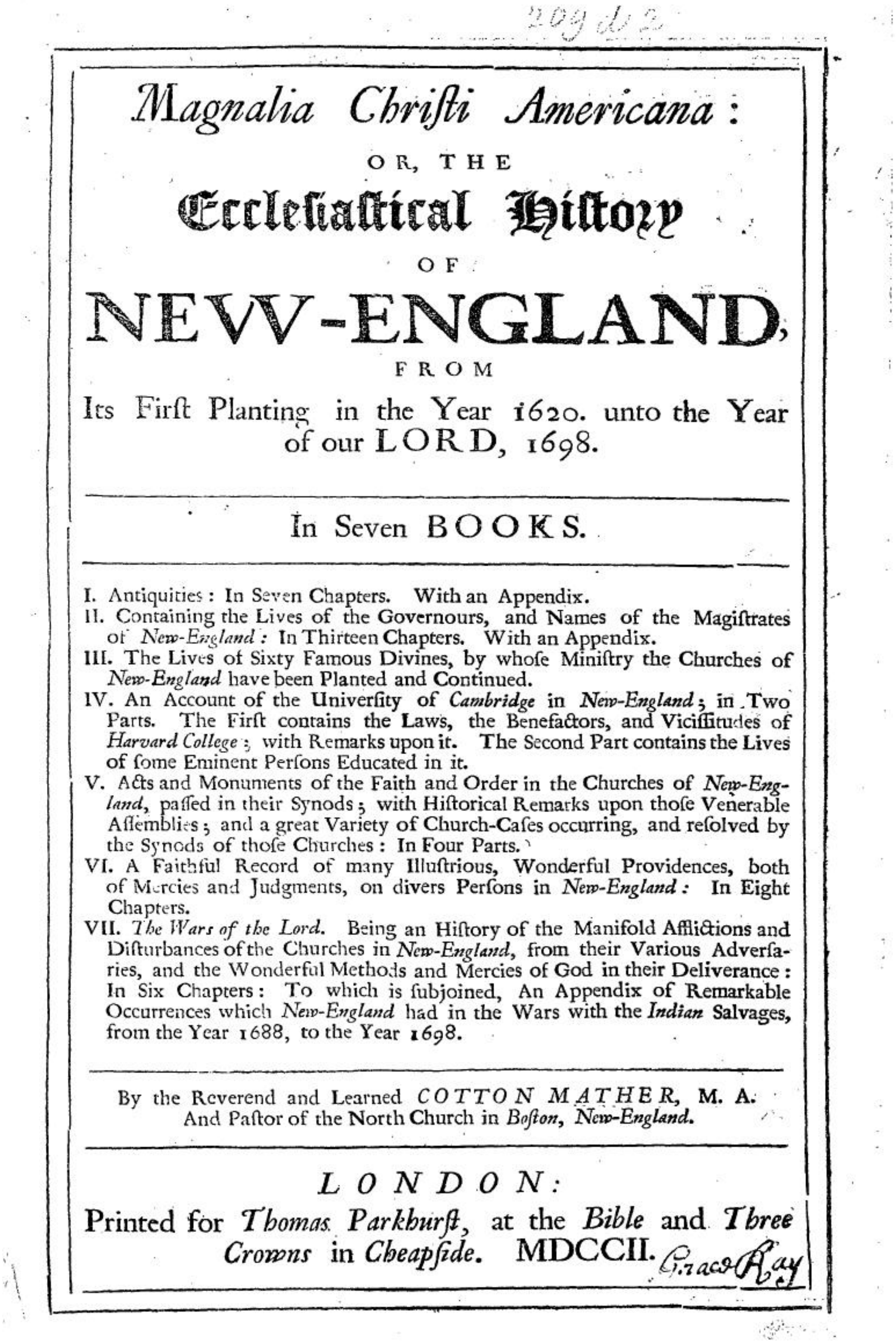
Figure 1. Title page, Cotton Mather, *A Good Man Making a Good End*, Boston, 1698. American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts



A
WARNING
againſt
THE IDOLATRIE OF
the laſt times. And
an Inſtruction
touching Religious, or Diuine
worſhip.

Printed by Iohn Legat,
Printer to the Vniuerſitie of Cam-
bridge. 1601.

Figure 2. Title page, William Perkins, *A Warning Against the Idolatrie of the Last Times*, Cambridge, England, 1601. Union Theological Seminary Library, New York



Magnalia Chriſti Americana:

OR, THE

Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory

OF

NEW-ENGLAND,

FROM

Its Firſt Planting in the Year 1620. unto the Year
of our LORD, 1698.

In Seven BOOKS.

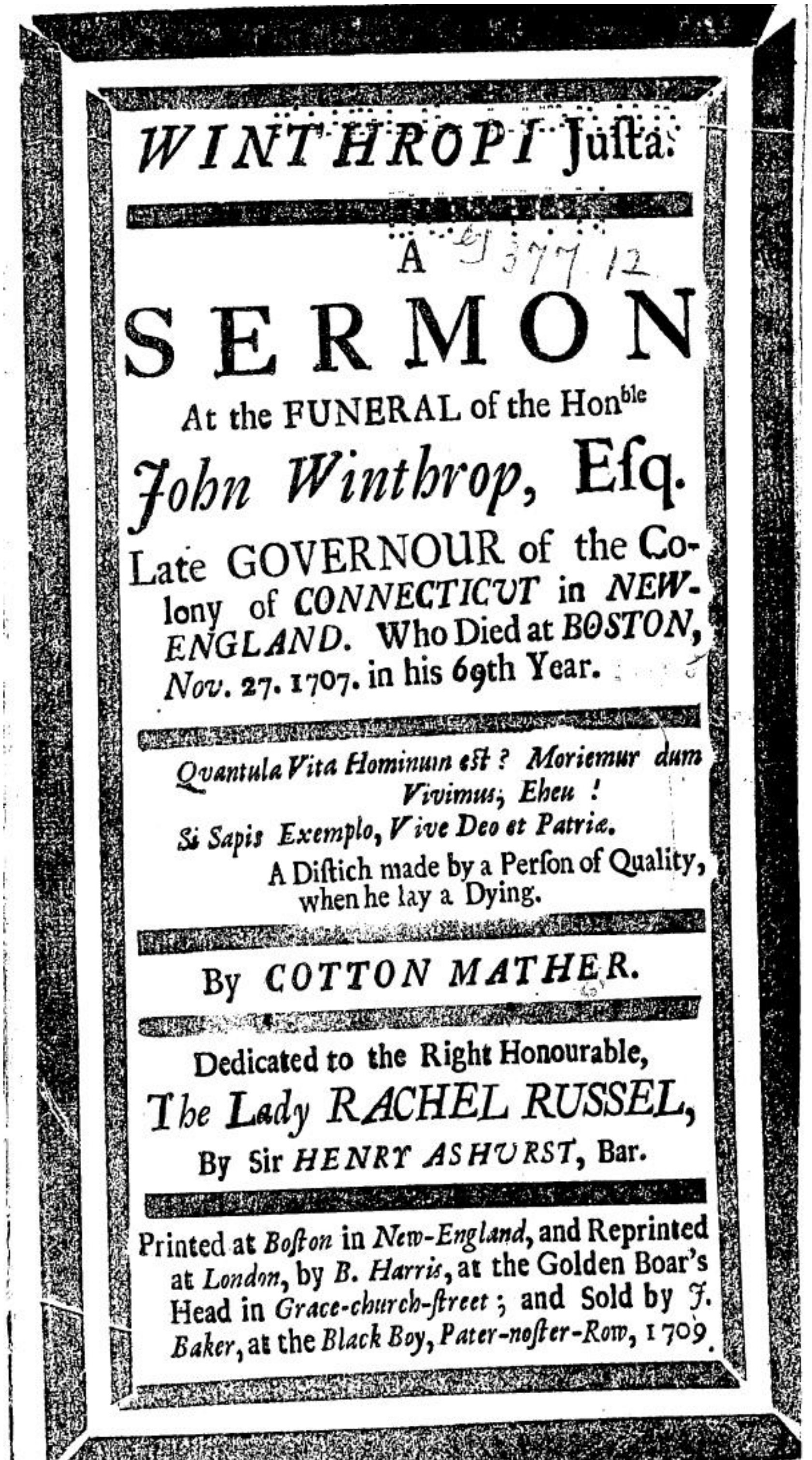
I. Antiquities: In Seven Chapters. With an Appendix.
II. Containing the Lives of the Governours, and Names of the Magiſtrates of *New-England*: In Thirteen Chapters. With an Appendix.
III. The Lives of Sixty Famous Divines, by whoſe Miniſtry the Churches of *New-England* have been Planted and Continued.
IV. An Account of the Univerſity of *Cambridge* in *New-England*; in Two Parts. The Firſt contains the Laws, the Benefactors, and Viciſſitudes of *Harvard College*; with Remarks upon it. The Second Part contains the Lives of ſome Eminent Perſons Educated in it.
V. Acts and Monuments of the Faith and Order in the Churches of *New-England*, paſſed in their Synods; with Hiſtorical Remarks upon thoſe Venerable Aſſemblies; and a great Variety of Church-Caſes occurring, and reſolved by the Synods of thoſe Churches: In Four Parts.
VI. A Faithful Record of many Illuſtrious, Wonderful Providences, both of Mercies and Judgments, on divers Perſons in *New-England*: In Eight Chapters.
VII. *The Wars of the Lord.* Being an Hiſtory of the Manifold Afflictions and Diſturbances of the Churches in *New-England*, from their Various Adverſaries, and the Wonderful Methods and Mercies of God in their Deliverance: In Six Chapters: To which is ſubjoined, An Appendix of Remarkable Occurrences which *New-England* had in the Wars with the ***Indian*** Salvages, from the Year 1688, to the Year 1698.

By the Reverend and Learned *COTTON MATHER*, M. A.
And Paſtor of the North Church in *Boſton*, *New-England*.

LONDON:
Printed for *Thomas Parkhurſt*, at the *Bible* and *Three Crowns* in *Cheapſide*. MDCCII.

Grace Ray

Figure 3. Title page, Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana*, London, 1702. British Library, London



WINTHROPI Juſta.

A

SERMON

At the FUNERAL of the Hon^{ble}

John Winthrop, Eſq.

Late GOVERNOUR of the Colony of *CONNECTICUT* in *NEW-ENGLAND*. Who Died at *BOSTON*, *Nov.* 27. 1707. in his 69th Year.

Quantula Vita Hominum eſt? Moriemur dum Vivimus; Eheu!
Si Sapis Exemplo, Vive Deo et Patriæ.
A Diſtich made by a Perſon of Quality, when he lay a Dying.

By *COTTON MATHER*.

Dedicated to the Right Honourable,

The Lady RACHEL RUSSEL,

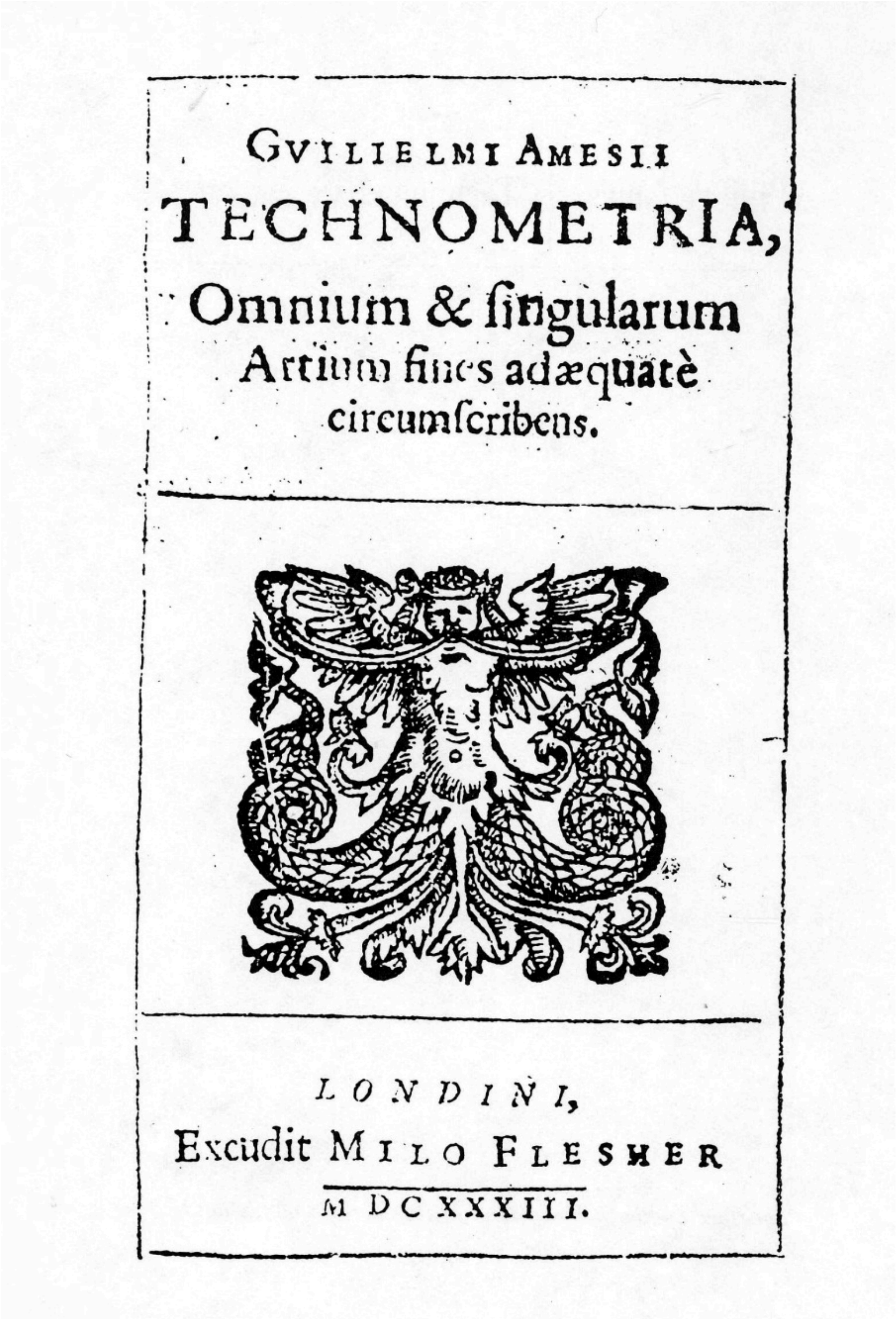
By Sir *HENRY ASHURST*, Bar.

Printed at *Boſton* in *New-England*, and Reprinted at *London*, by *B. Harris*, at the Golden Boar's Head in *Grace-church-ſtreet*; and Sold by *J. Baker*, at the *Black Boy*, *Pater-noſter-Row*, 1709.

Figure 4. Title page, Cotton Mather, *Winthropi Justa*, Boston, 1709. American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts

Figure 5. Raising of Lazarus, 4th century CE. Chamber XIII, Catacombe SS. Marcellino e Pietro, Rome

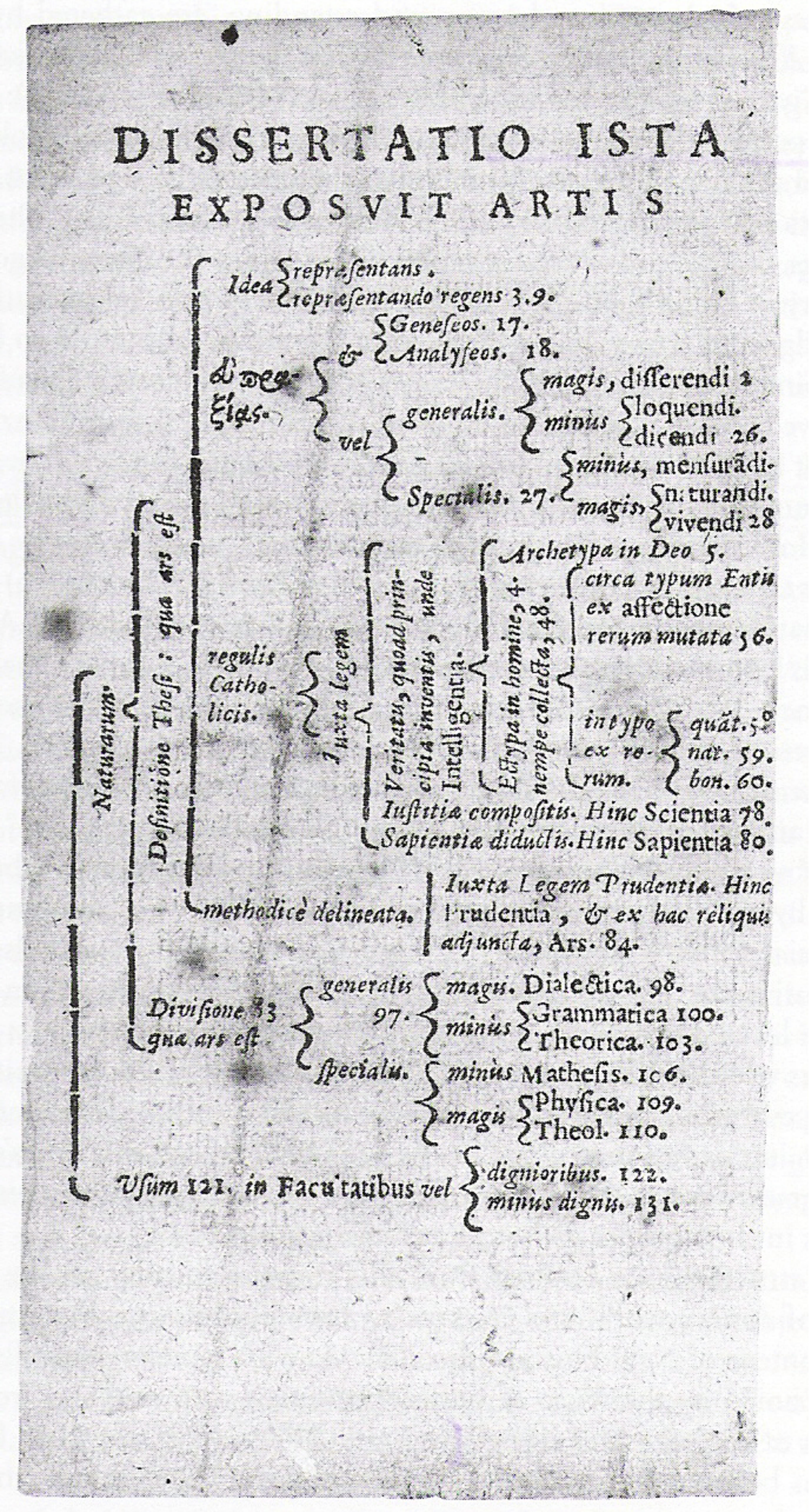
Figure 6. Early Christian gravestone with Chi-Rho monogram. Museo Pio-Clementino, Vatican City



GVILIELMI AMESII
TECHNOMETRIA,
Omnium & ſingularum
Artium fines adæquatè
circumſcribens.

LONDINI,
Excudit MILO FLESHER
M DCXXXIII.

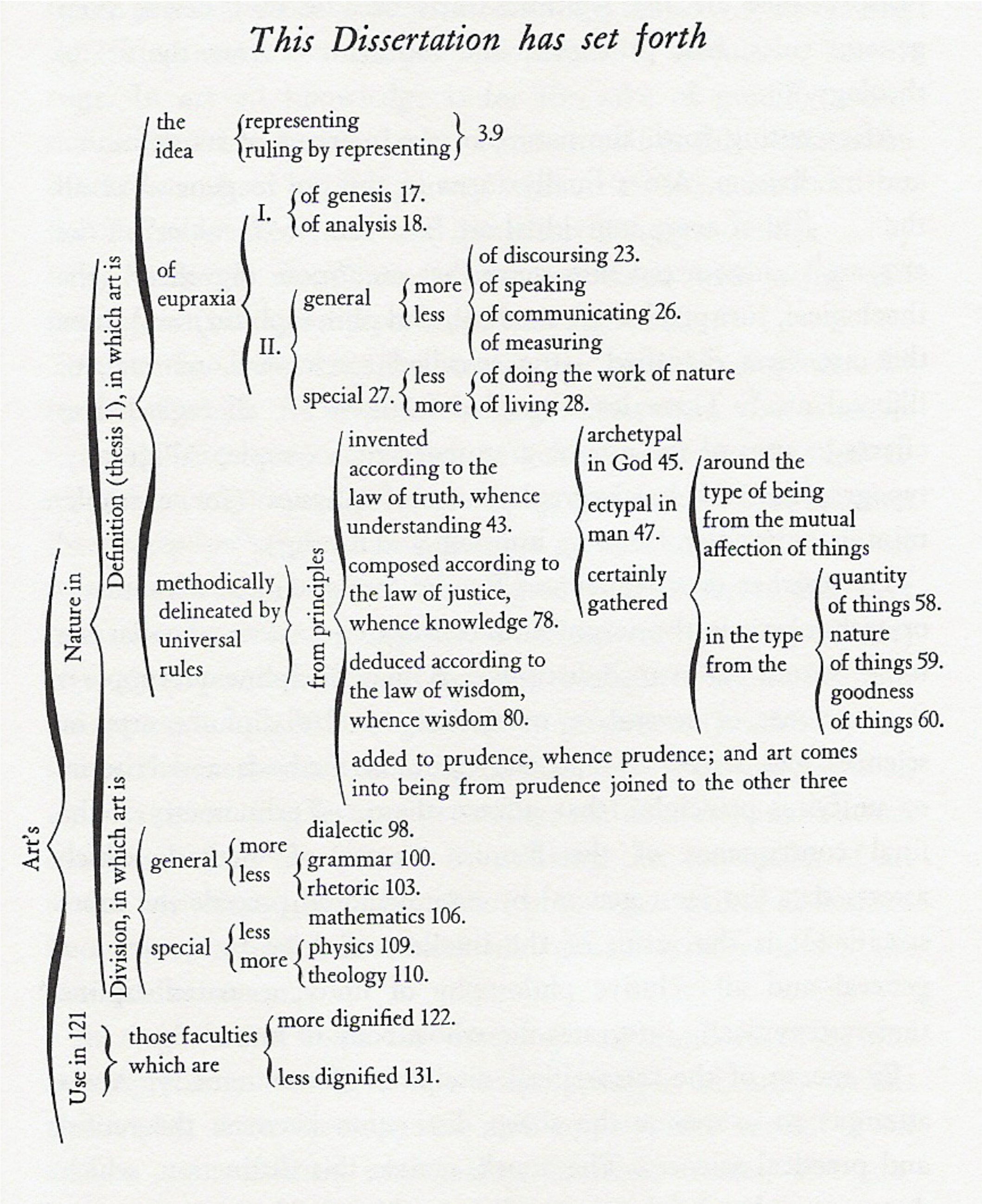
Figure 7. Title page, William Ames, *Technometria*, London, 1633. British Library, London



DISSERTATIO ISTA
EXPOSVIT ARTIS

- Naturarum
  - Definitione Theſ: qua ars eſt
    - Idea
      - repræſentans.
      - repræſentando regens 3.9.
    - εὐπραξίας.
      - &
        - Geneſeos. 17.
        - Analyſeos. 18.
      - vel
        - generalis.
          - magis, differendi 2
          - minus
            - loquendi.
            - dicendi 26.
        - Specialis. 27.
          - minus, menſurãdi.
          - magis,
            - naturandi.
            - vivendi 28
    - regulis Catholicis.
      - Iuxta legem
        - Veritatis, quoad principia inventis, unde Intelligentia.
          - Archetypa in Deo 5.
          - Ectypa in homine, 4. nempe collecta, 48.
            - circa typum Entis ex affectione rerum mutata 56.
            - in typo ex rerum.
              - quãt. 58
              - nat. 59.
              - bon. 60.
        - Iuſtitiæ compoſitis. Hinc Scientia 78.
        - Sapientiæ diductis. Hinc Sapientia 80.
    - methodicè delineata.
      - Iuxta Legem Prudentiæ. Hinc Prudentia, & ex hac reliquis adjuncta, Ars. 84.
  - Diviſione 83 qua ars eſt
    - generalis 97.
      - magis. Dialectica. 98.
      - minus
        - Grammatica 100.
        - Theorica. 103.
    - ſpecialis.
      - minus Matheſis. 106.
      - magis
        - Phyſica. 109.
        - Theol. 110.
- Uſum 121. in Facultatibus vel
  - dignioribus. 122.
  - minus dignis. 131.

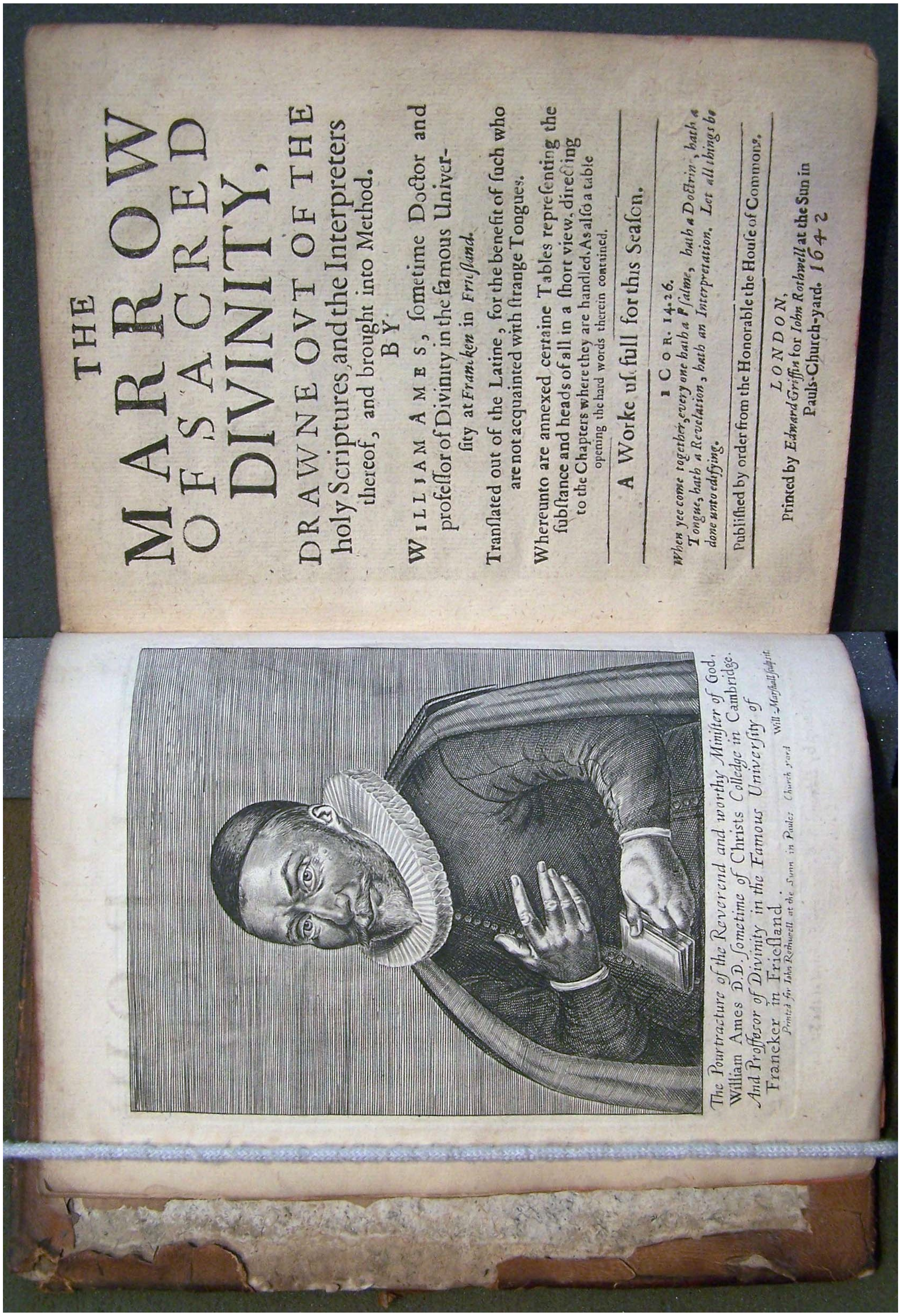
Figure 8. Chart, William Ames, *Technometria*, London, 1633. British Library, London



This Dissertation has set forth

- Art's
  - Nature in
    - Definition (thesis 1), in which art is
      - the idea
        - representing
        - ruling by representing 3.9
      - of eupraxia
        - I.
          - of genesis 17.
          - of analysis 18.
        - II.
          - general
            - more
            - less
              - of discoursing 23.
              - of speaking
              - of communicating 26.
              - of measuring
          - special 27.
            - less — of doing the work of nature
            - more — of living 28.
      - methodically delineated by universal rules
        - from principles
          - invented according to the law of truth, whence understanding 43.
          - composed according to the law of justice, whence knowledge 78.
          - deduced according to the law of wisdom, whence wisdom 80.
            - archetypal in God 45.
            - ectypal in man 47.
            - certainly gathered
              - around the type of being from the mutual affection of things
              - in the type from the
                - quantity of things 58.
                - nature of things 59.
                - goodness of things 60.
          - added to prudence, whence prudence; and art comes into being from prudence joined to the other three
    - Division, in which art is
      - general
        - more — dialectic 98.
        - less
          - grammar 100.
          - rhetoric 103.
      - special
        - less — mathematics 106.
        - more
          - physics 109.
          - theology 110.
  - Use in 121
    - those faculties which are
      - more dignified 122.
      - less dignified 131.

Figure 9. English translation of William Ames's chart by Lee W. Gibbs, 1979



THE
MARROW
OF SACRED
DIVINITY,
DRAWNE OUT OF THE
holy Scriptures, and the Interpreters
thereof, and brought into Method.
BY
WILLIAM AMES, ſometime Doctor and
profeſſor of Divinity in the famous Univer-
ſity at *Francken* in *Friſland*.

Tranſlated out of the Latine, for the benefit of ſuch who
are not acquainted with ſtrange Tongues.

Whereunto are annexed certaine Tables repreſenting the
ſubſtance and heads of all in a ſhort view, directing
to the Chapters where they are handled. As alſo a table
opening the hard words therein contained.

A Worke uſefull for this Seaſon.

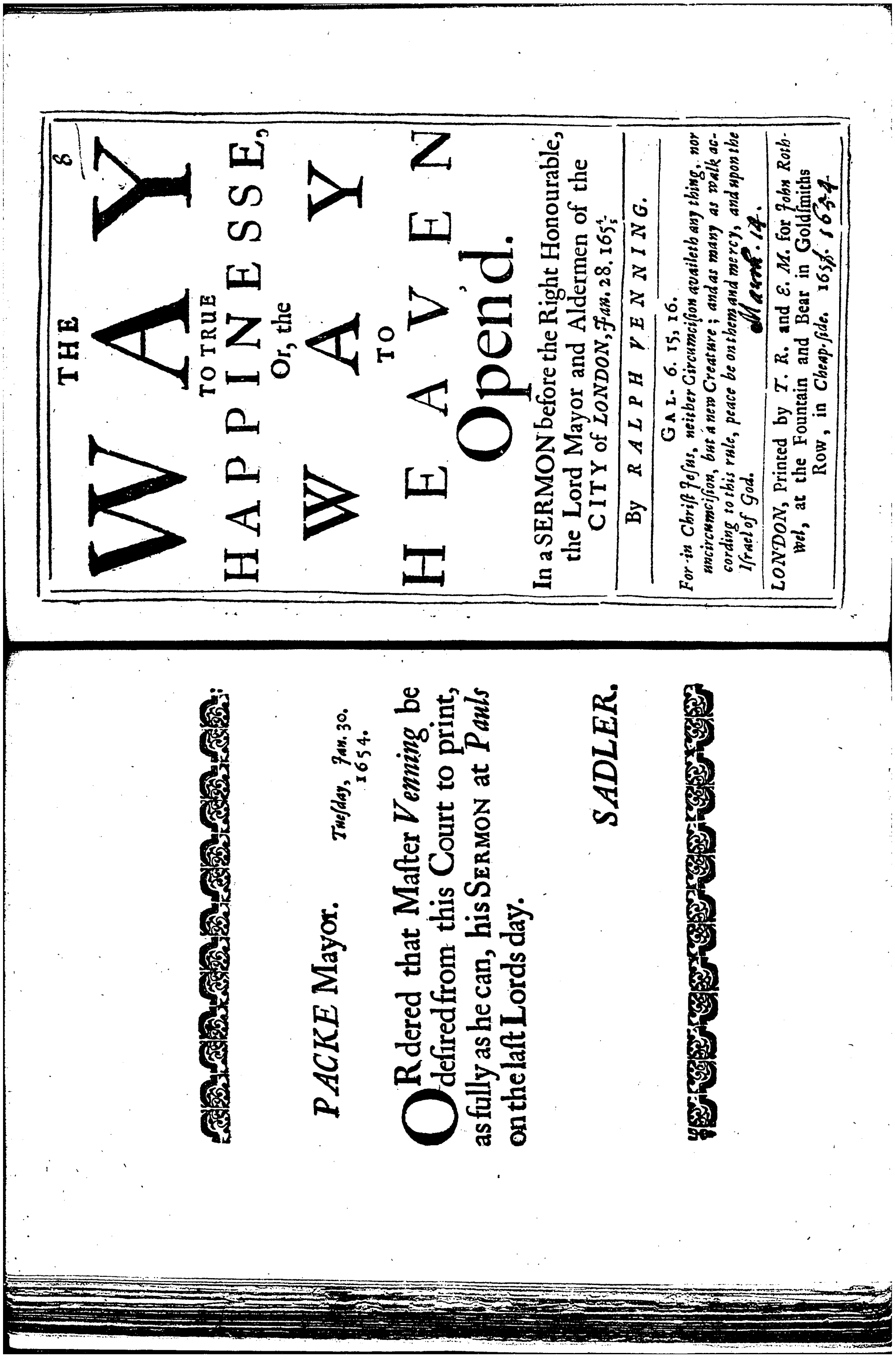
1 COR. 14.26.
*When yee come together, every one hath a Pſalme, hath a Doctrin, hath a
Tongue, hath a Revelation, hath an Interpretation. Let all things be
done unto edifying.*

Publiſhed by order from the Honorable the Houſe of Commons.

LONDON,
Printed by *Edward Griffin* for *John Rothwell* at the Sun in
Pauls-Church-yard. 1642

The Pourtracture of the Reverend and worthy Minister of God,
William Ames D.D. sometime of Christs Colledge in Cambridge.
And Professor of Divinity in the Famous University of
Franeker in Friesland.
Printed for John Rothwell at the Sunn in Paules Church yard
Will: Marshall sculpsit

Figure 10. Opening with author portrait and title page, William Ames, *The Marrow of Sacred Divinity*, London, 1642. Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston



PACKE Mayor. *Tueſday, Jan.* 30. 1654.

Ordered that Maſter *Venning* be deſired from this Court to print, as fully as he can, his Sermon at *Pauls* on the laſt Lords day.

SADLER.

8

THE
WAY
TO TRUE
HAPPINESSE,
Or, the
WAY
TO
HEAVEN
Opend.

In a SERMON before the Right Honourable, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the CITY of *LONDON, Jan.* 28. 1654/5.

By *RALPH VENNING.*

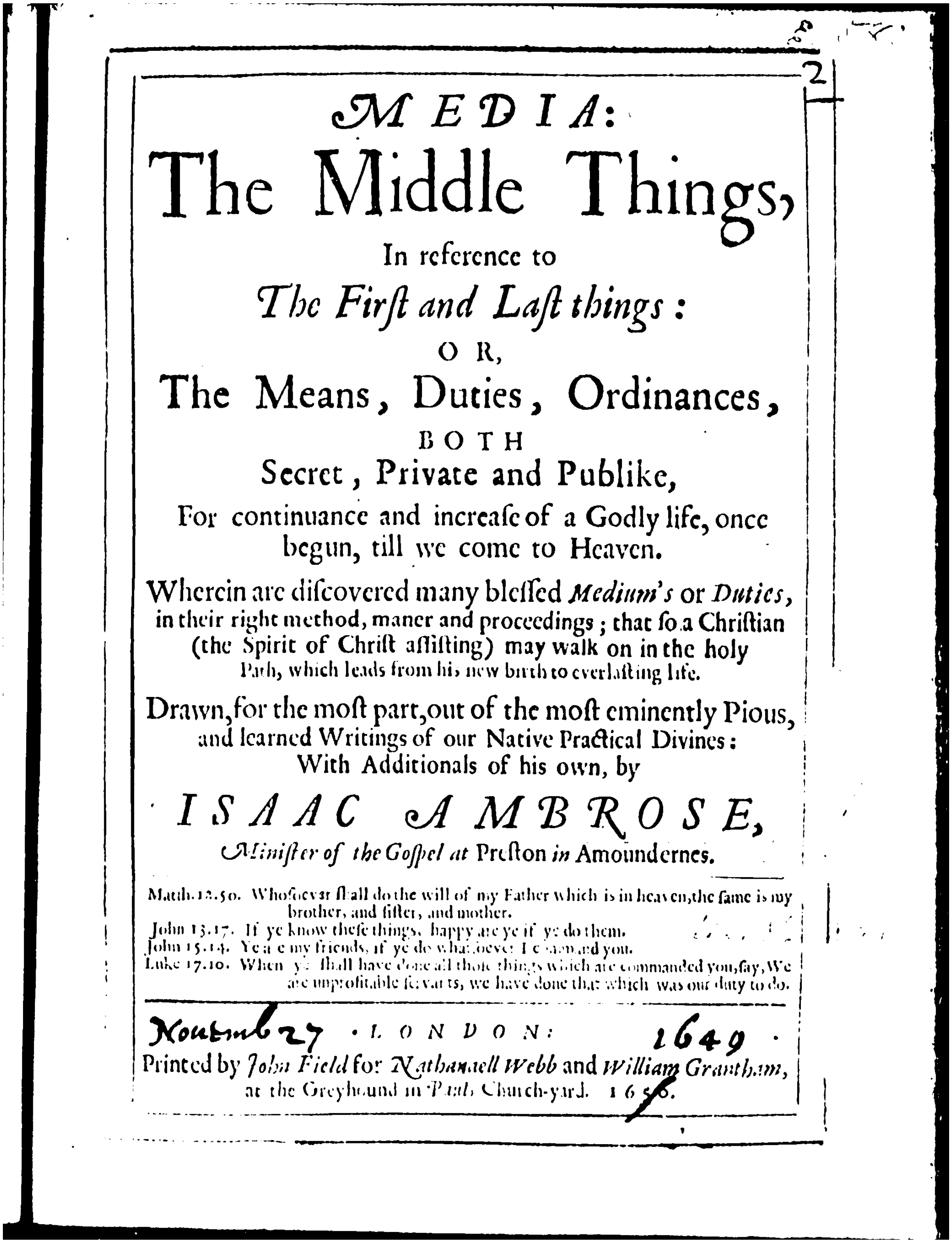
Gal. 6. 15, 16.

For in Chriſt Jeſus, neither Circumciſion availeth any thing, nor uncircumciſion, but a new Creature; and as many as walk according to this rule, peace be on them and mercy, and upon the Iſrael of God.

March. 14.

LONDON, Printed by *T. R.* and *E. M.* for *John Rothwel*, at the Fountain and Bear in Goldſmiths Row, in *Cheap-ſide.* 1654/5.

Figure 11. Opening with title page, Ralph Venning, *The Way to True Happinesse*, London, 1654/5. British Library, London

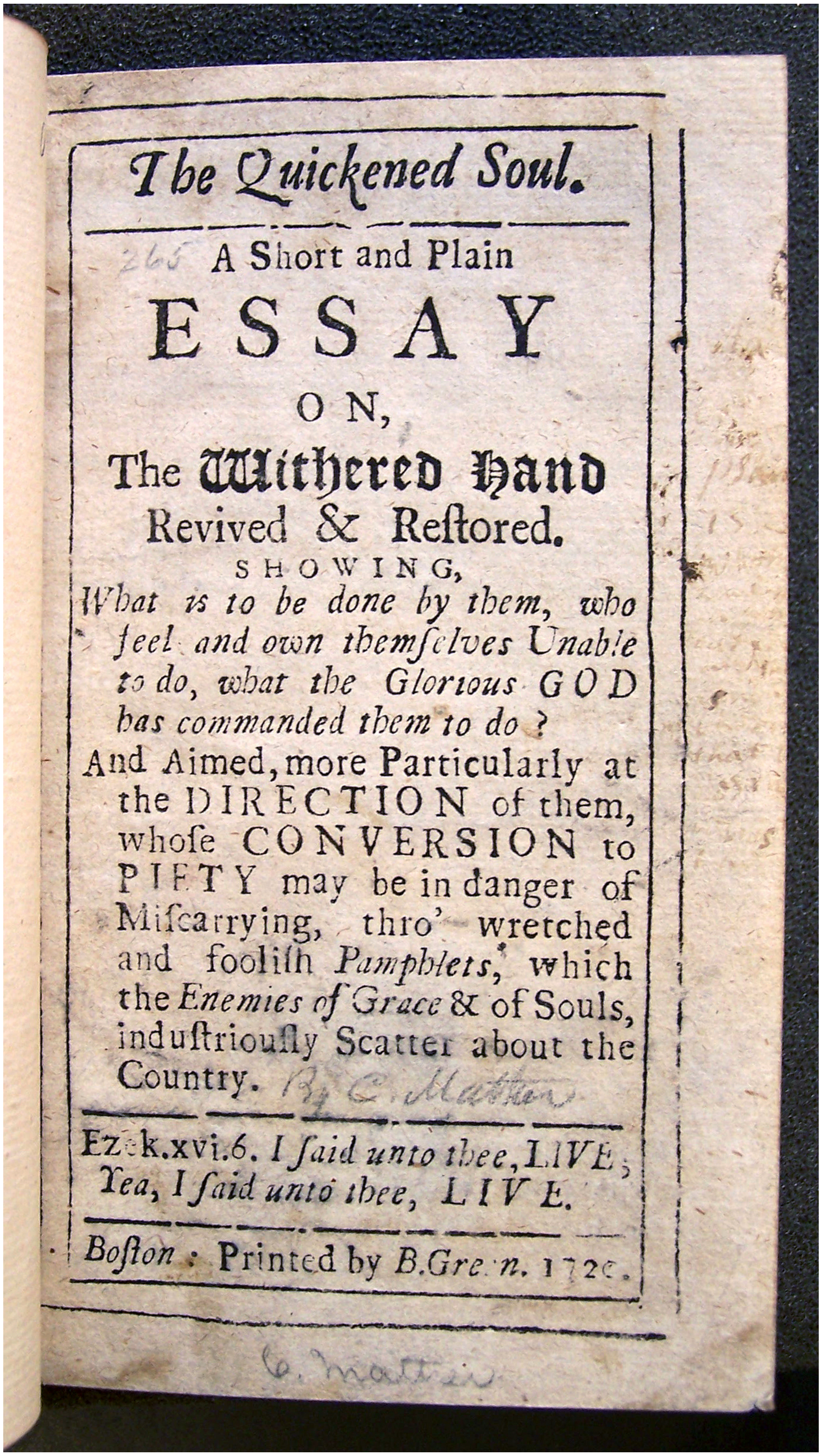


MEDIA:
The Middle Things,
In reference to
The Firſt and Laſt things:
OR,
The Means, Duties, Ordinances,
BOTH
Secret, Private and Publike,
For continuance and increaſe of a Godly life, once
begun, till we come to Heaven.
Wherein are diſcovered many bleſſed *Medium's* or *Duties*,
in their right method, maner and proceedings; that ſo a Chriſtian
(the Spirit of Chriſt aſſiſting) may walk on in the holy
Path, which leads from his new birth to everlaſting life.
Drawn, for the moſt part, out of the moſt eminently Pious,
and learned Writings of our Native Practical Divines:
With Additionals of his own, by
ISAAC AMBROSE,
Miniſter of the Goſpel at Preſton *in* Amoundernes.

Matth. 12.50. Whoſoever ſhall do the will of my Father which is in heaven, the ſame is my
brother, and ſiſter, and mother.
John 13.17. If ye know theſe things, happy are ye if ye do them.
John 15.14. Ye are my friends, if ye do whatſoever I command you.
Luke 17.10. When ye ſhall have done all thoſe things which are commanded you, ſay, We
are unprofitable ſervants, we have done that which was our duty to do.

Novemb 27 *LONDON:* 1649
Printed by *John Field* for *Nathanaell Webb* and *William Grantham*,
at the Greyhound in *Pauls* Church-yard. 1650.

Figure 12. Title page, Isaac Ambrose, *Media: The Middle Things*, London, 1649. British Library, London



The Quickened Soul.

265 A Short and Plain

ESSAY

ON,

The Withered Hand

Revived & Reſtored.

SHOWING,

What is to be done by them, who feel and own themſelves Unable to do, what the Glorious GOD *has commanded them to do?*

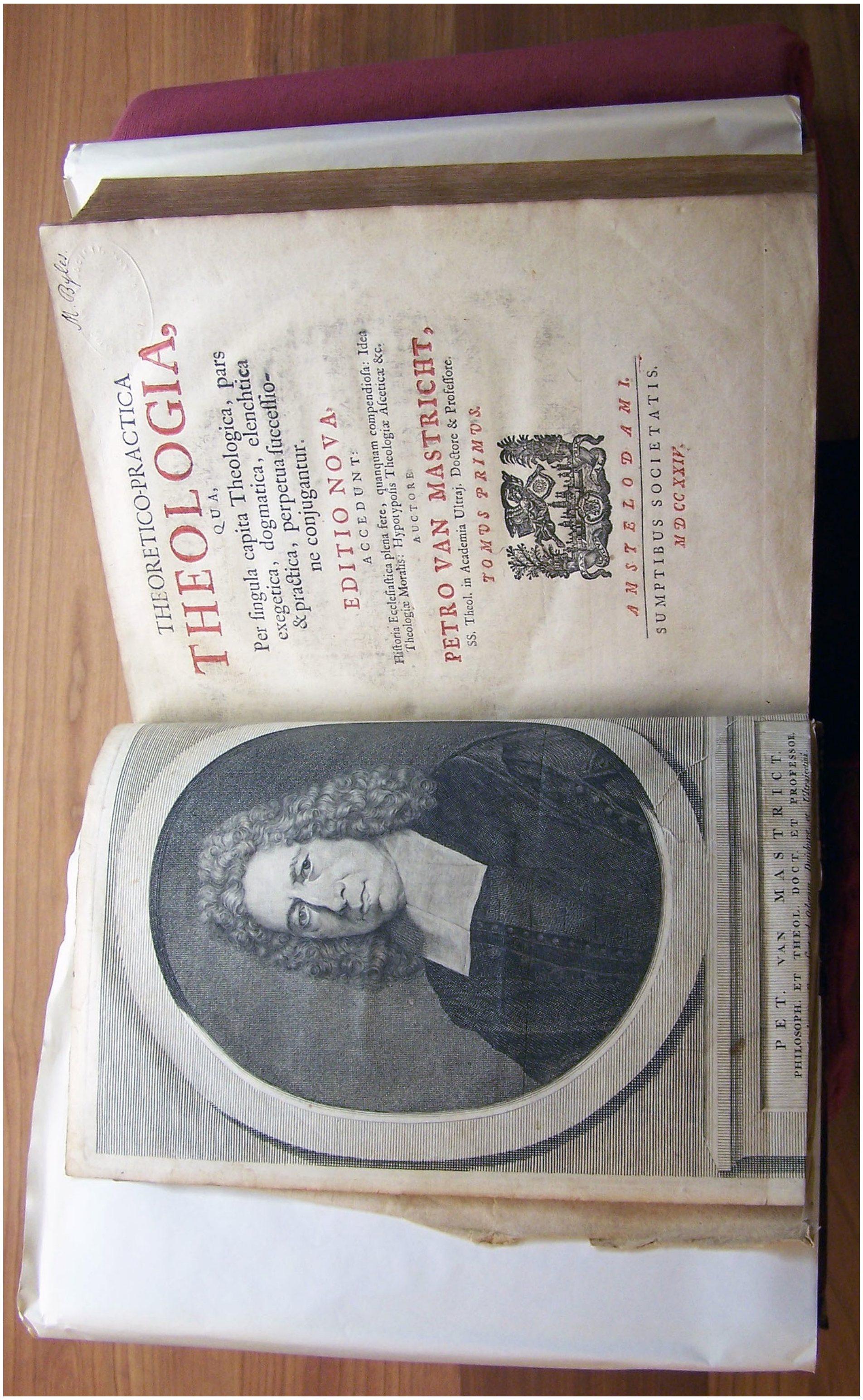
And Aimed, more Particularly at the DIRECTION of them, whoſe CONVERSION to PIETY may be in danger of Miſcarrying, thro' wretched and fooliſh *Pamphlets*, which the *Enemies of Grace* & of Souls, induſtriouſly Scatter about the Country. By C. Mather

Ezek.xvi.6. *I ſaid unto thee*, LIVE; *Yea, I ſaid unto thee*, LIVE.

Boſton: Printed by *B.Green*. 1720.

C. Mather

Figure 13. Title page, Cotton Mather, *The Quickened Soul*, Boston, 1720. John Carter Brown Library, Providence, Rhode Island



M. Byles

THEORETICO-PRACTICA
THEOLOGIA,
QUA,
Per ſingula capita Theologica, pars
exegetica, dogmatica, elenchtica
& practica, perpetua ſucceſſio-
ne conjugantur.
EDITIO NOVA.
ACCEDUNT:
Hiſtoria Eccleſiaſtica plena fere, quanquam compendioſa: Idea
Theologiæ Moralis: Hypotypoſis Theologiæ Aſceticæ &c.
AUCTORE
PETRO VAN MASTRICHT,
SS. Theol. in Academia Ultraj. Doctore & Profeſſore.
TOMUS PRIMUS.

AMSTELODAMI,
SUMPTIBUS SOCIETATIS.
MDCCXXIV.

PET. VAN MASTRICT.
PHILOSOPH. ET THEOL. DOCT. ET PROFESSOR.

Figure 14. Opening with author portrait and title page, Petrus van Mastricht, *Theoretico-practica Theologia*, Amsterdam, 1724. Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin

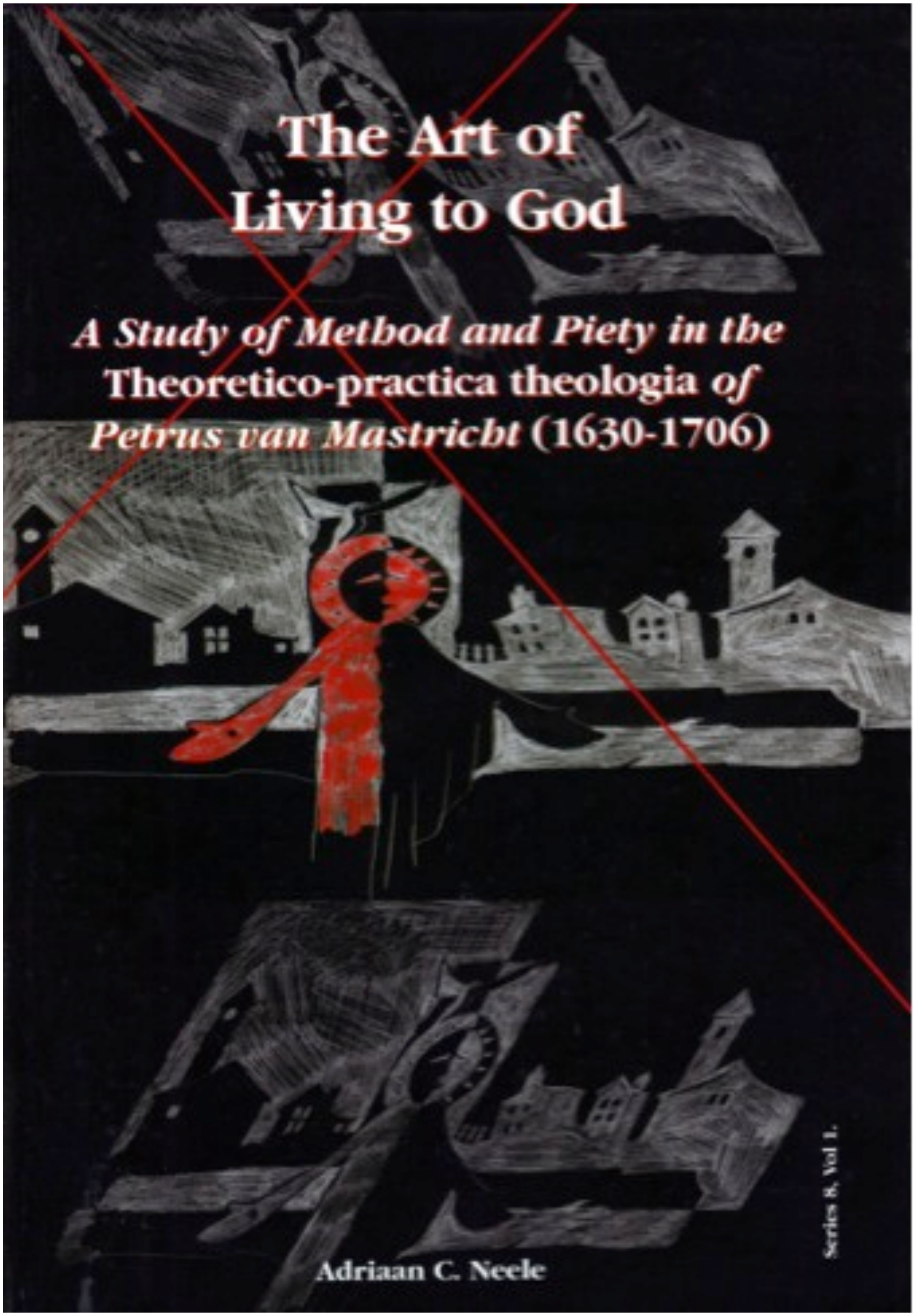
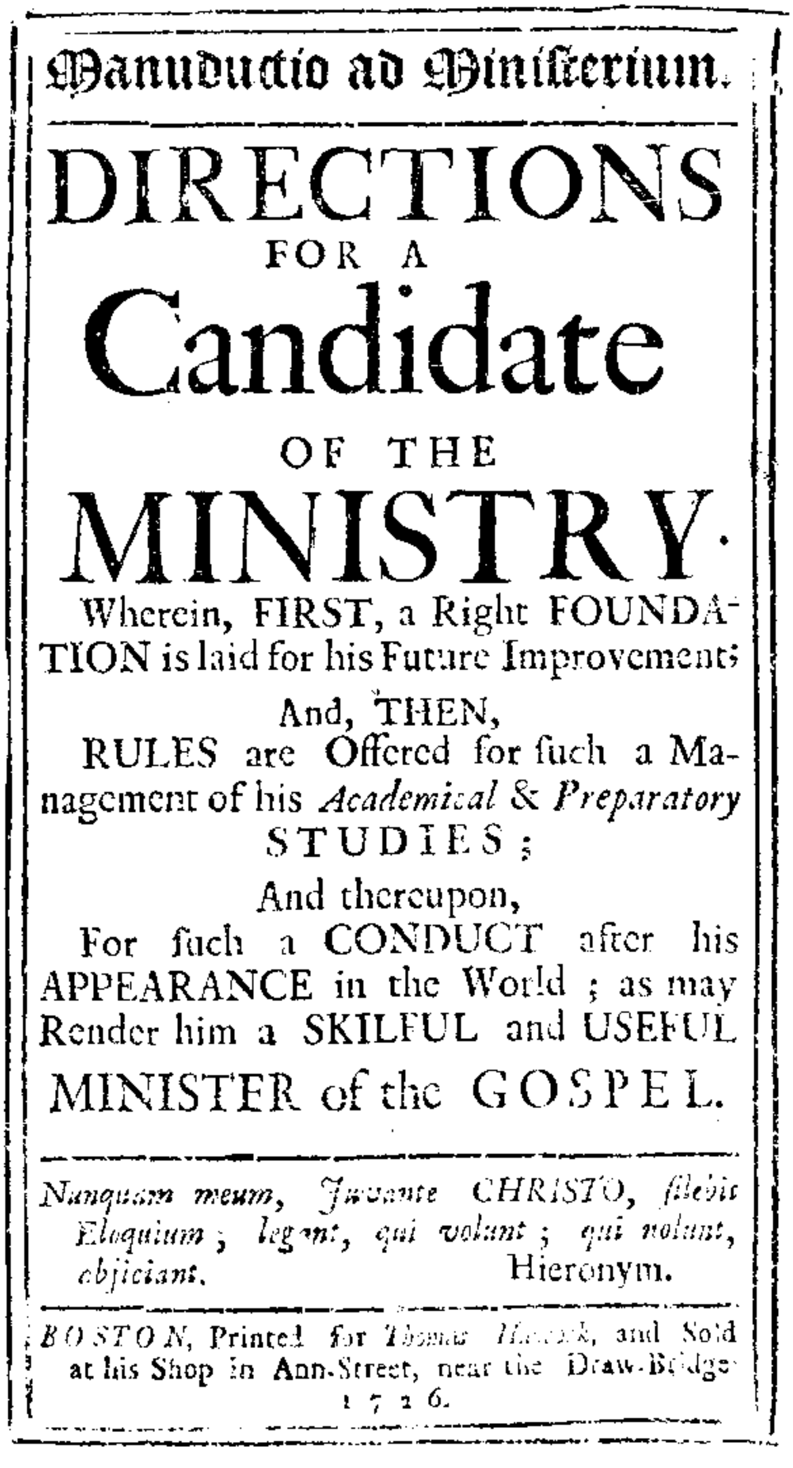


Figure 15. Book cover, Adriaan C. Neele, *The Art of Living to God: A Study of Method and Piety in the 'Theoretico-Practica Theologia' of Petrus van Mastricht (1630-1706)*, Pretoria, South Africa, 2005



Manuductio ad Miniſterium.

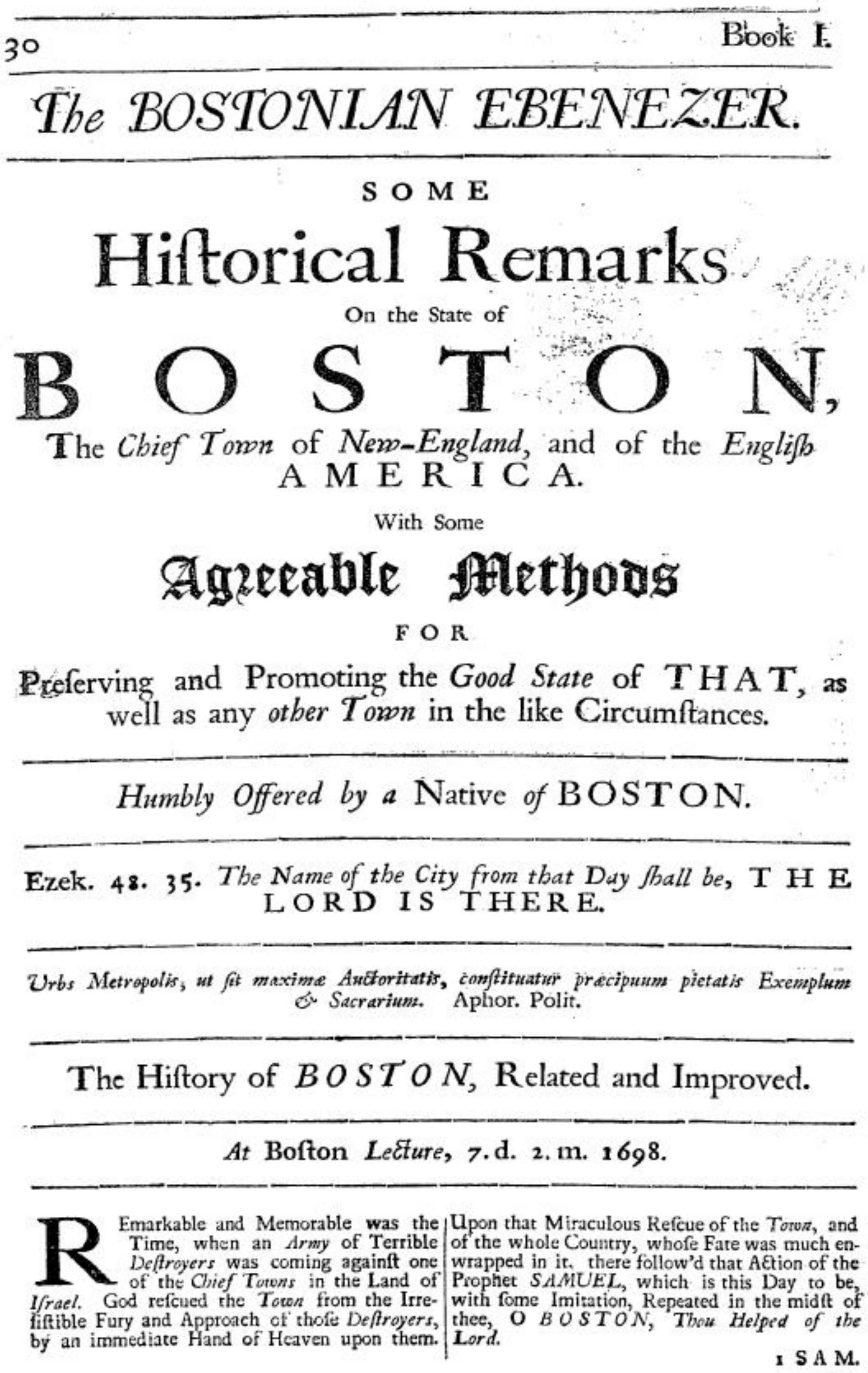
DIRECTIONS
FOR A
Candidate
OF THE
MINISTRY.

Wherein, FIRST, a Right FOUNDATION is laid for his Future Improvement;
And, THEN,
RULES are Offered for ſuch a Management of his *Academical* & *Preparatory* STUDIES;
And thereupon,
For ſuch a CONDUCT after his APPEARANCE in the World; as may Render him a SKILFUL and USEFUL
MINISTER of the GOSPEL.

Nunquam meum, Juvante CHRISTO, *ſilebit Eloquium; legant, qui volunt; qui nolunt, abjiciant.* Hieronym.

BOSTON, Printed for *Thomas Hancock*, and Sold
at his Shop in Ann-Street, near the Draw-Bridge
1726.

Figure 16. Title page, Cotton Mather, *Manuductio ad Ministerium*, Boston, 1726. American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts



30 Book I.

The BOSTONIAN EBENEZER.

SOME

Hiſtorical Remarks

On the State of

BOSTON,

The *Chief Town* of *New-England*, and of the *Engliſh*
AMERICA.

With Some

Agreeable Methods

FOR

Preſerving and Promoting the *Good State* of THAT, as
well as any *other Town* in the like Circumſtances.

Humbly Offered by a Native *of* BOSTON.

Ezek. 48. 35. *The Name of the City from that Day ſhall be*, THE
LORD IS THERE.

Urbs Metropolis, ut ſit maximæ Auctoritatis, conſtituatur præcipuum pietatis Exemplum & Sacrarium. Aphor. Polit.

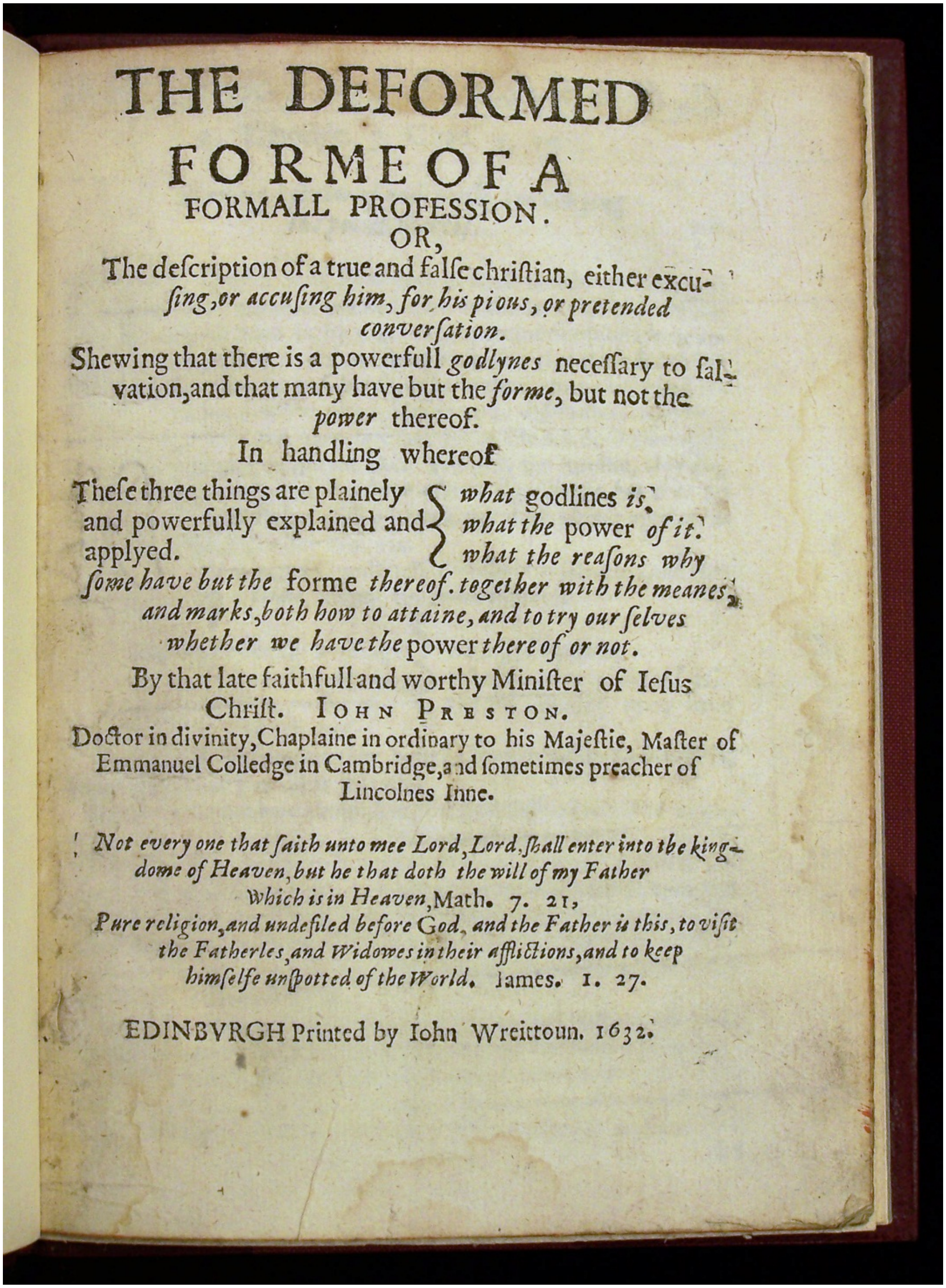
The Hiſtory of *BOSTON*, Related and Improved.

At Boſton *Lecture*, 7.d. 2.m. 1698.

REmarkable and Memorable was the Time, when an *Army* of Terrible *Deſtroyers* was coming againſt one of the *Chief Towns* in the Land of *Iſrael*. God reſcued the *Town* from the Irreſiſtible Fury and Approach of thoſe *Deſtroyers*, by an immediate Hand of Heaven upon them. Upon that Miraculous Reſcue of the *Town*, and of the whole Country, whoſe Fate was much enwrapped in it, there follow'd that Action of the Prophet *SAMUEL*, which is this Day to be, with ſome Imitation, Repeated in the midſt of thee, O *BOSTON*, *Thou Helped of the Lord*.

1 SAM.

Figure 17. First page (volume 1, page 30), Cotton Mather, "The Bostonian Ebenezer," in *Magnalia Christi Americana*, London, 1702. British Library, London

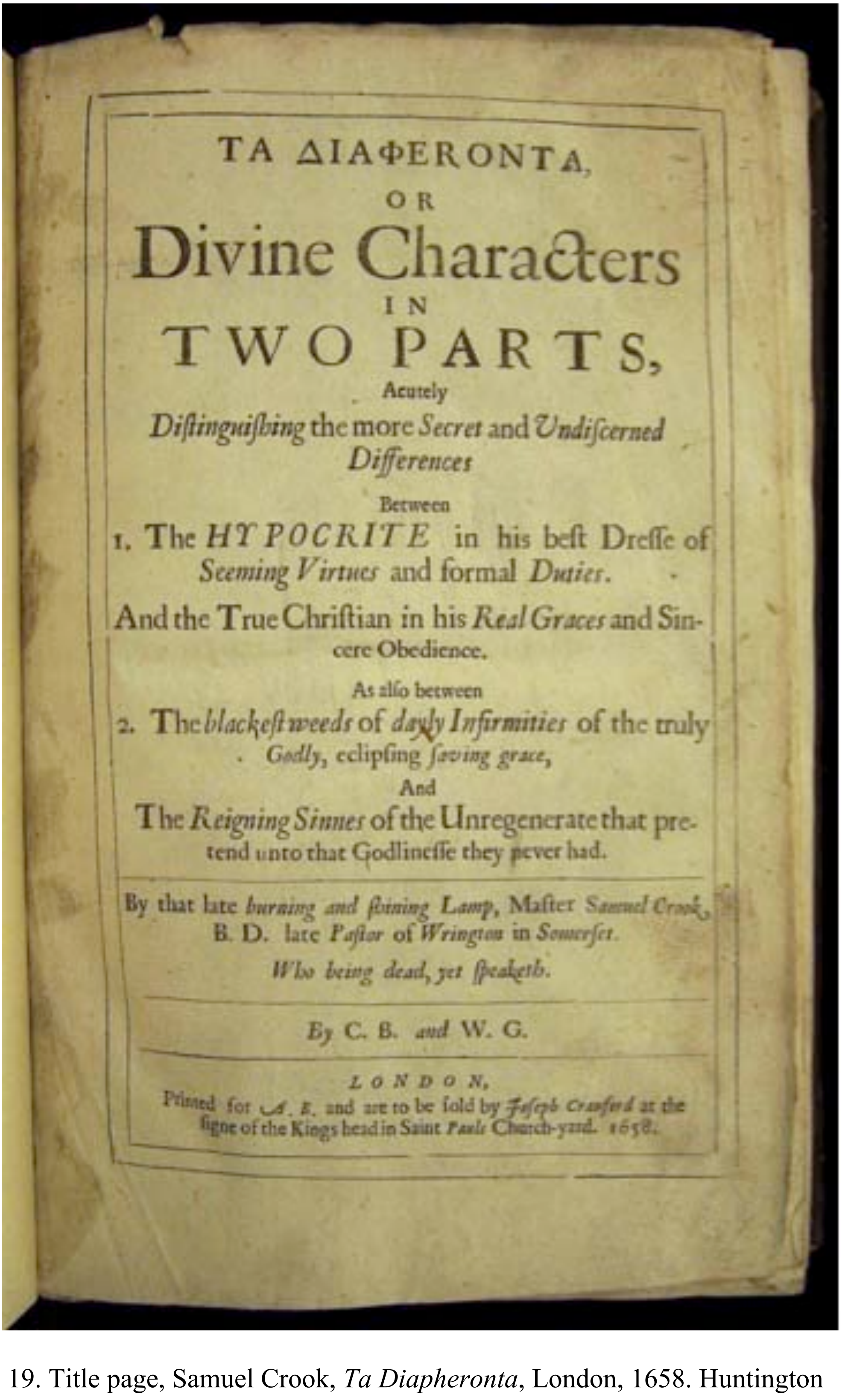


THE DEFORMED
FORME OF A
FORMALL PROFESSION.
OR,
The deſcription of a true and falſe chriſtian, either excu-
*ſing, or accuſing him, for his pious, or pretended
converſation.*
Shewing that there is a powerfull *godlynes* neceſſary to ſal-
vation, and that many have but the *forme*, but not the
power thereof.
In handling whereof
Theſe three things are plainely
and powerfully explained and
applyed.
what godlines *is*,
what the power *of it*.
*what the reaſons why
ſome have but the* forme *thereof. together with the meanes*,
*and marks, both how to attaine, and to try our ſelves
whether we have the* power *there of or not.*
By that late faithfull and worthy Miniſter of Ieſus
Chriſt. IOHN PRESTON.
Doctor in divinity, Chaplaine in ordinary to his Majeſtie, Maſter of
Emmanuel Colledge in Cambridge, and ſometimes preacher of
Lincolnes Inne.

*Not every one that ſaith unto mee Lord, Lord, ſhall enter into the king-
dome of Heaven, but he that doth the will of my Father
Which is in Heaven*, Math. 7. 21,
Pure religion, and undefiled before God, *and the Father is this, to viſit
the Fatherles, and Widowes in their afflictions, and to keep
himſelfe unſpotted of the World.* Iames. 1. 27.

EDINBVRGH Printed by Iohn Wreittoun. 1632.

Figure 18. Title page, John Preston, *The Deformed Forme of a Formall Profession*, Edinburgh, 1632. Huntington Library, San Marino, California



ΤΑ ΔΙΑΦΕΡΟΝΤΑ,
OR
Divine Characters
IN
TWO PARTS,
Acutely
Diſtinguiſhing the more *Secret* and *Undiſcerned*
Differences
Between
1. The *HYPOCRITE* in his beſt Dreſſe of
Seeming Virtues and formal *Duties*.
And the True Chriſtian in his *Real Graces* and Sincere Obedience.
As alſo between
2. The *blackeſt weeds* of *dayly Infirmities* of the truly
Godly, eclipſing *ſaving grace*,
And
The *Reigning Sinnes* of the Unregenerate that pretend unto that Godlineſſe they never had.

By that late *burning and ſhining Lamp*, Maſter *Samuel Crook*,
B. D. late *Paſtor* of *Wrington* in *Somerſet*.
Who being dead, yet ſpeaketh.

By C. B. *and* W. G.

LONDON,
Printed for *A. E.* and are to be ſold by *Joſeph Cranford* at the
ſigne of the Kings head in Saint *Pauls* Church-yard. 1658.

Figure 19. Title page, Samuel Crook, *Ta Diapheronta*, London, 1658. Huntington Library, San Marino, California

M

TA Intus si bene vis labora Thomas Arther

The ymage of Loue. Auth. Joan: Rickes. Obyt. 1536.

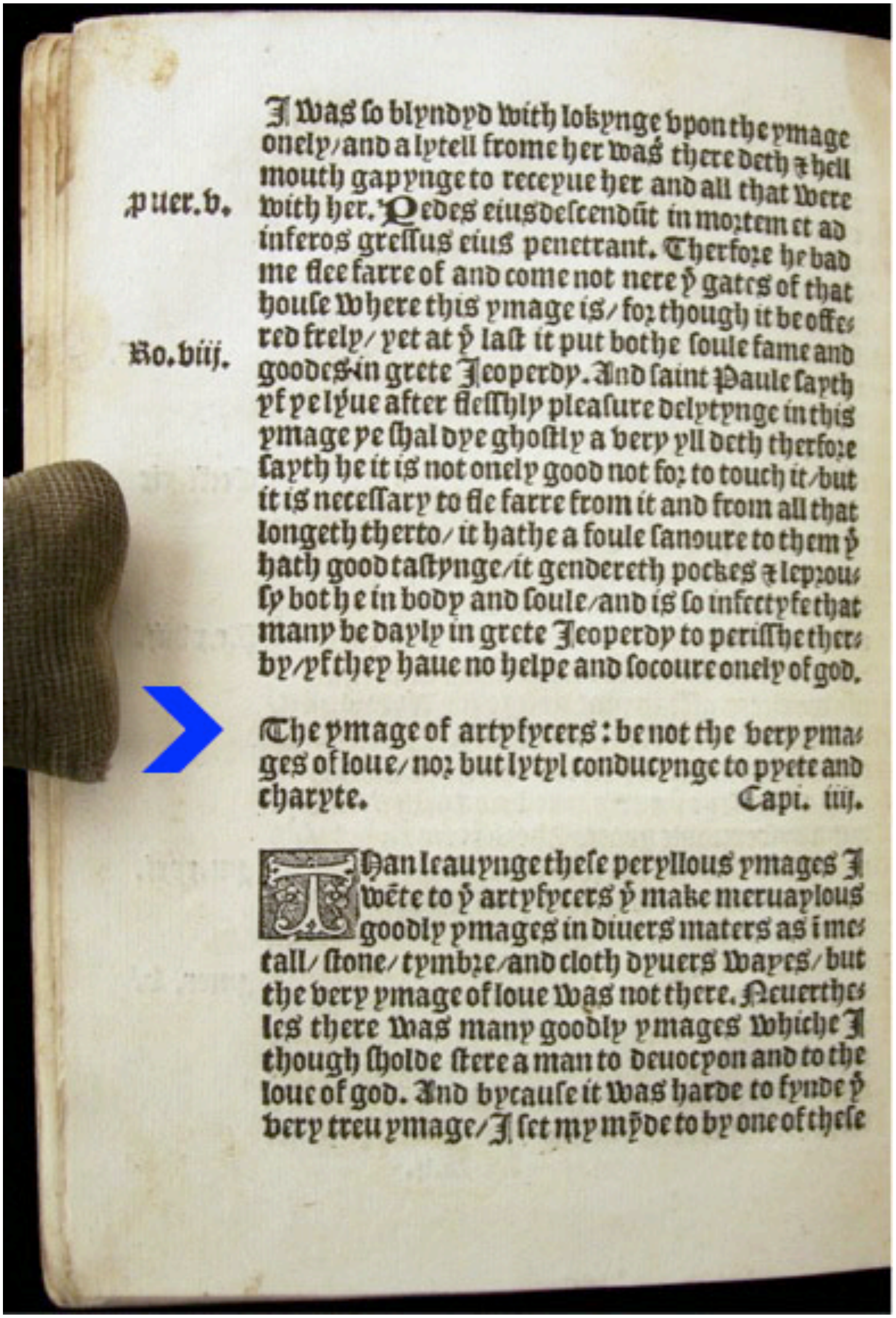
Here foloweth a gooſtly pamphlete oꝛ mater cō
pendyouſly extract of holy ſcrypture/ and
doctours of yͤ chyꝛche/called yͤ ymage
of Loue/ very neceſſary foꝛ all
vertuous perſones to
loke vpon.

Thomas Archer
person of Houghton Conquest
is the true owner of this booke.

Thomas Arther

Conscientia peccati formidinis mater

Figure 20. Title page, John Ryckes, *The Ymage of Loue*, London, 1525. Huntington Library, San Marino, California

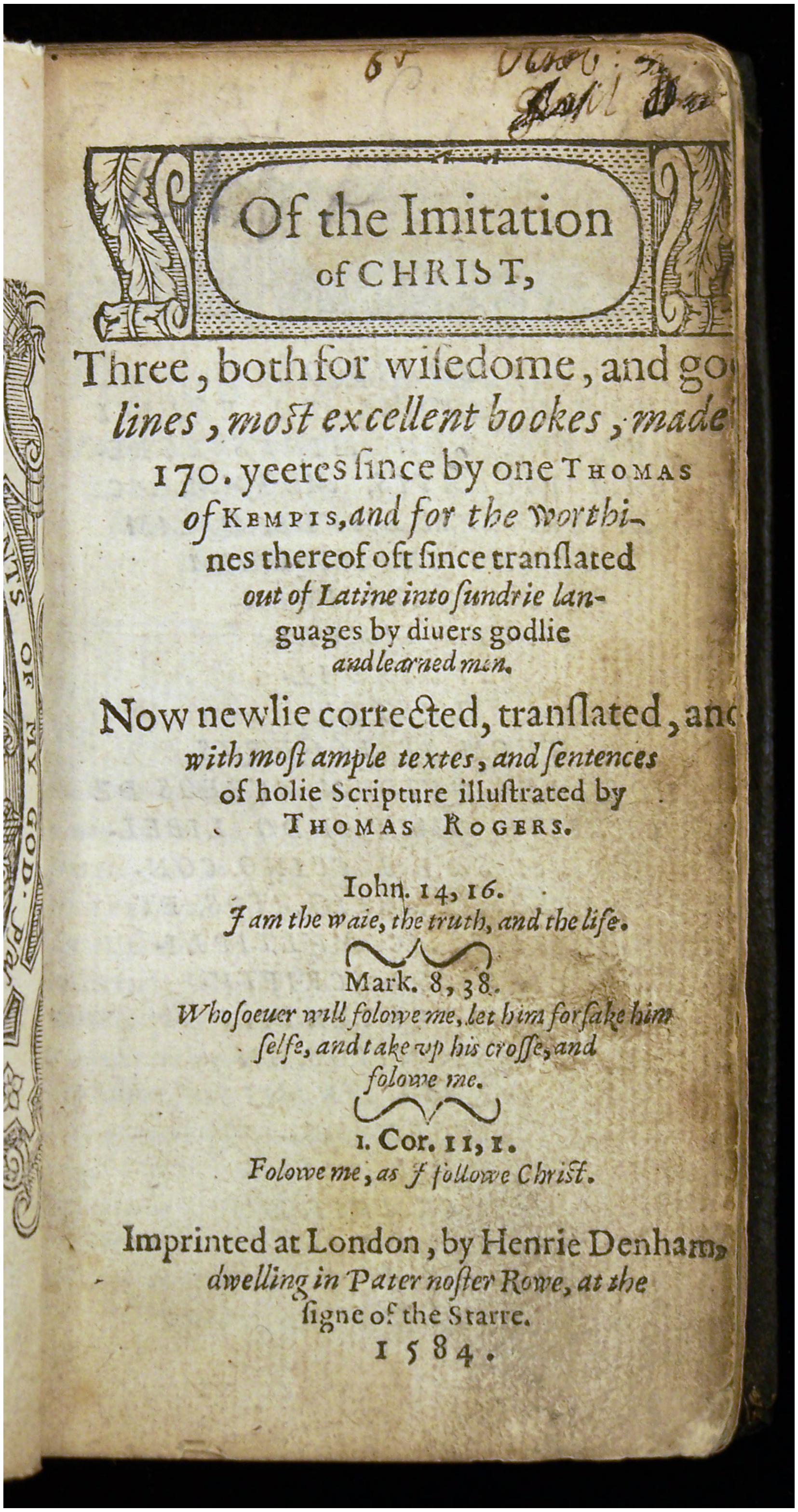


I was ſo blyndyd with lokynge vpon the ymage
onely/and a lytell frome her was there deth ⁊ hell
mouth gapynge to receyue her and all that were
Puer.v. with her. Pedes eius deſcendũt in moꝛtem et ad
inferos greſſus eius penetrant. Therfoꝛe he bad
me flee farre of and come not nere ẏ gates of that
houſe where this ymage is/ foꝛ though it be offered
Ro.viij. frely/ yet at ẏ laſt it put bothe ſoule fame and
goodes in grete Jeoperdy. And ſaint Paule ſayth
yf ye lyue after fleſſhly pleaſure delytynge in this
ymage ye ſhal dye ghoſtly a very yll deth therfoꝛe
ſayth he it is not onely good not foꝛ to touch it/but
it is neceſſary to fle farre from it and from all that
longeth therto/ it hathe a foule ſanoure to them ẏ
hath good taſtynge/it gendereth pockes ⁊ lepꝛouſy
bothe in body and ſoule/and is ſo infectyfe that
many be dayly in grete Jeoperdy to periſſhe therby/yf they haue no helpe and ſocoure onely of god.

The ymage of artyfycers: be not the very ymages
of loue/ noꝛ but lytyl conducynge to pyete and
charyte. Capi. iiij.

THan leauynge theſe peryllous ymages I
wẽte to ẏ artyfycers ẏ make meruaylous
goodly ymages in diuers maters as in metall/ ſtone/ tymbꝛe/and cloth dyuers wayes/ but
the very ymage of loue was not there. Neuertheles there was many goodly ymages whiche I
though ſholde ſtere a man to deuocyon and to the
loue of god. And bycauſe it was harde to fynde ẏ
very treu ymage/ I ſet my mȳde to by one of theſe

Figure 21. First page of an argument against the "ymages of artyfycers," n.p., John Ryckes, *The Ymage of Loue*, London, 1525. Huntington Library, San Marino, California



65

Of the Imitation
of CHRIST,

Three, both for wiſedome, and go
lines, moſt excellent bookes, made
170. yeeres ſince by one THOMAS
of KEMPIS, and for the worthines
thereof oft ſince tranſlated
out of Latine into ſundrie languages
by diuers godlie
and learned men.

Now newlie corrected, tranſlated, an
with moſt ample textes, and ſentences
of holie Scripture illuſtrated by
THOMAS ROGERS.

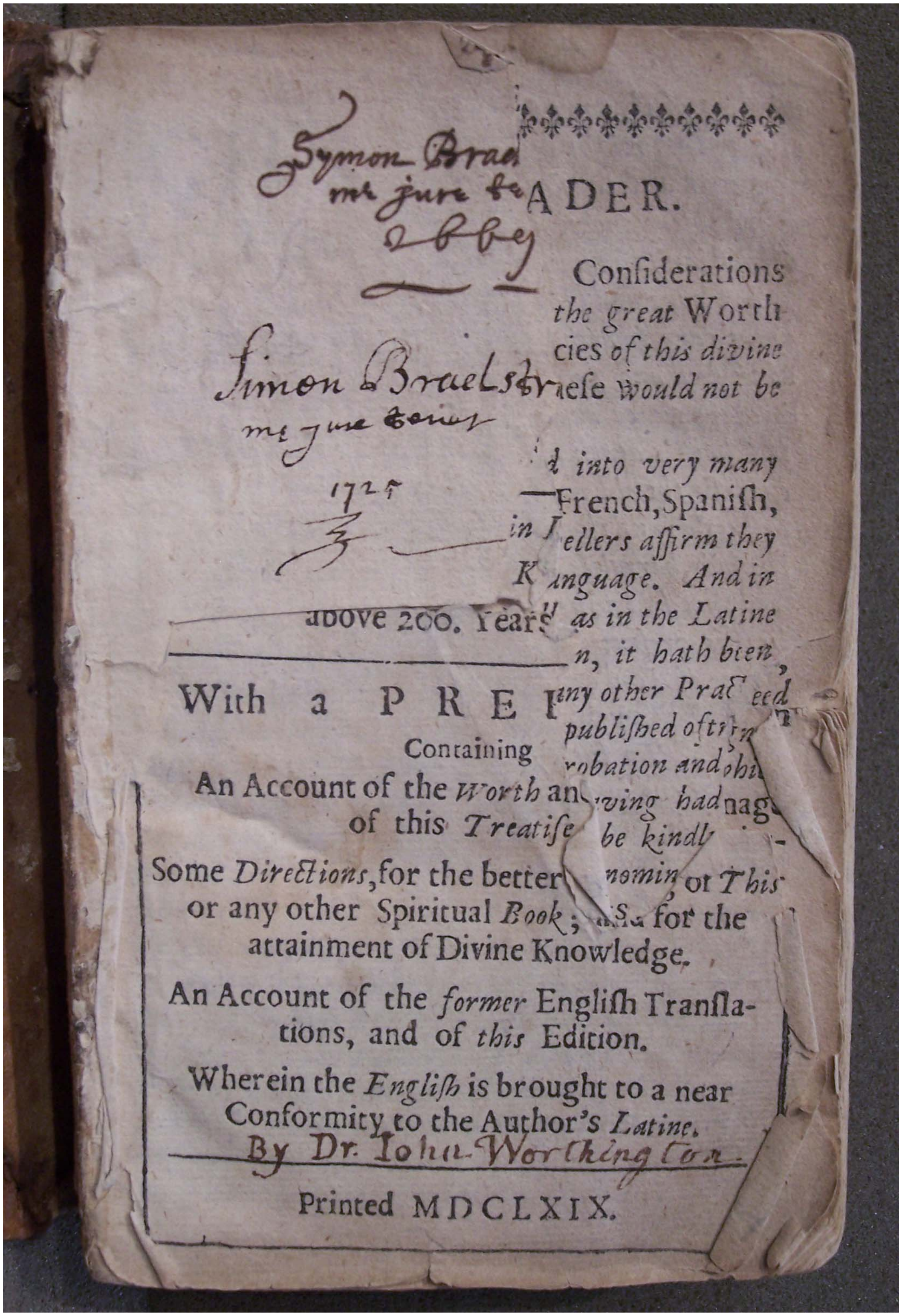
Iohn. 14, 16.
I am the waie, the truth, and the life.

Mark. 8, 38.
Whoſoeuer will folowe me, let him forſake him
ſelfe, and take vp his croſſe, and
folowe me.

1. Cor. 11, 1.
Folowe me, as I followe Christ.

Imprinted at London, by Henrie Denham,
dwelling in Pater noſter Rowe, at the
ſigne of the Starre.
1584.

Figure 22. Title page, Thomas à Kempis, *Of the Imitation of Christ*, translated by Thomas Rogers, London, 1584. Huntington Library, San Marino, California



Symon Brad
me jure te
1669

Simon Bradstr
me jure tenet
1725

ADER.

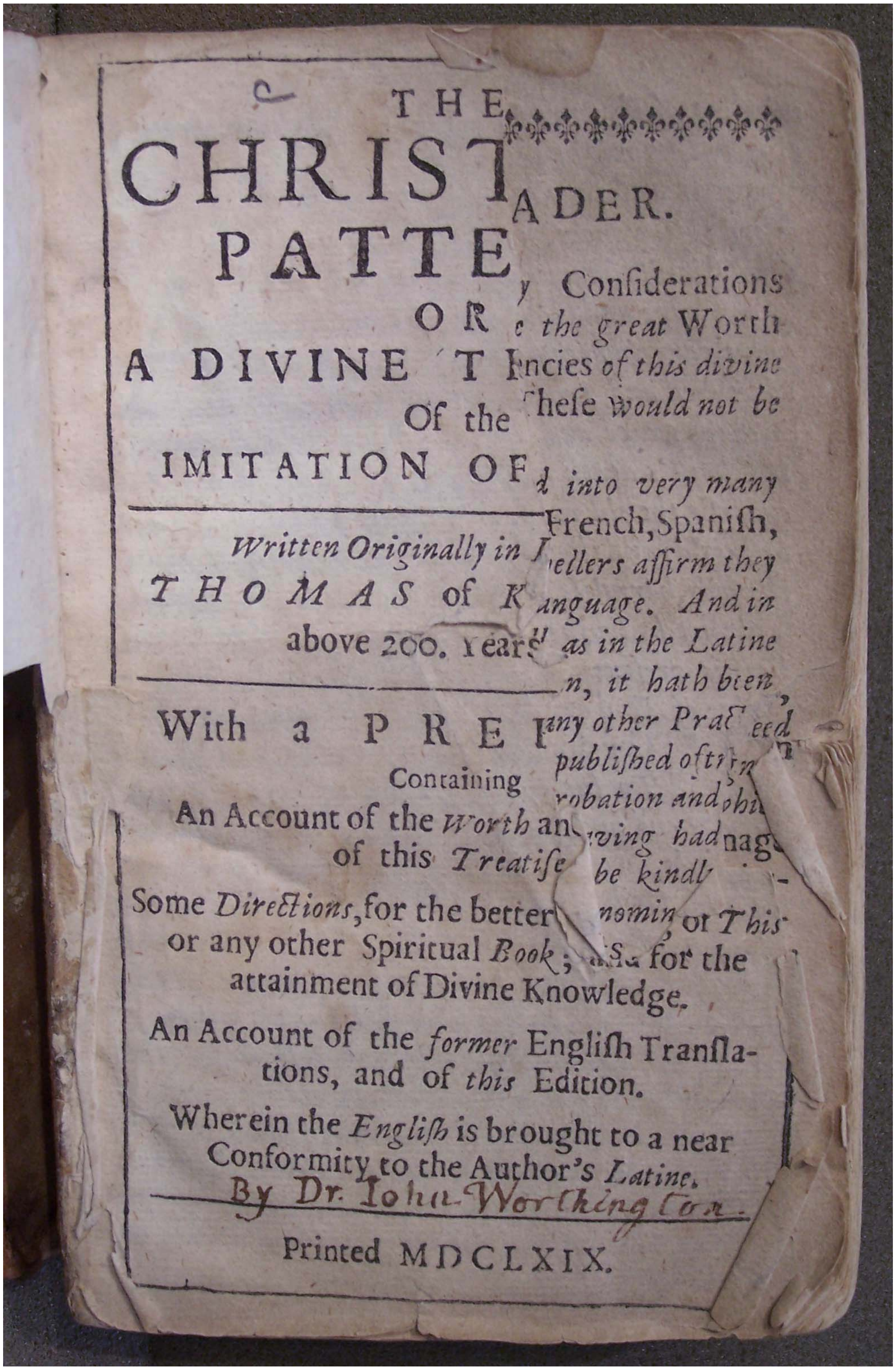
Considerations
the great Worth
cies of this divine
ese would not be
d into very many
French, Spanish,
in ellers affirm they
K anguage. And in
above 200. Years as in the Latine
n, it hath been
any other Prac eed
published oft
robation and
ving had
be kindl

With a PRE

Containing
An Account of the Worth an
of this Treatise
Some Directions, for the better nomin of This
or any other Spiritual Book; for the
attainment of Divine Knowledge.
An Account of the former English Translations, and of this Edition.
Wherein the English is brought to a near
Conformity to the Author's Latine.
By Dr. Iohn Worthington

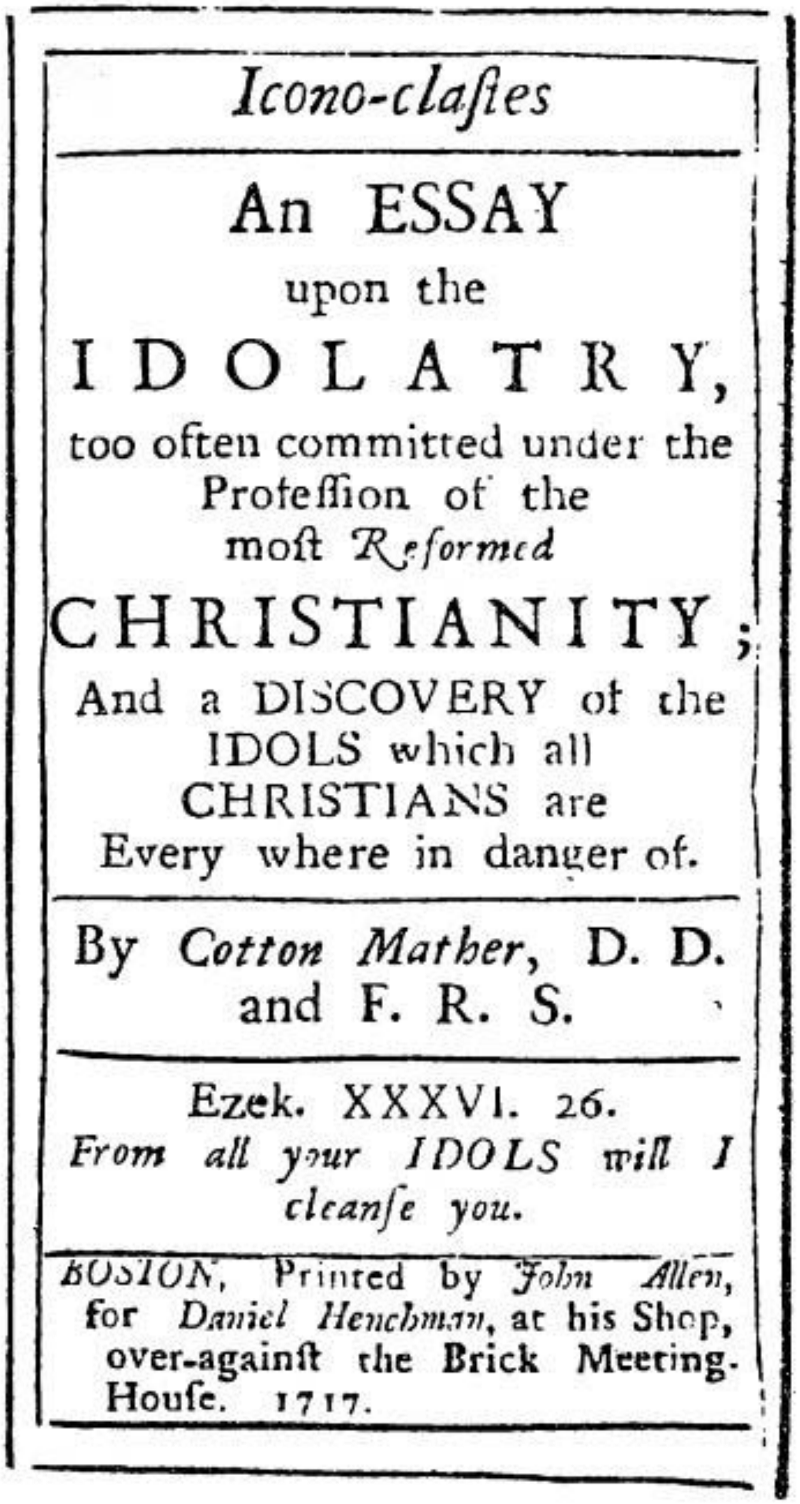
Printed MDCLXIX.

Figure 23. Simon Bradstreet's copy of Thomas à Kempis, *The Christian's Pattern, or A Divine Treatise of the Imitation of Christ*, translated by Iohn Worthington, London, 1669. Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston



THE
CHRIST ADER.
PATTE y Conſiderations
OR e the great Worth
A DIVINE T ncies of this divine
Of the These would not be
IMITATION OF d into very many
French, Spaniſh,
Written Originally in *ellers aſſirm they*
THOMAS of K *anguage. And in*
above 200. Years *as in the Latine*
n, it hath been
With a PRE *any other Prac* *eed*
publiſhed of
Containing *robation and*
An Account of the *Worth* an *ving had* nag
of this *Treatiſe* *be kindl*
Some *Directions*, for the better *nomin* of *This*
or any other Spiritual *Book*; for the
attainment of Divine Knowledge.
An Account of the *former* Engliſh Tranſlations, and of *this* Edition.
Wherein the *Engliſh* is brought to a near
Conformity to the Author's *Latine*.
By Dr. Iohn Worthington.
Printed MDCLXIX.

Figure 24. Simon Bradstreet's copy of Thomas à Kempis, *The Christian's Pattern, or A Divine Treatise of the Imitation of Christ*, translated by Iohn Worthington, London, 1669. Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston



Icono-claſtes

An ESSAY
upon the
IDOLATRY,
too often committed under the
Profeſſion of the
moſt *Reformed*
CHRISTIANITY;
And a DISCOVERY of the
IDOLS which all
CHRISTIANS are
Every where in danger of.

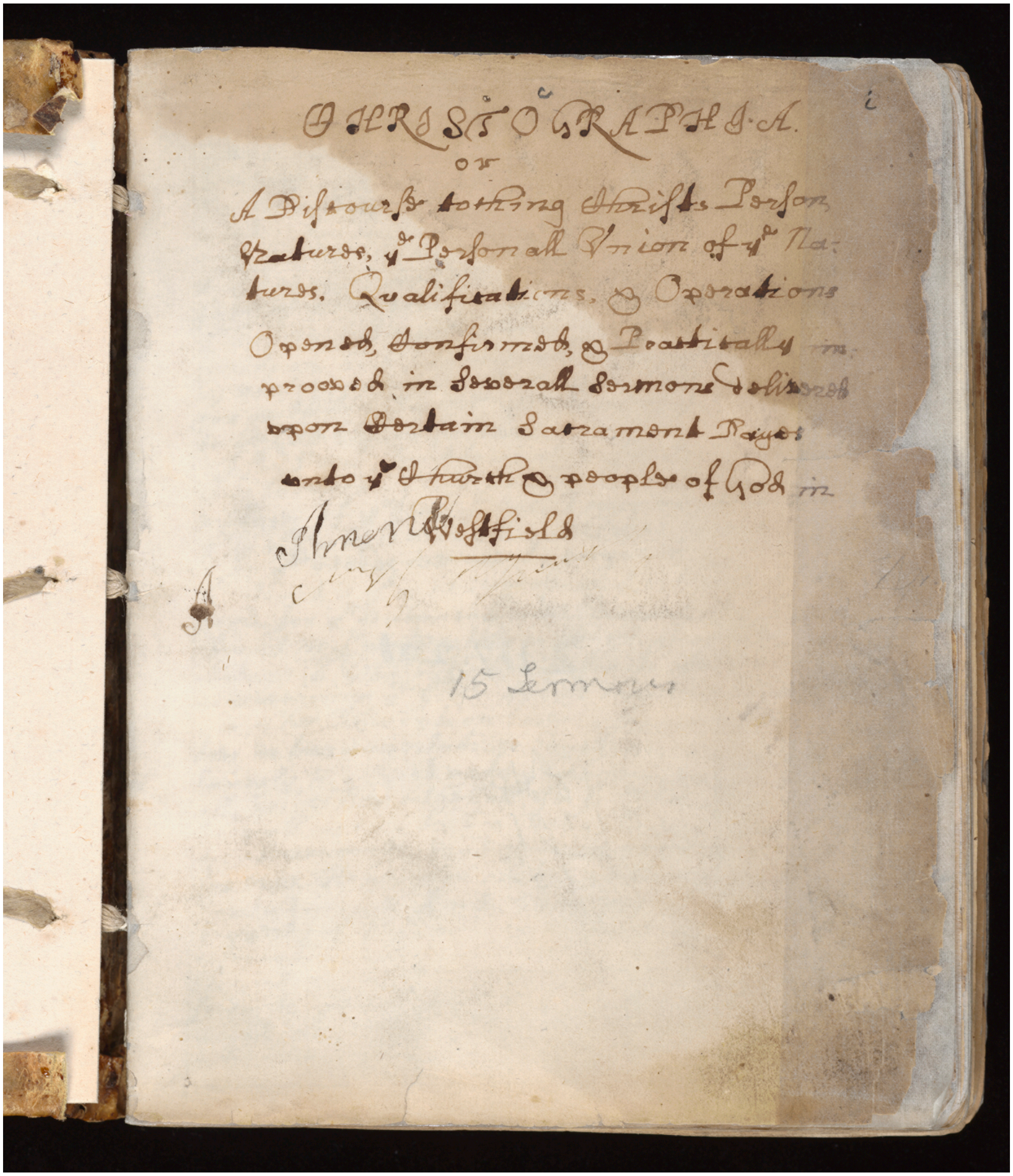
By *Cotton Mather*, D. D.
and F. R. S.

Ezek. XXXVI. 26.
*From all your IDOLS will I
cleanſe you.*

BOSTON, Printed by *John Allen*,
for *Daniel Henchman*, at his Shop,
over-againſt the Brick Meeting-
Houſe. 1717.

Figure 25. Title page, Cotton Mather, *Icono-clastes*, Boston, 1717. Bodleian Library, University of Oxford

Figure 26. Marian rood, 1553-58. Church of St. Catherine, Ludham, Norfolk

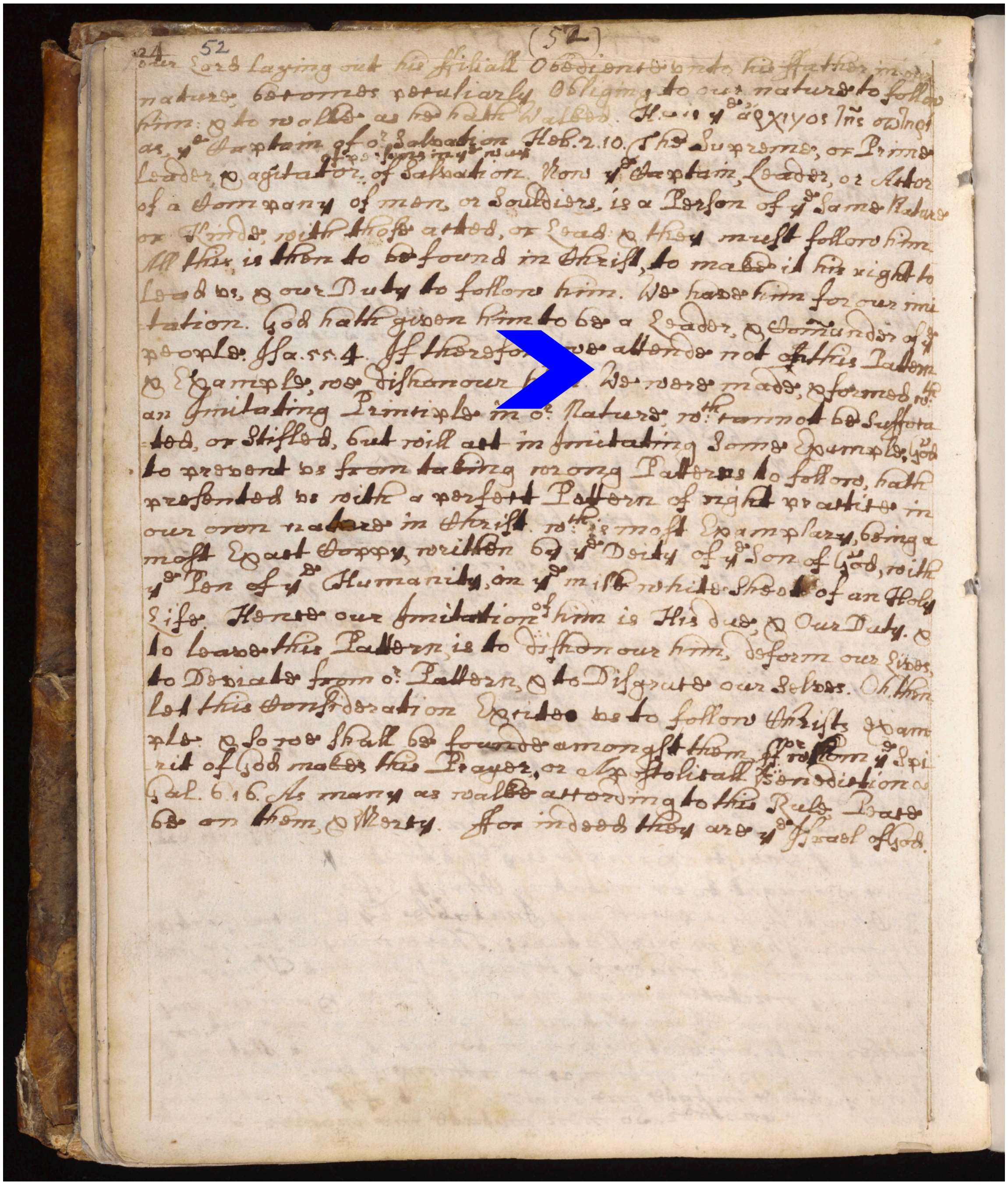


i

CHRISTOGRAPHIA.
or
A Diſcourſe touching Christs Perſon
Natures, y^e Perſonall Union of y^e Na-
tures. Qualifications, & Operations
Opened, Confirmed, & Practically im-
proved in Severall Sermons delivered
upon Certain Sacrament Dayes
unto y^e Church & people of God in
Westfield

15 Sermons

Figure 27. Title page, Edward Taylor, "Christographia" manuscript, n.d. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University

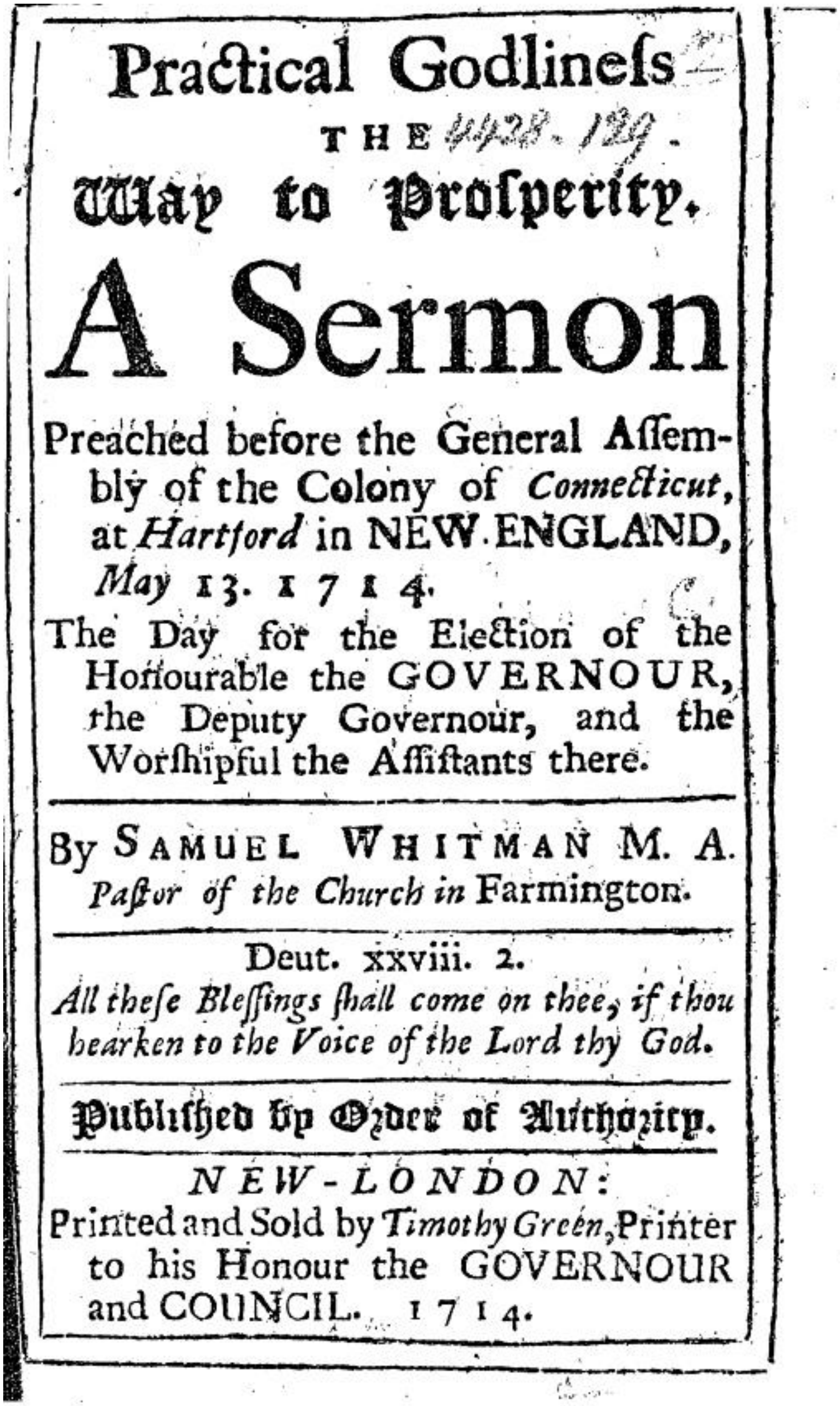


(52)

24 52

our Lord laying out his filiall Obedience unto his ffather in our
nature, becomes peculiarly Obliging to our nature to follow
him: & to walke as he hath Walked. He is ye ἀρχηγος Της σωτηρι
as ye Captain of or Salvation Heb. 2.10. The Supreme, or Prime
Leader, & agitator, of Salvation. Now ye Captain, Leader, or Actor
of a Company of men, or Souldiers, is a Person of ye Same Nature
or Kinde, with those acted, or Lead: & they must follow him.
All this is then to be found in Christ, to make it his right to
Lead us, & our Duty to follow him. We have him for our imi-
tation. God hath given him to be a Leader, & Commander of ye
people. Isa. 55.4. If therefore we attende not of this Pattern
& Example, we dishonour [illegible]. We were made, & formed wth
an Imitating Principle in or Nature, wch cannot be suffoca-
ted, or Stifled, but will act in Imitating Some Example. God
to prevent us from taking wrong Patterns to follow, hath
presented us with a perfect Pattern of right practice in
our own nature in Christ. wch is most Exemplary, being a
most Exact Coppy, written by ye Deity of ye Son of God, with
ye Pen of ye Humanity, on ye milk white Sheet of an Holy
Life. Hence our Imitation of him is His due, & Our Duty. &
to leave this Pattern, is to dishonour him, deform our Lives,
to Deviate from or Pattern, & to Disgrace our Selves. Oh then
let this Consideration Excite us to follow Christs Exam-
ple. & so we shall be founde amongst them for whom ye Spi-
rit of God makes this Prayer, or Apostolicall Benediction.
Gal. 6.16. As many as walke according to this Rule Peace
be on them, & Mercy. For indeed they are ye Israel of God.

Figure 28. Page 52, Edward Taylor, "Christographia" manuscript, n.d. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University



Practical Godlineſs

THE

Way to Proſperity.

A Sermon

Preached before the General Aſſembly of the Colony of *Connecticut*, at *Hartford* in NEW-ENGLAND, *May* 13. 1714.

The Day for the Election of the Honourable the GOVERNOUR, the Deputy Governour, and the Worſhipful the Aſſiſtants there.

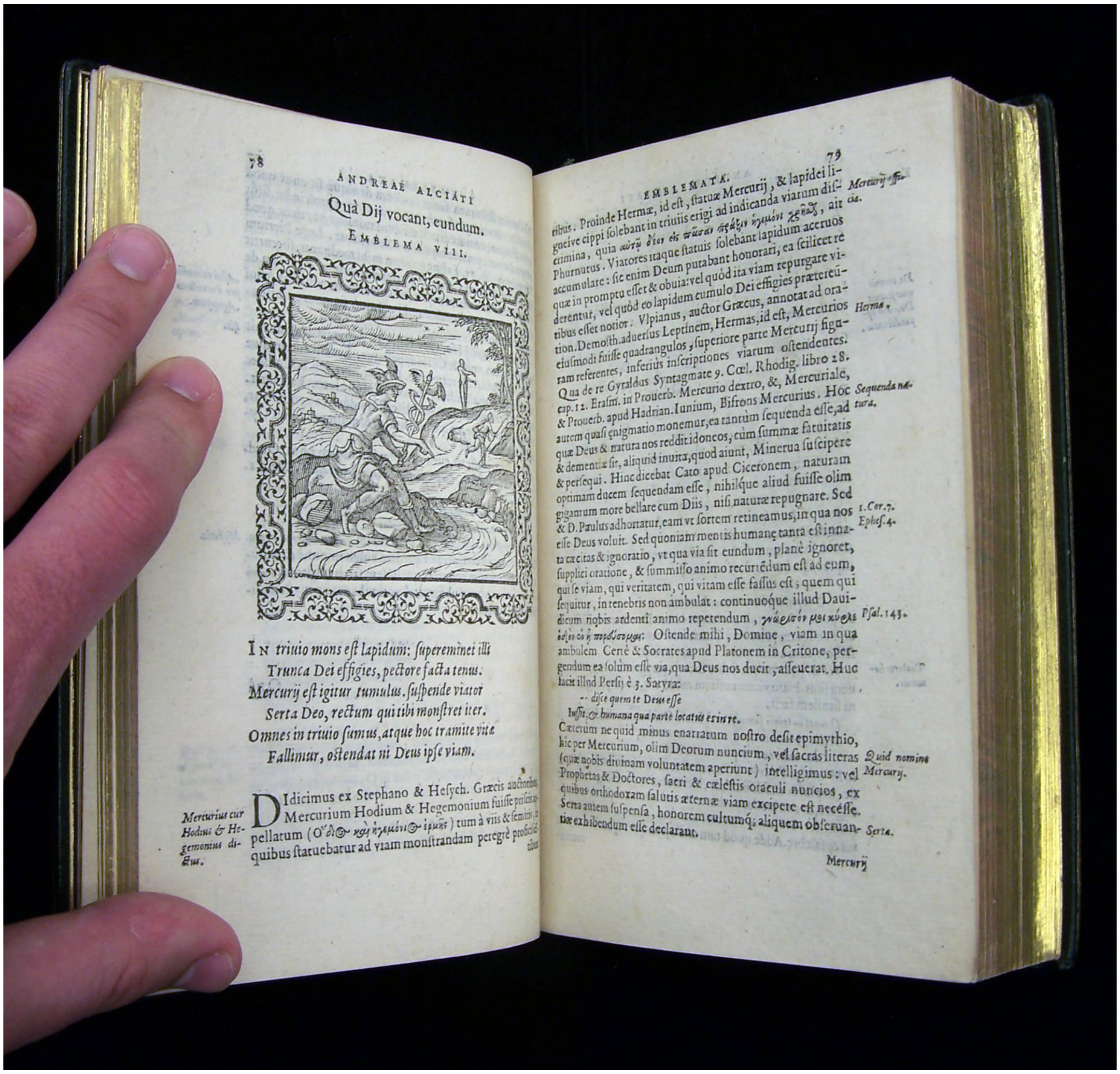
By SAMUEL WHITMAN M. A.
Paſtor of the Church in Farmington.

Deut. xxviii. 2.
All theſe Bleſſings ſhall come on thee, if thou hearken to the Voice of the Lord thy God.

Publiſhed by Order of Authority.

NEW-LONDON:
Printed and Sold by *Timothy Green*, Printer
to his Honour the GOVERNOUR
and COUNCIL. 1714.

Figure 29. Title page, Samuel Whitman, *Practical Godliness the Way to Prosperity*, New-London, Connecticut, 1714. Boston Public Library



78

ANDREAE ALCIATI

Quà Dij vocant, eundum.

EMBLEMA VIII.

In triuio mons eſt lapidum: ſupereminet illi
Trunca Dei effigies, pectore facta tenus.
Mercurij eſt igitur tumulus. ſuſpende viator
Serta Deo, rectum qui tibi monſtret iter.
Omnes in triuio ſumus, atque hoc tramite vitæ
Fallimur, oſtendat ni Deus ipſe viam.

Mercurius cur Hodius & Hegemonius dictus.

Didicimus ex Stephano & Heſych. Græcis auctoribus, Mercurium Hodium & Hegemonium fuiſſe priſcis appellatum (Ὅδιος καὶ ἡγεμόνιος Ἑρμῆς) tum à viis & ſemitis, quibus ſtatuebatur ad viam monſtrandam peregrè proficiſcentibus

79

EMBLEMATA.

tibus. Proinde Hermæ, id eſt, ſtatuæ Mercurij, & lapidei ligneíve cippi ſolebant in triuiis erigi ad indicanda viarum diſcrimina, quia αὐτῷ δεῖν εἰς πάσας πρᾶξιν ἡγεμόνι χρῆσθαι, ait Phurnutus. Viatores itaque ſtatuis ſolebant lapidum aceruos accumulare: ſic enim Deum putabant honorari, ea ſcilicet re quæ in promptu eſſet & obuia: vel quòd ita viam repurgare viderentur, vel quòd eo lapidum cumulo Dei effigies prætereuntibus eſſet notior. Vlpianus, auctor Græcus, annotat ad oration. Demoſth. aduerſus Leptinem, Hermas, id eſt, Mercurios eiuſmodi fuiſſe quadrangulos, ſuperiore parte Mercurij figuram referentes, inferiùs inſcriptiones viarum oſtendentes. Qua de re Gyraldus Syntagmate 9. Cœl. Rhodig. libro 28. cap. 12. Eraſm. in Prouerb. Mercurio dextro, &, Mercuriale, & Prouerb. apud Hadrian. Iunium, Bifrons Mercurius. Hoc autem quaſi ænigmatio monemur, ea tantùm ſequenda eſſe, ad quæ Deus & natura nos reddit idoneos, cùm ſummæ fatuitatis & dementiæ ſit, aliquid inuita, quod aiunt, Minerua ſuſcipere & perſequi. Hinc dicebat Cato apud Ciceronem, naturam optimam ducem ſequendam eſſe, nihilque aliud fuiſſe olim gigantum more bellare cum Diis, niſi naturæ repugnare. Sed & D. Paulus adhortatur, eam vt ſortem retineamus, in qua nos eſſe Deus voluit. Sed quoniam mentis humanę tanta eſt innata cæcitas & ignoratio, vt qua via ſit eundum, planè ignoret, ſupplici oratione, & ſummiſſo animo recurrẽdum eſt ad eum, qui ſe viam, qui veritatem, qui vitam eſſe faſſus eſt; quem qui ſequitur, in tenebris non ambulat: continuoque illud Dauidicum nobis ardenti animo repetendum, γνώρισόν μοι κύριε ὁδὸν ἐν ᾗ πορεύσομαι: Oſtende mihi, Domine, viam in qua ambulem. Certè & Socrates apud Platonem in Critone, pergendum ea ſolùm eſſe via, qua Deus nos ducit, aſſeuerat. Huc facit illud Perſij è 3. Satyra:

-- diſce quem te Deus eſſe
Iuſſit, & humana qua parte locatus es in re.

Cæterùm ne quid minus enarratum noſtro deſit epimythio, hic per Mercurium, olim Deorum nuncium, vel ſacras literas (quæ nobis diuinam voluntatem aperiunt) intelligimus: vel Prophetas & Doctores, ſacri & cæleſtis oraculi nuncios, ex quibus orthodoxam ſalutis æternæ viam excipere eſt neceſſe. Serta autem ſuſpenſa, honorem cultumq; aliquem obſeruantiæ exhibendum eſſe declarant.

Mercurij efficia.

Hermæ.

Sequenda natura.

1. Cor. 7. Epheſ. 4.

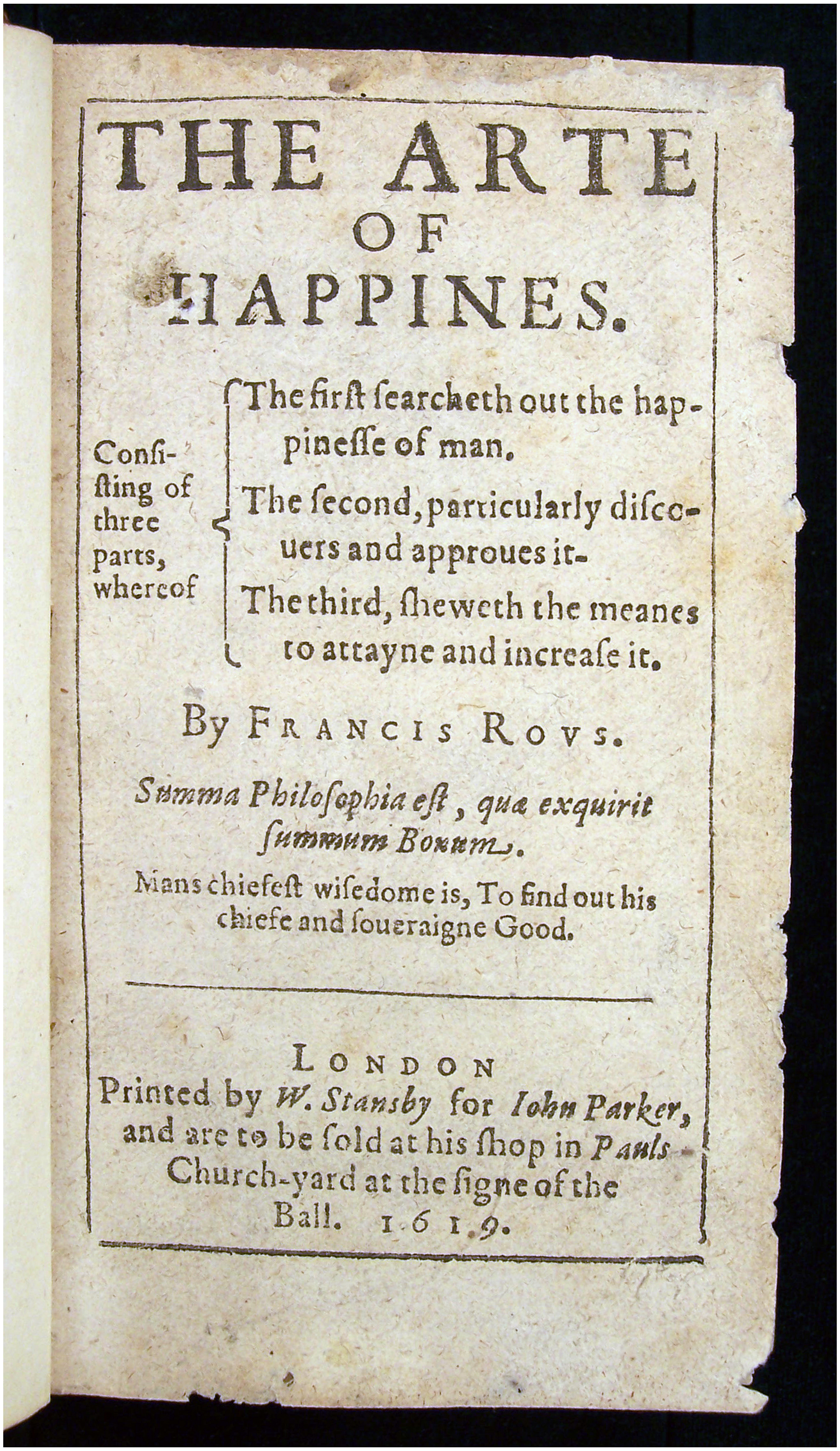
Pſal. 143.

Quid nomine Mercurij.

Serta.

Mercurij

Figure 30. Emblem depicting Mercury at the crossroads, Andrea Alciati, *Omnia Andreae Alciati V.C. Emblemata*, Antuerpiae, 1577. Huntington Library, San Marino, California



THE ARTE
OF
HAPPINES.

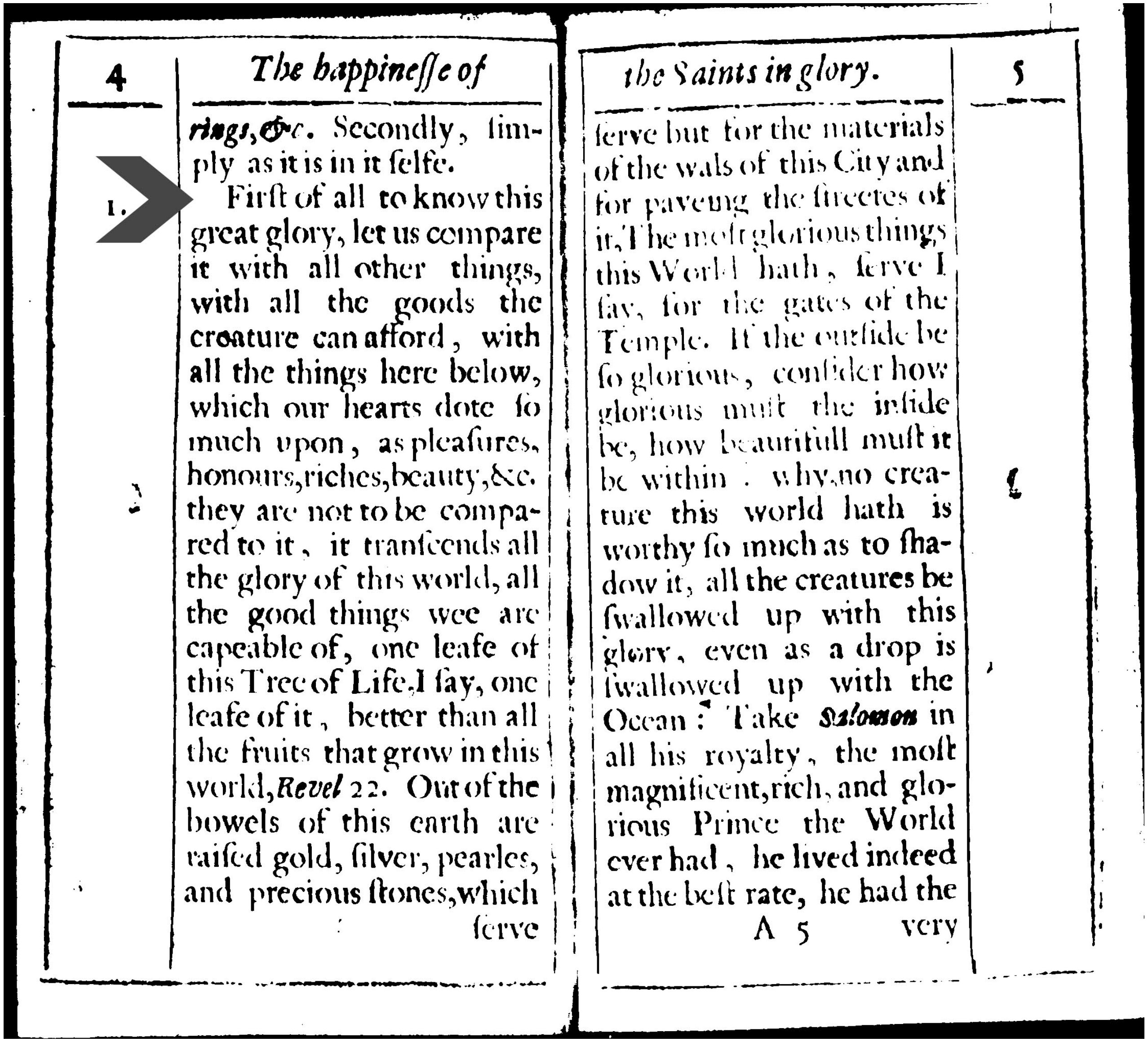
Conſiſting of three parts, whereof
The firſt ſearcheth out the happineſſe of man.
The ſecond, particularly diſcouers and approues it.
The third, ſheweth the meanes to attayne and increaſe it.

By FRANCIS ROVS.

Summa Philoſophia eſt, quæ exquirit ſummum Bonum.
Mans chiefeſt wiſedome is, To find out his chiefe and ſoueraigne Good.

LONDON
Printed by *W. Stansby* for *Iohn Parker*,
and are to be ſold at his ſhop in *Pauls*
Church-yard at the ſigne of the
Ball. 1619.

Figure 31. Title page, Francis Rous, *The Arte of Happines*, London, 1619. Huntington Library, San Marino, California



4 *The happineſſe of*

rings,&c. Secondly, ſimply as it is in it ſelfe.

1. Firſt of all to know this great glory, let us compare it with all other things, with all the goods the creature can afford, with all the things here below, which our hearts dote ſo much upon, as pleaſures, honours, riches, beauty, &c. they are not to be compared to it, it tranſcends all the glory of this world, all the good things wee are capeable of, one leafe of this Tree of Life, I ſay, one leafe of it, better than all the fruits that grow in this world, *Revel* 22. Out of the bowels of this earth are raiſed gold, ſilver, pearles, and precious ſtones, which

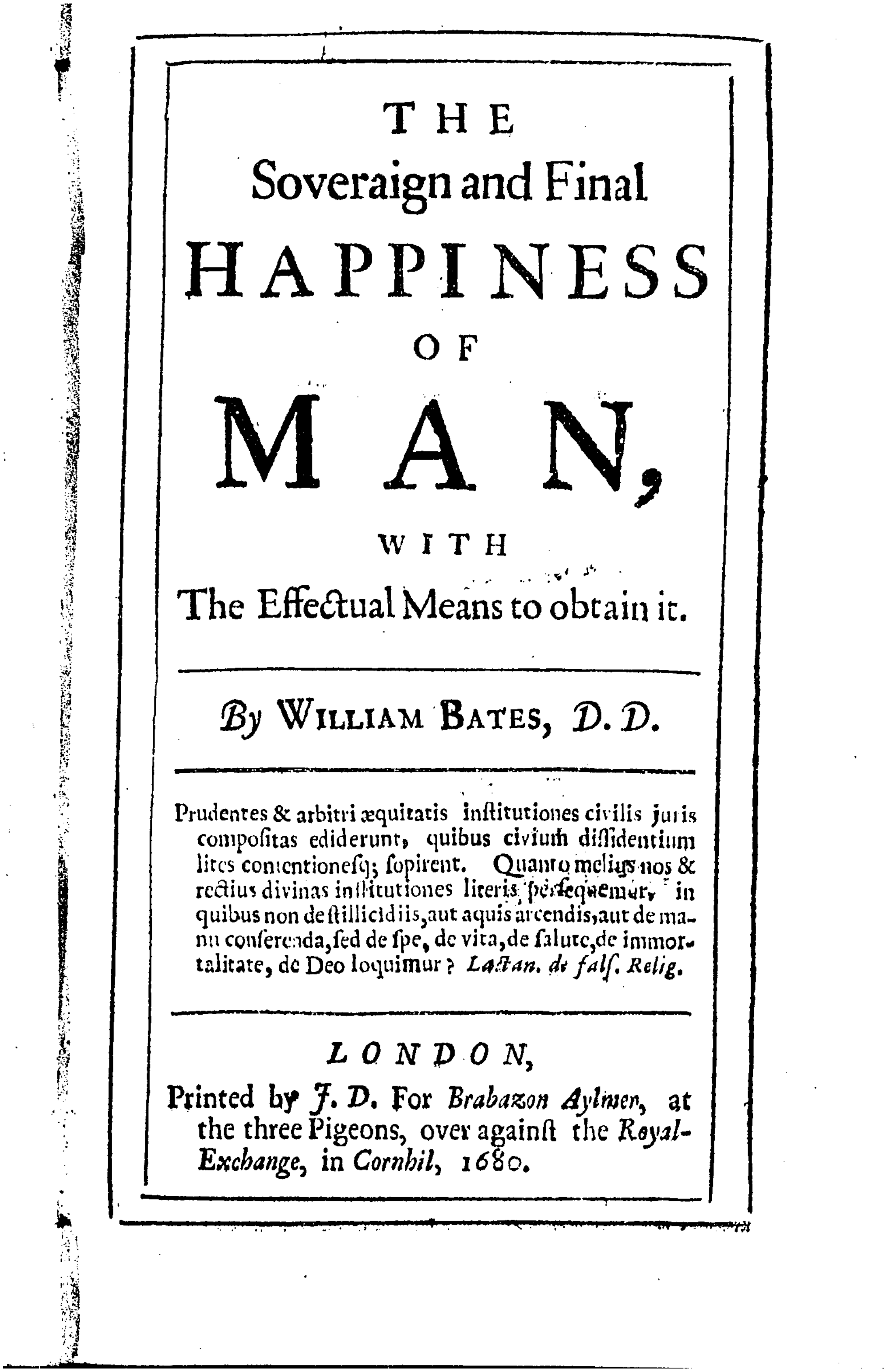
ſerve

the Saints in glory. 5

ſerve but for the materials of the wals of this City and for paveing the ſtreetes of it, The moſt glorious things this World hath, ſerve I ſay, for the gates of the Temple. If the outſide be ſo glorious, conſider how glorious muſt the inſide be, how beautifull muſt it be within. why, no creature this world hath is worthy ſo much as to ſhadow it, all the creatures be ſwallowed up with this glory, even as a drop is ſwallowed up with the Ocean: Take *Salomon* in all his royalty, the moſt magnificent, rich, and glorious Prince the World ever had, he lived indeed at the beſt rate, he had the

A 5 very

Figure 32. Pages 4-5, Thomas Goodwin, *The Happinesse of the Saints in Glory*, London, 1638. Bodleian Library, University of Oxford



THE
Soveraign and Final
HAPPINESS
OF
MAN,
WITH
The Effectual Means to obtain it.

By WILLIAM BATES, *D. D.*

Prudentes & arbitri æquitatis inſtitutiones civilis juris compoſitas ediderunt, quibus civium diſſidentium lites contentioneſq; ſopirent. Quanto melius nos & rectius divinas inſtitutiones literis perſequemur, in quibus non de ſtillicidiis, aut aquis arcendis, aut de manu conferenda, ſed de ſpe, de vita, de ſalute, de immortalitate, de Deo loquimur? *Lactan. de falſ. Relig.*

LONDON,
Printed by *J. D.* For *Brabazon Aylmer*, at
the three Pigeons, over againſt the *Royal-Exchange*, in *Cornhil*, 1680.

Figure 33. Title page, William Bates, *The Soveraign and Final Happiness of Man*, London, 1680. Huntington Library, San Marino, California

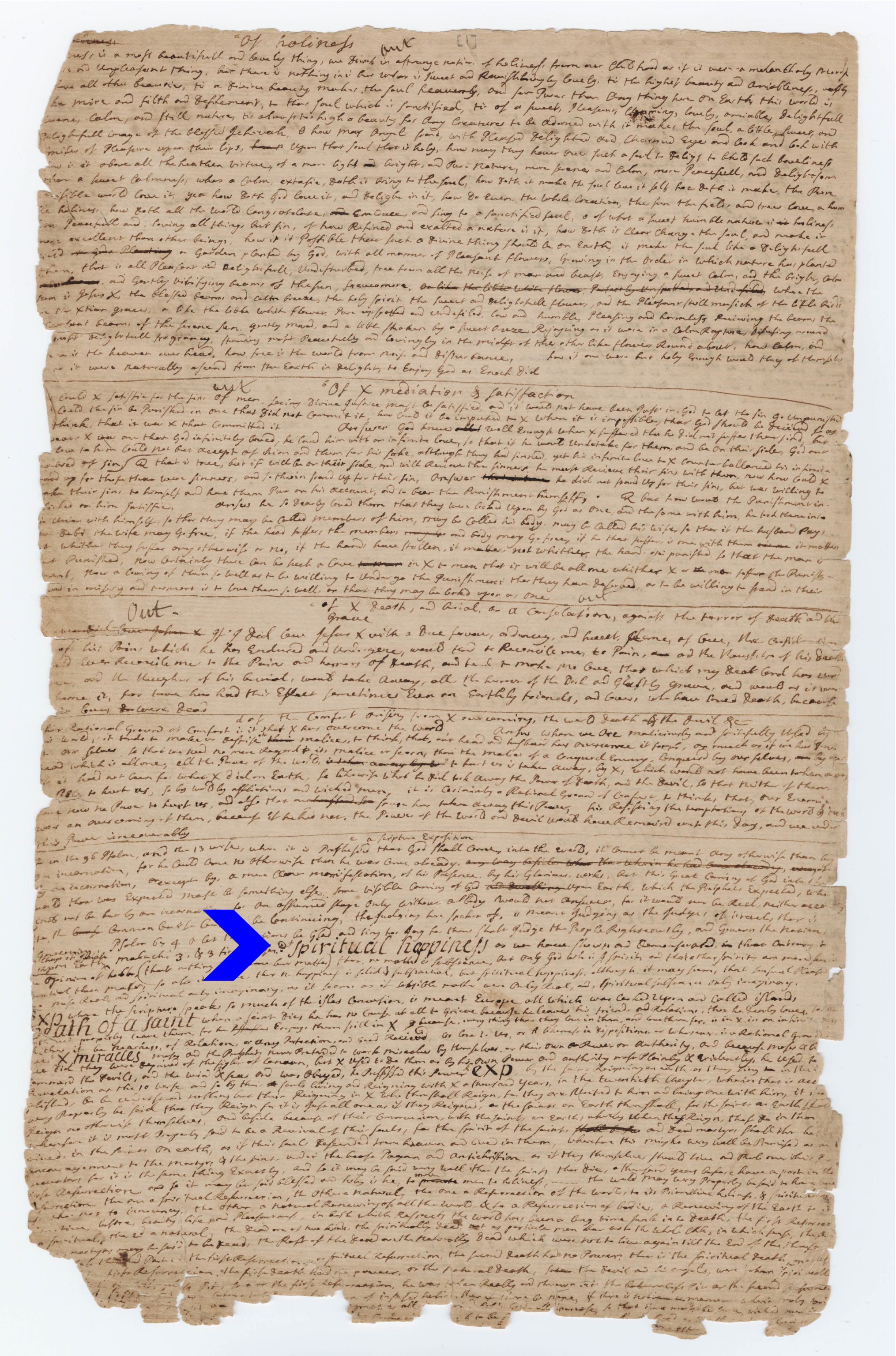
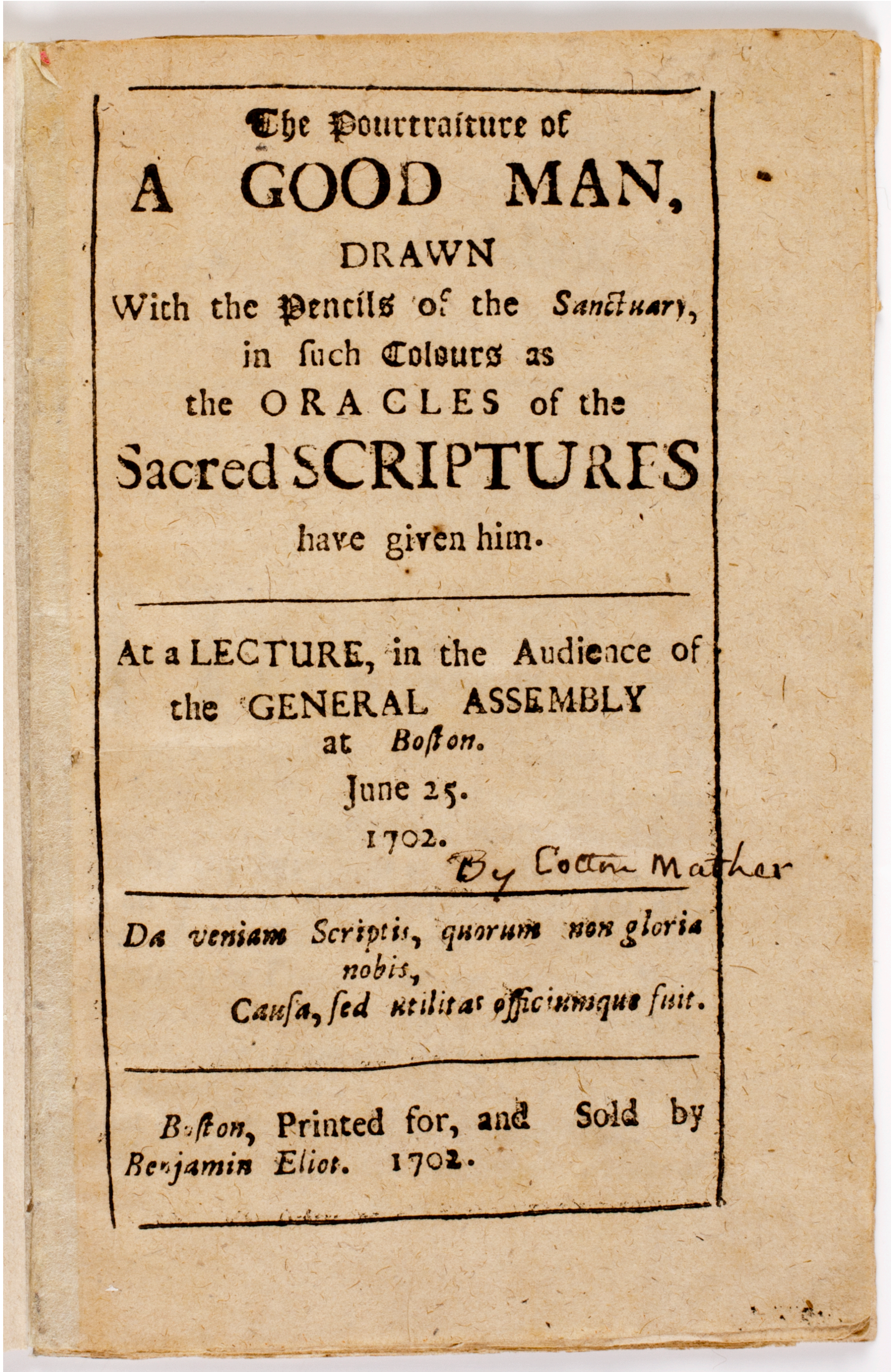


Figure 34. “f. Spiritual Happiness,” page 1, Jonathan Edwards, “The ‘Miscellanies’ (Entry Nos. a-z, aa-zz, 1-500)” [1722]. Jonathan Edwards Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University



The Pourtraiture of
A GOOD MAN,
DRAWN
With the Pencils of the *Sanctuary*,
in ſuch Colours as
the ORACLES of the
Sacred SCRIPTURES
have given him.

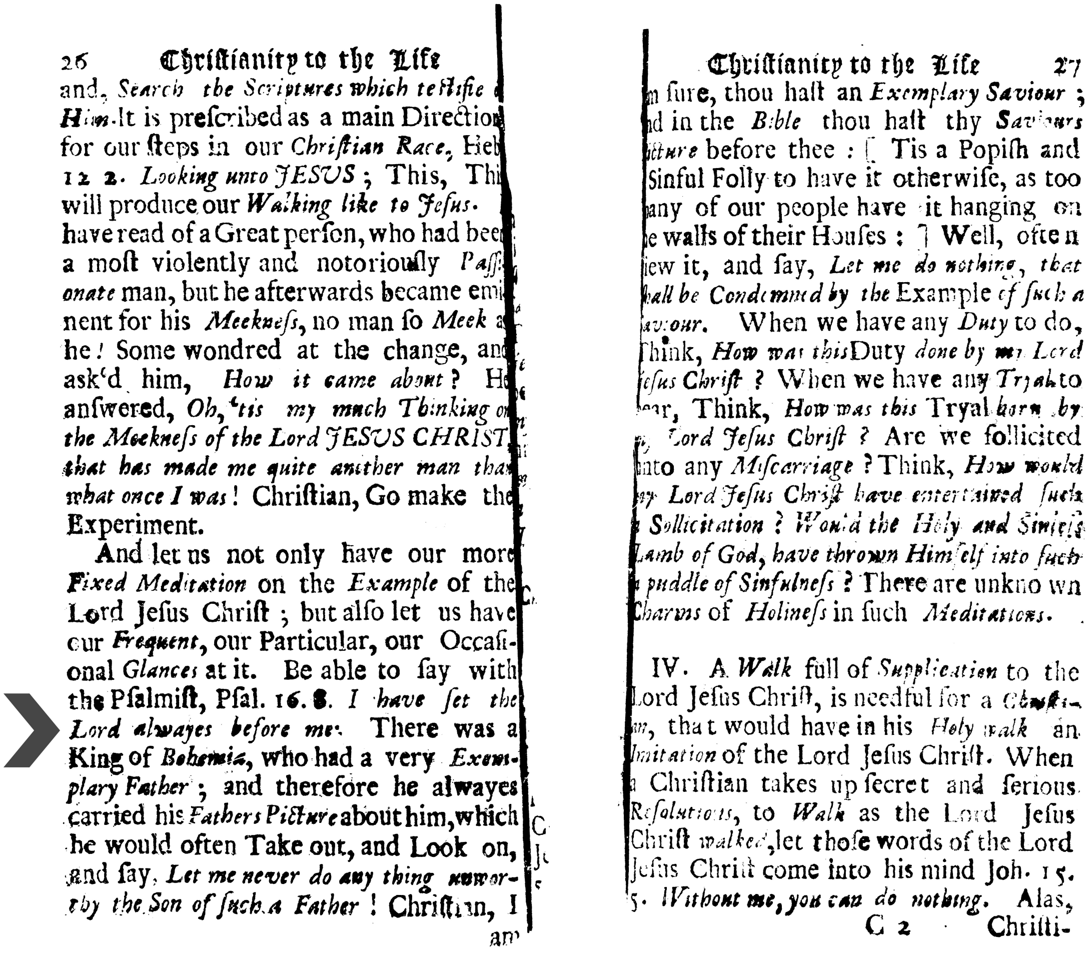
At a LECTURE, in the Audience of
the GENERAL ASSEMBLY
at *Boſton*.
June 25.
1702.

By Cotton Mather

Da veniam Scriptis, quorum non gloria nobis,
Cauſa, ſed utilitas officiumque fuit.

Boſton, Printed for, and Sold by
Benjamin Eliot. 1702.

Figure 35. Title page, Cotton Mather, *The Pourtraiture of a Good Man, Drawn with the Pencils of the Sanctuary*, Boston, 1702. American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts



26 Chriſtianity to the Life

and, *Search the Scriptures which teſtifie* *Him*. It is preſcribed as a main Directio for our ſteps in our *Chriſtian Race*, Heb 12 2. *Looking unto JESUS*; This, Thi will produce our *Walking like to Jeſus*. have read of a Great perſon, who had bee a moſt violently and notoriouſly *Paſſi-onate* man, but he afterwards became eminent for his *Meekneſs*, no man ſo *Meek* a he! Some wondred at the change, an ask'd him, *How it came about*? H anſwered, *Oh, 'tis my much Thinking o the Meekneſs of the Lord JESUS CHRIST that has made me quite another man tha what once I was*! Chriſtian, Go make the Experiment.

And let us not only have our mor *Fixed Meditation* on the *Example* of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt; but alſo let us have our *Frequent*, our Particular, our Occaſional *Glances* at it. Be able to ſay with the Pſalmiſt, Pſal. 16. 8. *I have ſet the Lord alwayes before me*. There was a King of *Bohemia*, who had a very *Exemplary Father*; and therefore he alwayes carried his *Fathers Picture* about him, which he would often Take out, and Look on, and ſay, *Let me never do any thing unworthy the Son of ſuch a Father*! Chriſtian, I

am

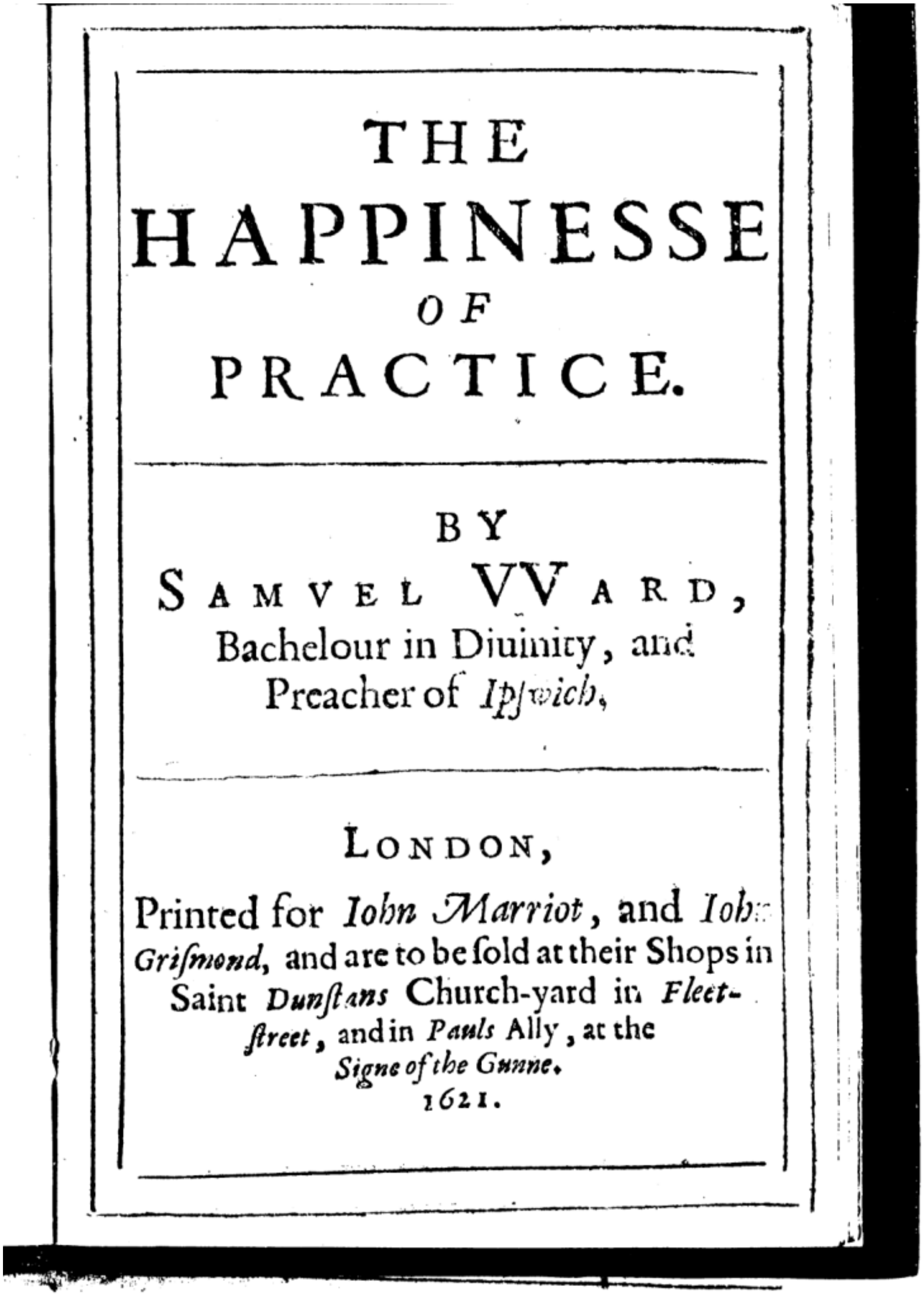
Chriſtianity to the Life 27

n ſure, thou haſt an *Exemplary Saviour*; d in the *Bible* thou haſt thy *Saviours icture* before thee: [Tis a Popiſh and Sinful Folly to have it otherwiſe, as too any of our people have it hanging on e walls of their Houſes:] Well, often iew it, and ſay, *Let me do nothing, that hall be Condemned by the* Example *of ſuch a aviour*. When we have any *Duty* to do, hink, *How was this* Duty *done by my Lord eſus Chriſt*? When we have any *Tryal* to ear, Think, *How was this* Tryal *born by Lord Jeſus Chriſt*? Are we ſollicited nto any *Miſcarriage*? Think, *How would y Lord Jeſus Chriſt have entertained ſuch Sollicitation? Would the Holy and Sinleſs Lamb of God, have thrown Himſelf into ſuch puddle of Sinfulneſs*? There are unknown *harms* of *Holineſs* in ſuch *Meditations*.

IV. A *Walk* full of *Supplication* to the ord Jeſus Chriſt, is needful for a *Chriſtian*, that would have in his *Holy walk* an *mitation* of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt. When Chriſtian takes up ſecret and ſerious *Reſolutions*, to *Walk* as the Lord Jeſus Chriſt *walked*, let thoſe words of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt come into his mind Joh. 15. 5. *Without me, you can do nothing*. Alas,

C 2 Chriſti-

Figure 36. Pages 26-27, Cotton Mather, *Christianity to the Life*, Boston, 1702. University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville

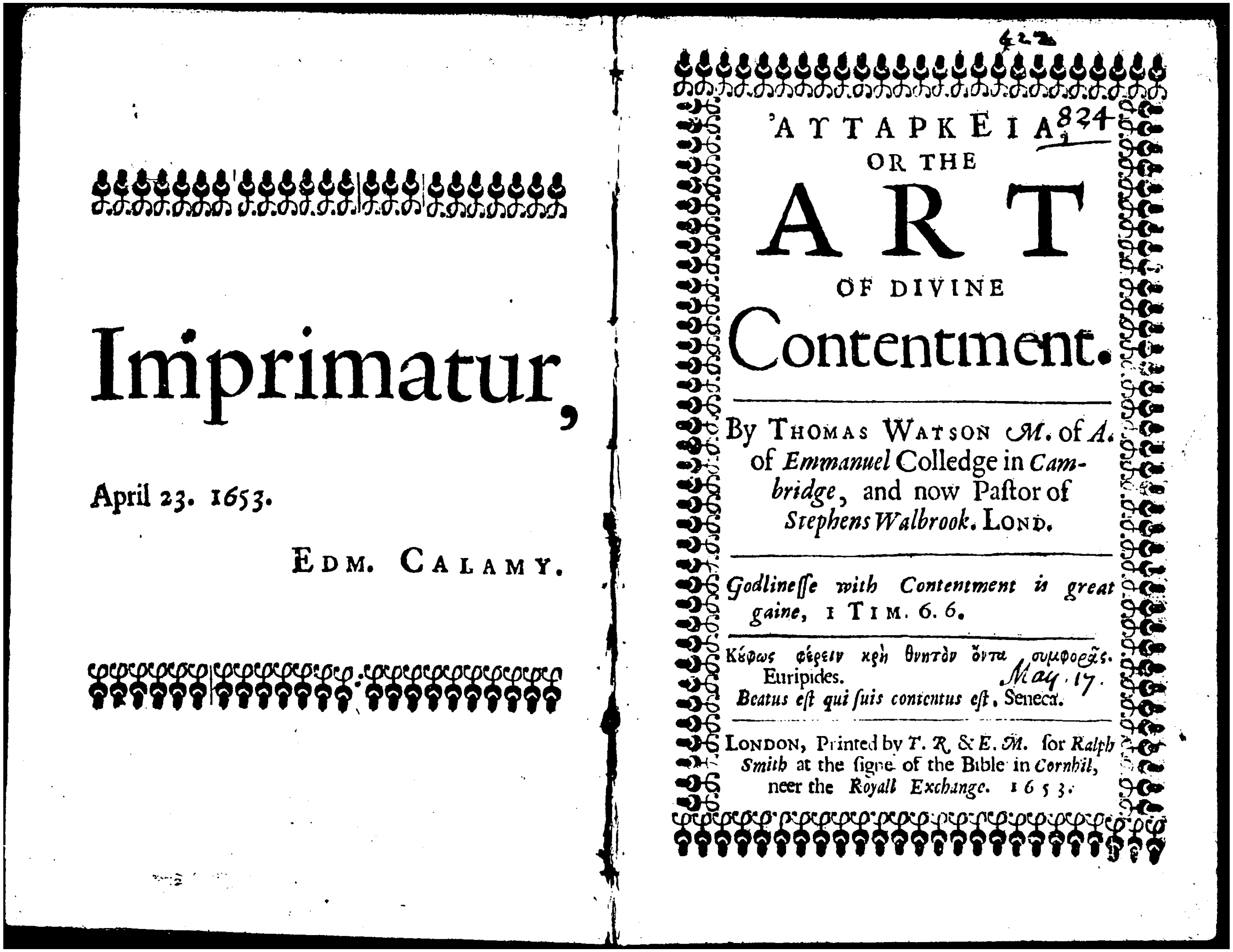


THE HAPPINESSE OF PRACTICE.

BY
SAMVEL VVARD,
Bachelour in Diuinity, and
Preacher of *Ipſwich*.

LONDON,
Printed for *Iohn Marriot*, and *Ioh*
Griſmond, and are to be ſold at their Shops in
Saint *Dunſtans* Church-yard in *Fleet-ſtreet*,
and in *Pauls* Ally, at the
Signe of the Gunne.
1621.

Figure 37. Title page, Samuel Ward, *The Happinesse of Practice*, London, 1621. Huntington Library, San Marino, California



Imprimatur,

April 23. 1653.

Edm. Calamy.

42

ΑΥΤΑΡΚΕΙΑ. 824

OR THE

ART

OF DIVINE

Contentment.

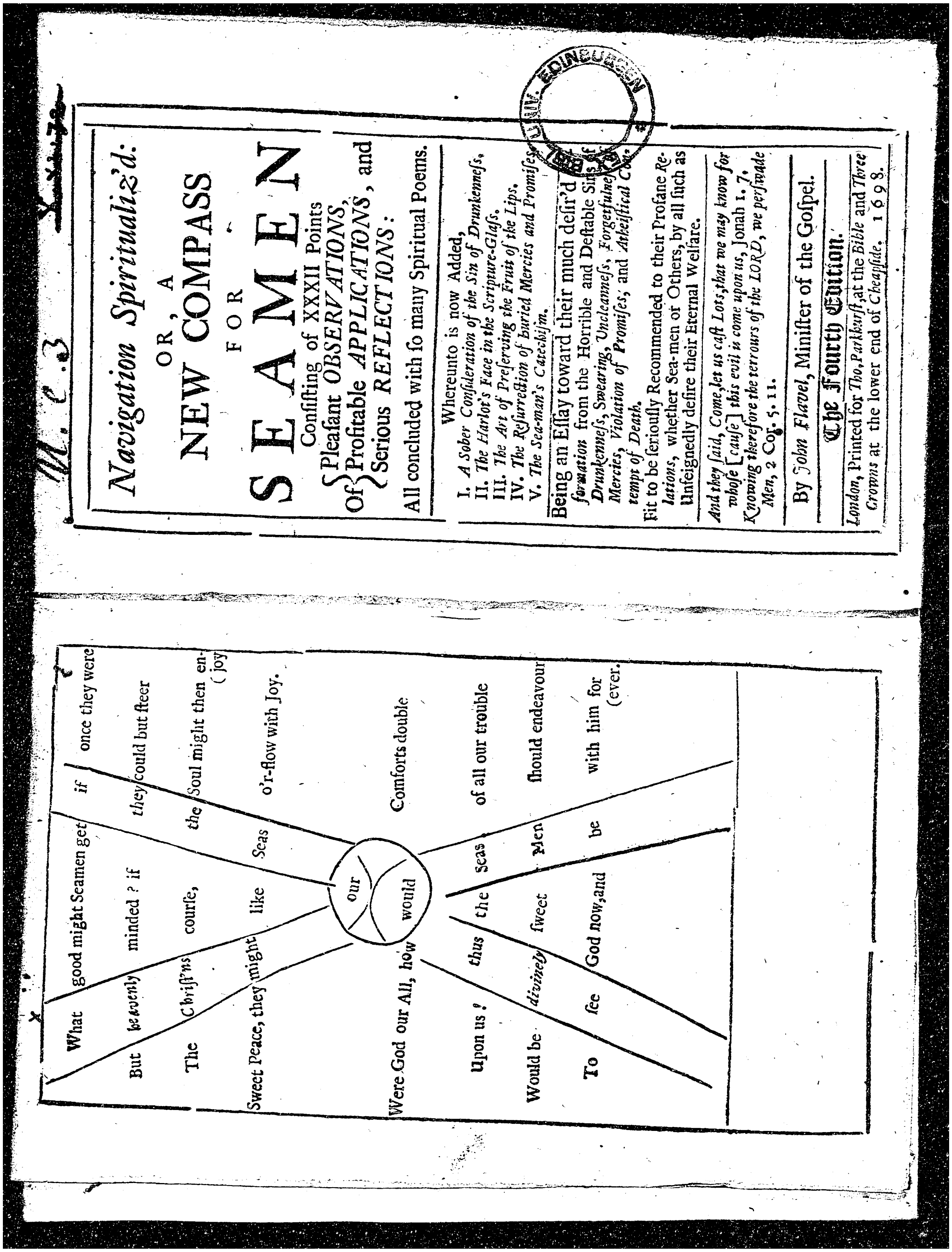
By Thomas Watson M. of A.
of *Emmanuel* Colledge in *Cam-
bridge*, and now Paſtor of
Stephens Walbrook. Lond.

*Godlineſſe with Contentment is great
gaine,* 1 Tim. 6. 6.

Κούφως φέρειν χρὴ θνητὸν ὄντα συμφορὰς.
Euripides.
May. 17.
Beatus eſt qui ſuis contentus eſt, Seneca.

London, Printed by *T. R.* & *E. M.* for *Ralph
Smith* at the ſigne of the Bible in *Cornhil*,
neer the *Royall Exchange*. 1653.

Figure 38. Opening with title page, Thomas Watson, *Autarkeia, or the Art of Divine Contentment*, London, 1653. British Library, London



What good might Seamen get if once they were
But heavenly minded? if they could but ſteer
The Chriſtians courſe, the Soul might then enjoy
Sweet Peace, they might like Seas o'r-flow with Joy.
Were God our All, how would our Comforts double
Upon us? thus the Seas of all our trouble
Would be divinely ſweet Men ſhould endeavour
To ſee God now, and be with him for ever.

Navigation Spiritualiz'd:
OR, A
NEW COMPASS
FOR
SEAMEN

Conſiſting of XXXII Points
Of Pleaſant OBSERVATIONS,
Profitable APPLICATIONS, and
Serious REFLECTIONS:
All concluded with ſo many Spiritual Poems.

Whereunto is now Added,
I. *A Sober Conſideration of the Sin of Drunkenneſs.*
II. *The Harlot's Face in the Scripture-Glaſs.*
III. *The Art of Preſerving the Fruit of the Lips.*
IV. *The Reſurrection of buried Mercies and Promiſes.*
V. *The Sea-man's Catechiſm.*

Being an Eſſay toward their much deſir'd *Reformation* from the Horrible and Deteſtable Sins of *Drunkenneſs, Swearing, Uncleanneſs, Forgetfulneſs of Mercies, Violation of Promiſes*; and *Atheiſtical Contempt of Death.*

Fit to be ſeriouſly Recommended to their Profane *Relations*, whether Sea-men or Others, by all ſuch as Unfeignedly deſire their Eternal Welfare.

And they ſaid, Come, let us caſt Lots, that we may know for whoſe [*cauſe*] *this evil is come upon us,* Jonah 1. 7.
Knowing therefore the terrours of the LORD, we perſwade Men, 2 Cor. 5. 11.

By *John Flavel*, Miniſter of the Goſpel.

The Fourth Edition.

London, Printed for *Tho. Parkhurſt*, at the *Bible* and *Three Crowns* at the lower end of *Cheapſide*. 1698.

Figure 39. Title page with emblematic frontispiece, John Flavel, *Navigation Spiritualiz'd: Or, A New Compass for Seamen*... 4th ed., London, 1698. Edinburgh University Library, Special Collections Department

1
The Launching of a Ship plainly ſets forth
Our double State by firſt and ſecond Birth.
Page 1.

2
In the vaſt Ocean, Spiritual Eyes deſcry
God's boundleſs Mercy and Eternity.
Page 6.

3
Within theſe ſmooth fac'd Seas ſtrange Creatures crawl;
But in Mens Hearts, far ſtranger than them all.
Page 11.

4
Seas purge themſelves, and caſt their filth aſhore;
But graceleſs Souls retain and ſuck in more.
Page 16.

5
Sea-men foreſee a Danger, and prepare;
Yet few of greater Dangers are aware.
Page 19.

6
How ſmall a matter turns a Ship about?
Yet we againſt our Conſcience ſtand it out.
Page 21.

7
Through many fears and dangers Sea-men run,
But all's forgotten, when they do return.
Page 26.

8
The Navigator ſhifts his Sails to take
All Winds, but that which for his Soul doth make.
Page 31.

9
If Seamen loſe a Gale, there they may lie,
The Soul, when once becalm'd, with Sin may die.
Page 34.

10
By Navigation one Place ſtores another;
And by Communion we muſt help each other.
Page 37.

11
The Rocks abide, though Seas againſt them rage;
So ſhall the Church, which is God's Heritage.
Page 41.

12
What Dangers run they for a little Gain?
Who for their Souls would n'ere take half the pains.
Page 44.

13
Millions of Creatures in the Seas are fed,
Why then are Saints in doubt of daily Bread?
Page 47.

14
Sea-waters drained through the Earth are ſweet;
So are th' Afflictions which God's People meet.
Page 51.

15
The Seas within their Bounds the Lord contains;
He alſo Men and Devils holds in Chains.
Page 55.

16
To Sea without a Compaſs none dare go;
Our Courſe without the Word is even ſo.
Page 59.

17
Look as the Sea by turns doth ebb and flow;
So their Eſtates that uſe it come and go.
Page 63.

18
Like hungry Lyons, Waves for Sinners gape,
Leave then your ſins behind, if you'll eſcape.
Page 67.

19
To ſave the Ship rich Ladings caſt away;
Thy Soul is Shipwrack'd, if thy Luſts do ſtay.
Page 70.

20
Chriſt with a Word can ſurging Waves appeaſe;
His Voice a troubled Soul can quickly eaſe.
Page 73.

21
Our Food out of the Sea God doth command,
Yet few herein takes notice of his hand.
Page 7.

22
Whilſt thou by Art the ſilly Fiſh doſt kill;
Perchance the Devil's Hook ſticks in thy Gill.
Page 80.

23
Doth Trading fail, and Voyages prove bad?
If you cannot diſcern the Cauſe, 'tis ſad.
Page 83.

24
In Seas the greater Fiſh the leſs devour,
So ſome Men cruſh all the within their power.
Page 87.

25
In Storms to ſpread much Sail indangers all;
So carnal Mirth, if God for Mourning call.
Page 90.

26
A little Leak neglected dangerous proves:
One Sin connived at, the Soul undoes.
Page 93

27
Ships make much way when they a Trade-wind get,
With ſuch a Wind the Saints have ever met.
Page 96.

28
Storms make diſcovery of the Pilot's skill,
God's Wiſdom in Affliction triumphs ſtill.
Page 100.

29
Things in the bottom are unſeen; no Eye
Can trace God's Paths, which in the Deeps do lie.
Page 103.

30
Millions of Men are ſunk into the Main,
But it ſhall not thoſe Dead always retain.
Page 106.

31
The Sea-man's greateſt Danger's near the Coaſt;
When we are neareſt Heaven the Danger's moſt.
Page 110.

32
How glad are Sea-men when they make the Shore?
And Saints no leſs, when all their Dangers o're.
Page 113.

Pſal. 127. 2.

Pſal. 119. 165.
If you that croſs the Seas,
would by this Compaſs Steer;
The greateſt Storm could do no harm,
nor need you Rocks to fear.

Pſal. 119. 105.
This Compaſs truly toucht,
your Courſe will ſo direct:
That on no Rock your Souls ſhall knock,
unleſs they it neglect.

Pſal. 119. 50.
Could you but learn this Art,
then who would you annoy?
What inward calms, amidſt all ſtorms
might your poor Souls enjoy?

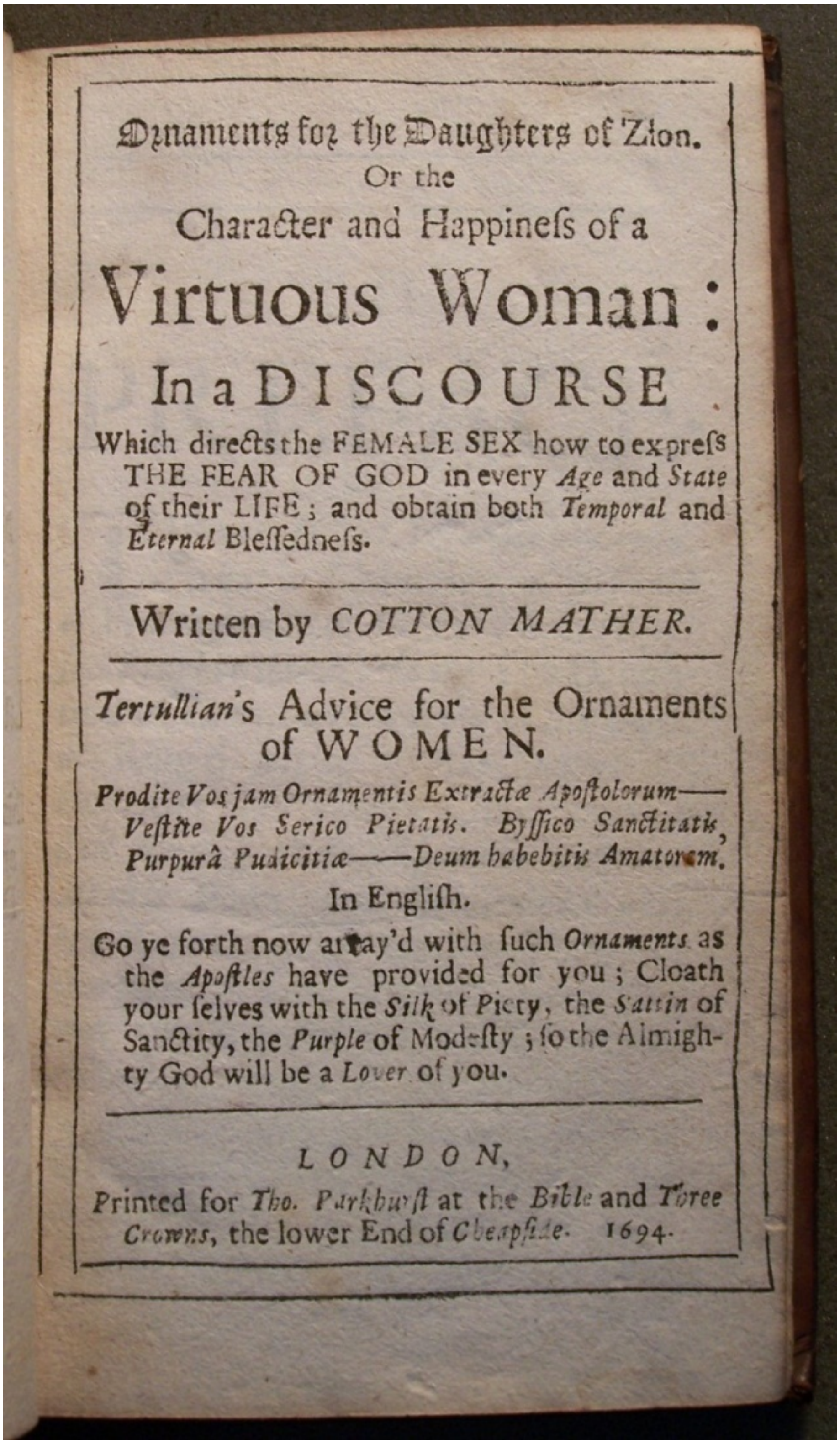
Matt. 5. 16.
Sirs! if you would but take
ſome pains this Art to learn,
You might be then Fiſhers of Men,
and make a rich Return.

Pſal. 1. 2.
When you have vacant Hours,
and time to be alone,
As you'd be bleſt, grant this Requeſt,
and ſpend ſome time hereon.

Pſal. 119. 102.
If this may win your thoughts
to God, from Self and Sin;
You'll find it ſweet, to have them meet
as center'd Lines in him.

Bodily exerciſe profiteth little, but Godlineſs is profitable unto all things; having the promiſe of the life that now is, and that which is to come.
1 Tim. 4. 8.

Figure 40. Foldout with spiritual compass, n.p., John Flavel, *Navigation Spiritualiz'd: Or, A New Compass for Seamen…* 4th ed., London, 1698. Edinburgh University Library, Special Collections Department



Ornaments for the Daughters of Zion.
Or the
Character and Happineſs of a
Virtuous Woman:
In a DISCOURSE
Which directs the FEMALE SEX how to expreſs
THE FEAR OF GOD in every *Age* and *State*
of their LIFE; and obtain both *Temporal* and
Eternal Bleſſedneſs.

Written by *COTTON MATHER.*

Tertullian's Advice for the Ornaments
of WOMEN.

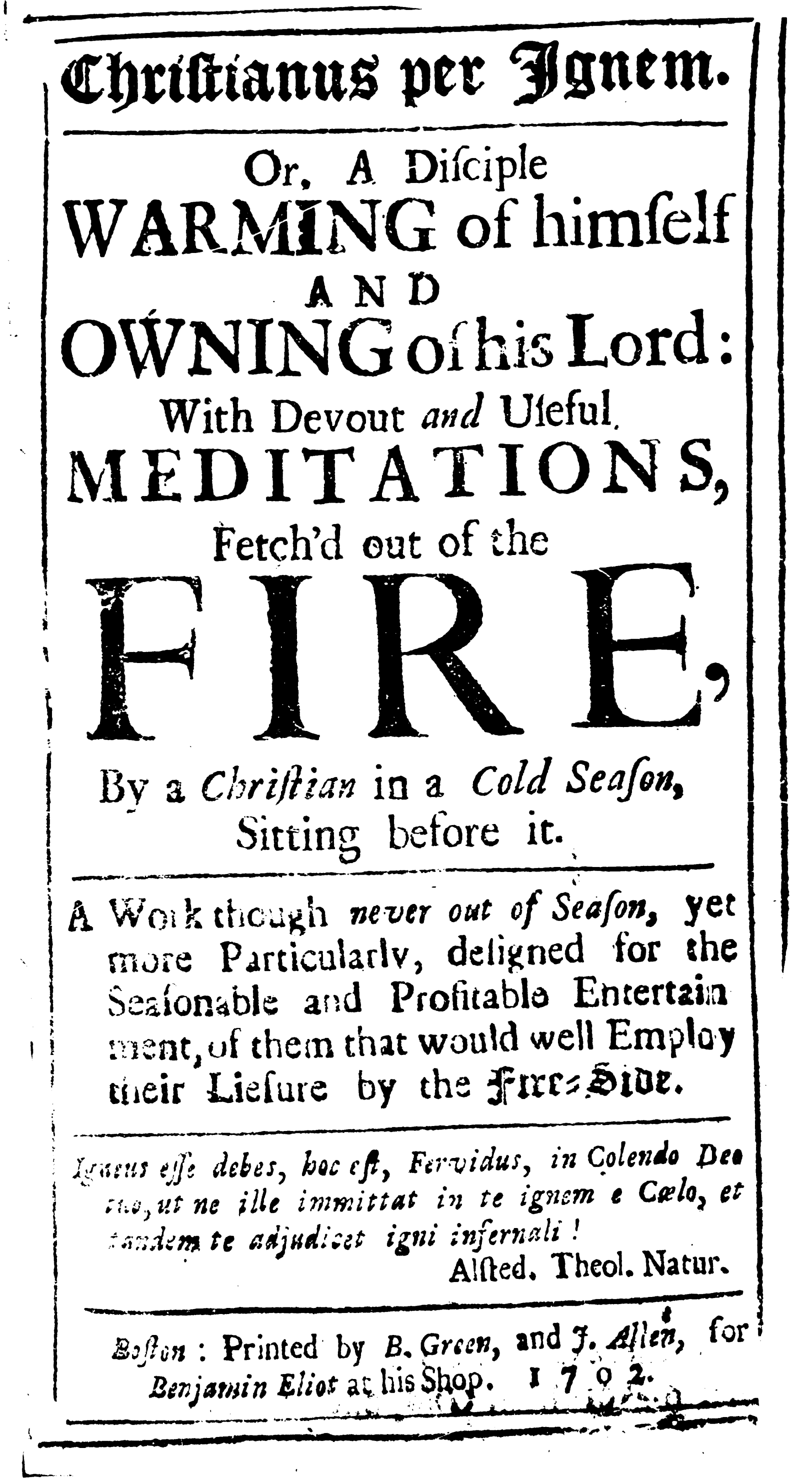
Prodite Vos jam Ornamentis Extractæ Apoſtolorum——
Veſtite Vos Serico Pietatis. Byſſico Sanctitatis,
Purpurâ Pudicitiæ——Deum habebitis Amatorem.

In Engliſh.

Go ye forth now array'd with ſuch *Ornaments* as
the *Apoſtles* have provided for you; Cloath
your ſelves with the *Silk* of Piety, the *Sattin* of
Sanctity, the *Purple* of Modeſty; ſo the Almighty
God will be a *Lover* of you.

LONDON,
Printed for *Tho. Parkhurſt* at the *Bible* and *Three*
Crowns, the lower End of *Cheapſide*. 1694.

Figure 41. Title page, Cotton Mather, *Ornaments for the Daughters of Zion*, London, 1694. Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D.C.



Chriſtianus per Ignem.

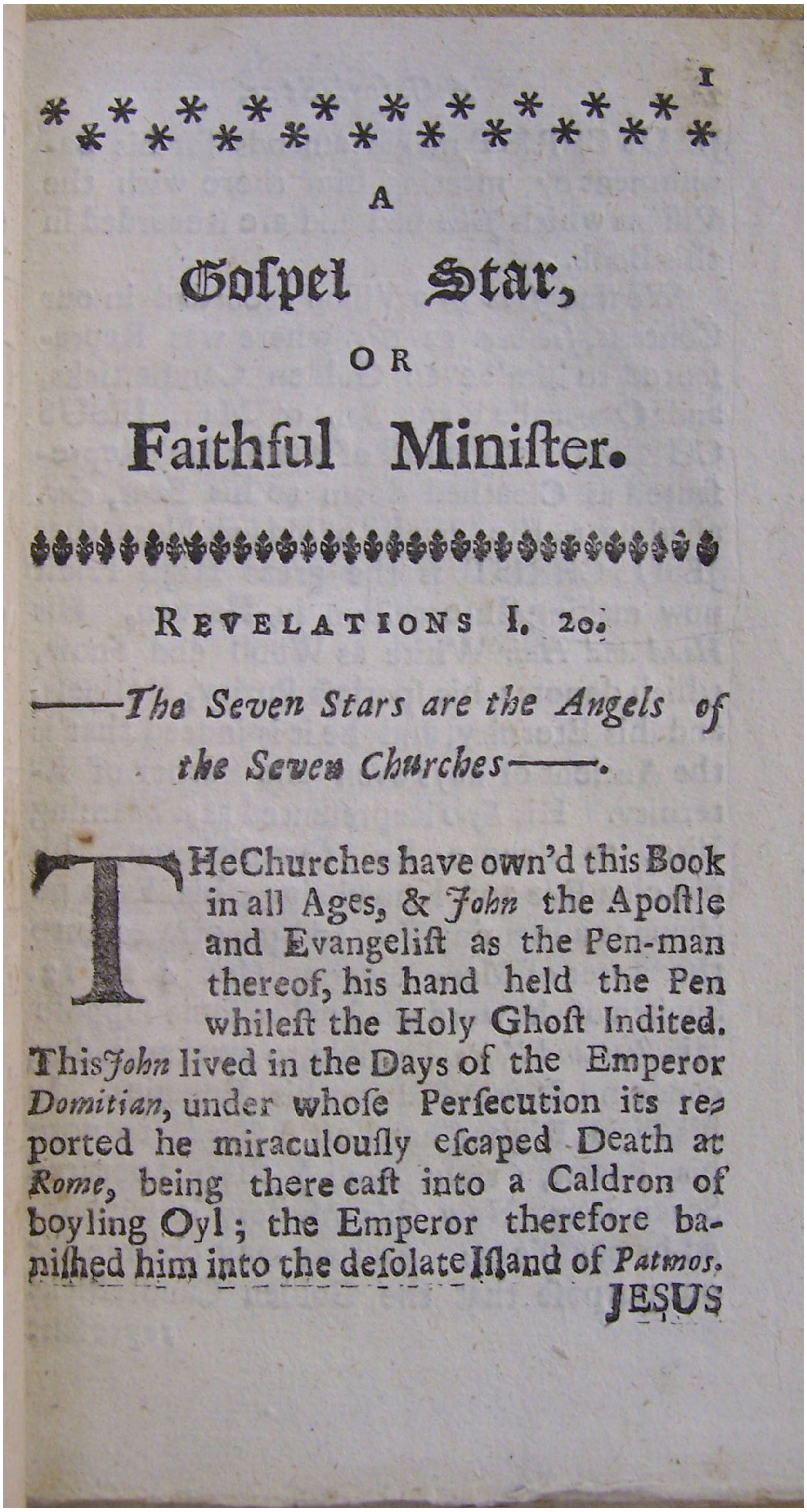
Or, A Diſciple
WARMING of himſelf
AND
OWNING of his Lord:
With Devout *and* Uſeful
MEDITATIONS,
Fetch'd out of the
FIRE,
By a *Chriſtian* in a *Cold Seaſon*,
Sitting before it.

A Work though *never out of Seaſon*, yet
more Particularly, deſigned for the
Seaſonable and Profitable Entertain
ment, of them that would well Employ
their Lieſure by the Fire-Side.

Igneus eſſe debes, hoc eſt, Fervidus, in Colendo Deo
tuo, ut ne ille immittat in te ignem e Cœlo, et
tandem te adjudicet igni infernali!
Alſted. Theol. Natur.

Boſton: Printed by *B. Green*, and *J. Allen*, for
Benjamin Eliot at his Shop. 1702.

Figure 42. Title page, Cotton Mather, *Christianus per Ignem*, Boston, 1702. Harvard University Library, Cambridge, Massachusetts



1

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

A

Goſpel Star,

OR

Faithful Miniſter.

◆ ◆ ◆

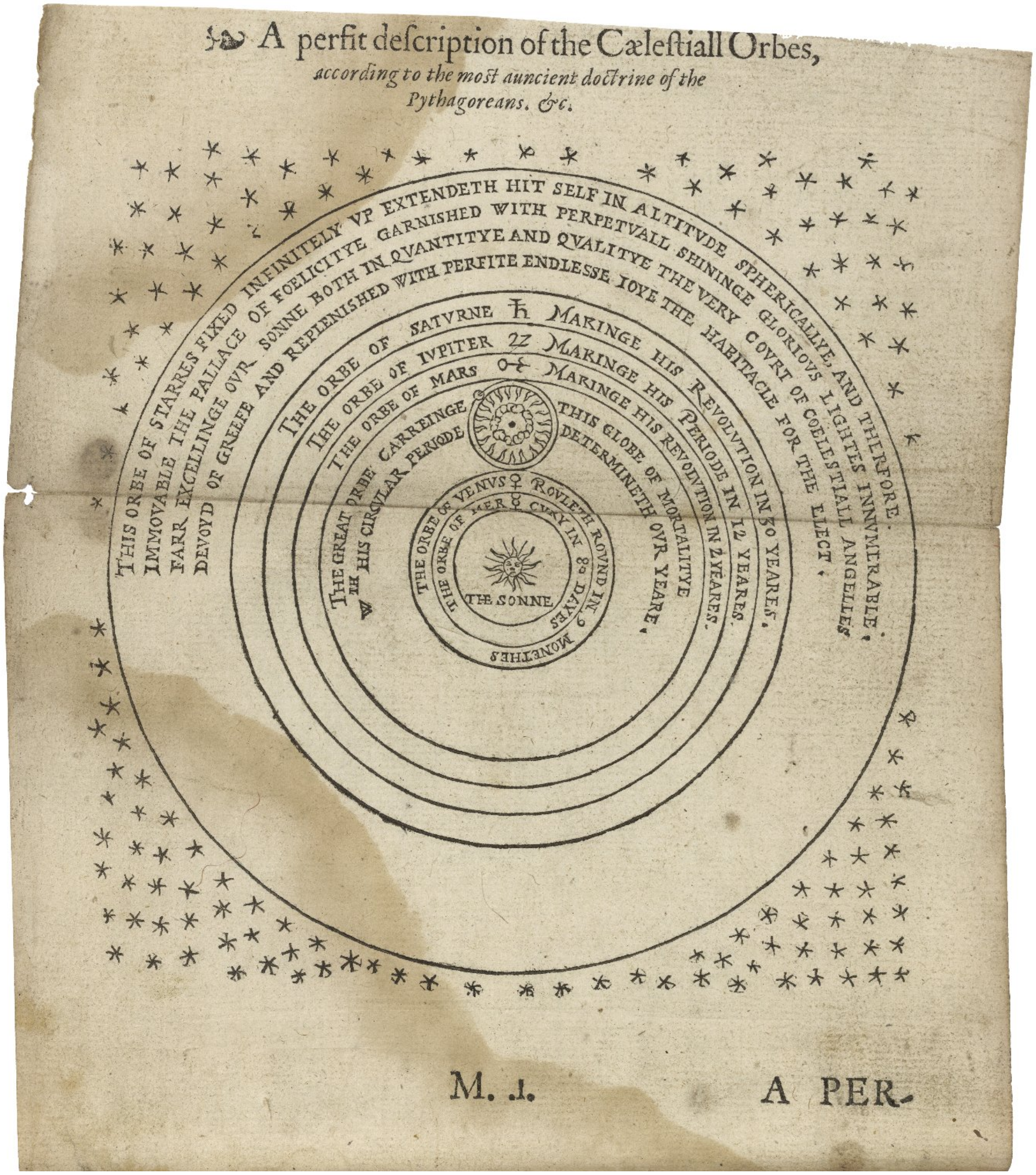
REVELATIONS I. 20.

——*The Seven Stars are the Angels of the Seven Churches*——.

THe Churches have own'd this Book in all Ages, & *John* the Apoſtle and Evangeliſt as the Pen-man thereof, his hand held the Pen whileſt the Holy Ghoſt Indited. This *John* lived in the Days of the Emperor *Domitian*, under whoſe Perſecution its reported he miraculouſly eſcaped Death at *Rome*, being there caſt into a Caldron of boyling Oyl; the Emperor therefore baniſhed him into the deſolate Iſland of *Patmos*.

JESUS

Figure 43. Page 1, Azariah Mather, *A Gospel Star, or Faithful Minister*, New-London, Connecticut, 1730. Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford



A perfit deſcription of the Cæleſtiall Orbes,
according to the moſt auncient doctrine of the
Pythagoreans. &c.

M. .i. A PER-

Figure 44. Thomas Digges, “A perfit description of the caelestiall orbes,” n.p., in Leonard Digges, *A Prognostication Everlasting*, London, 1576. Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D.C.

The Copernican Syſtem.

vide Caryl Job 9. 6. P. 183.

Time tryeth Truth Convicting all that ſtrive
Faln Syſtems, dead Chymæraes to revive,
And he hath brought to light by good ſucceſs
The Law which nature never doth tranſgreſs.
Sol keeps his throne, and round about him ſhines
Vpon ſix worlds which walk in ſingle lines,
And eight leſs Globes, again encompaſſing
One th'*Earth*, ſour. *Jove*, Three *Saturn* with his Ring:
All ſing their Makers Praiſe, and ſhew his power
In due proportion moving every hour.
Thrice happy they that leaving wandring wayes
Doe duely walk to their Creators praiſe

T. S.

F I N I S.

Taken out of a Printed
Booke bound up wth others

Figure 45. "The Copernican System," n.p., in John Foster, *An Almanack of Coelestial Motions…*, Boston, 1681. Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston

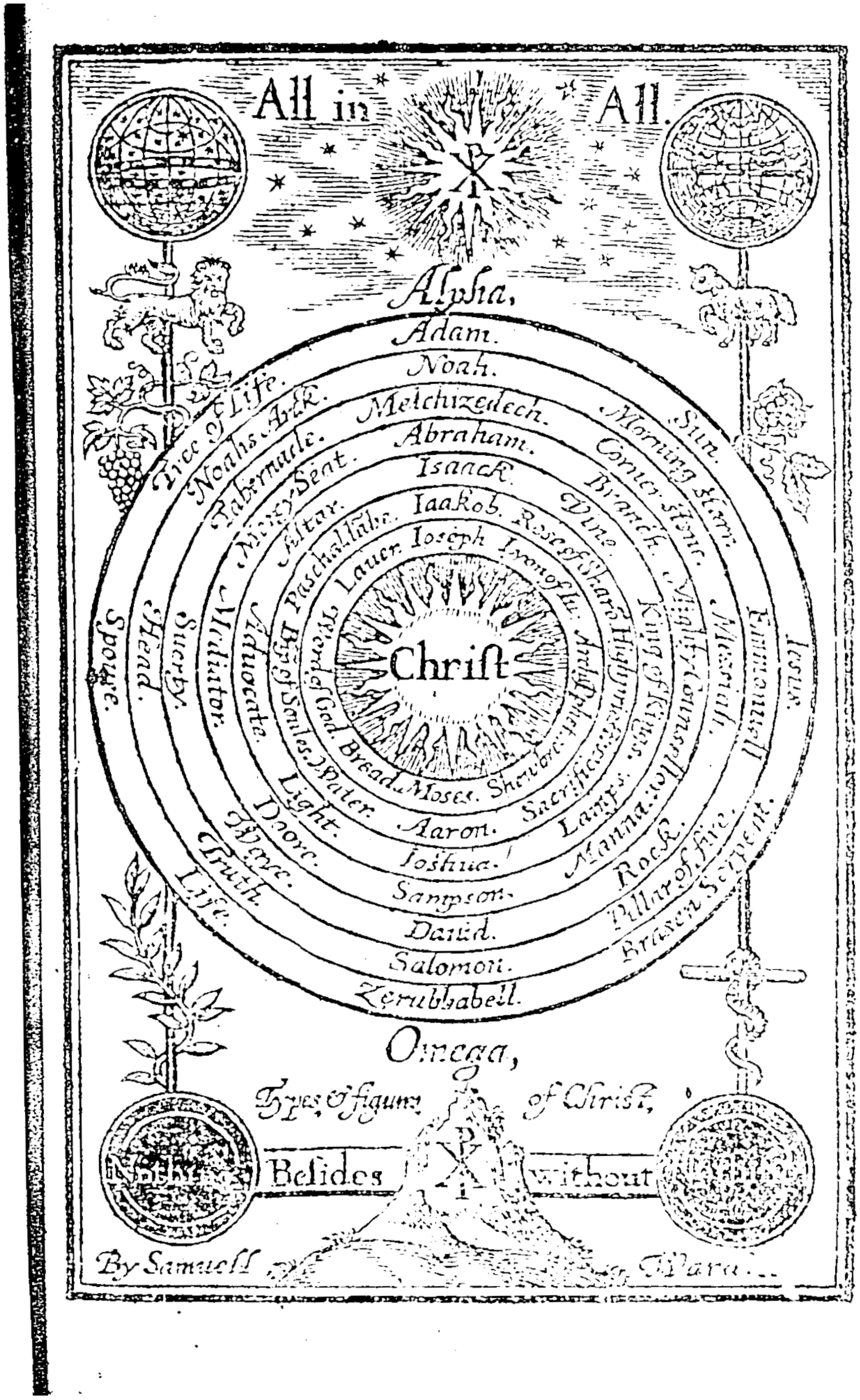


Figure 46. Title page, Samuel Ward, *All in All*, London, 1622. University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Library

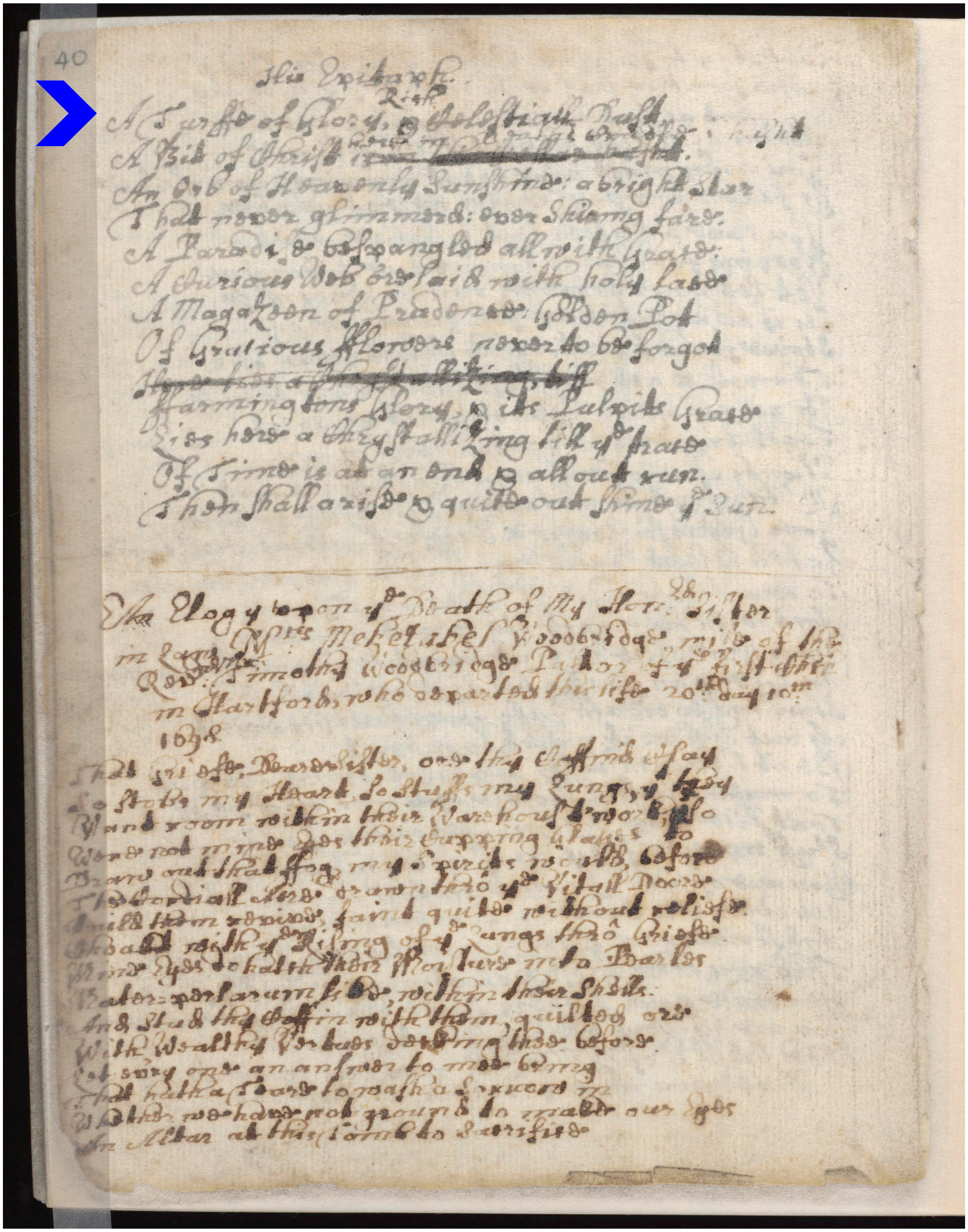


Figure 47. Epitaph on Samuel Hooker (1697), page 40, Edward Taylor, “Poetical Works” manuscript, n.d. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University

Figure 48. Maxime Du Camp, *Colosse restauré d' Aménophis III, à Thèbes (Statue vocale ou Colosse de Memnon)*, 1849-50. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

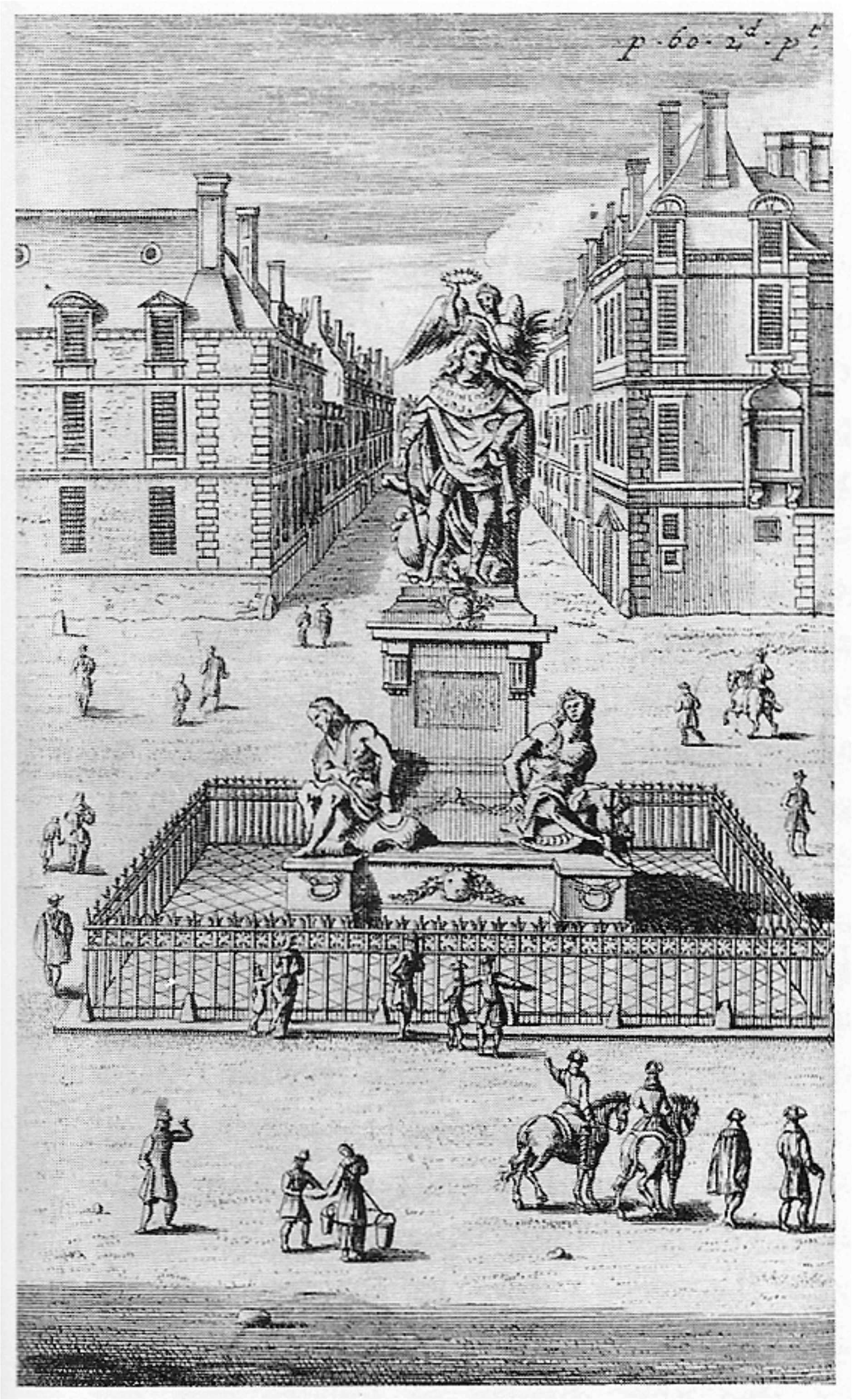
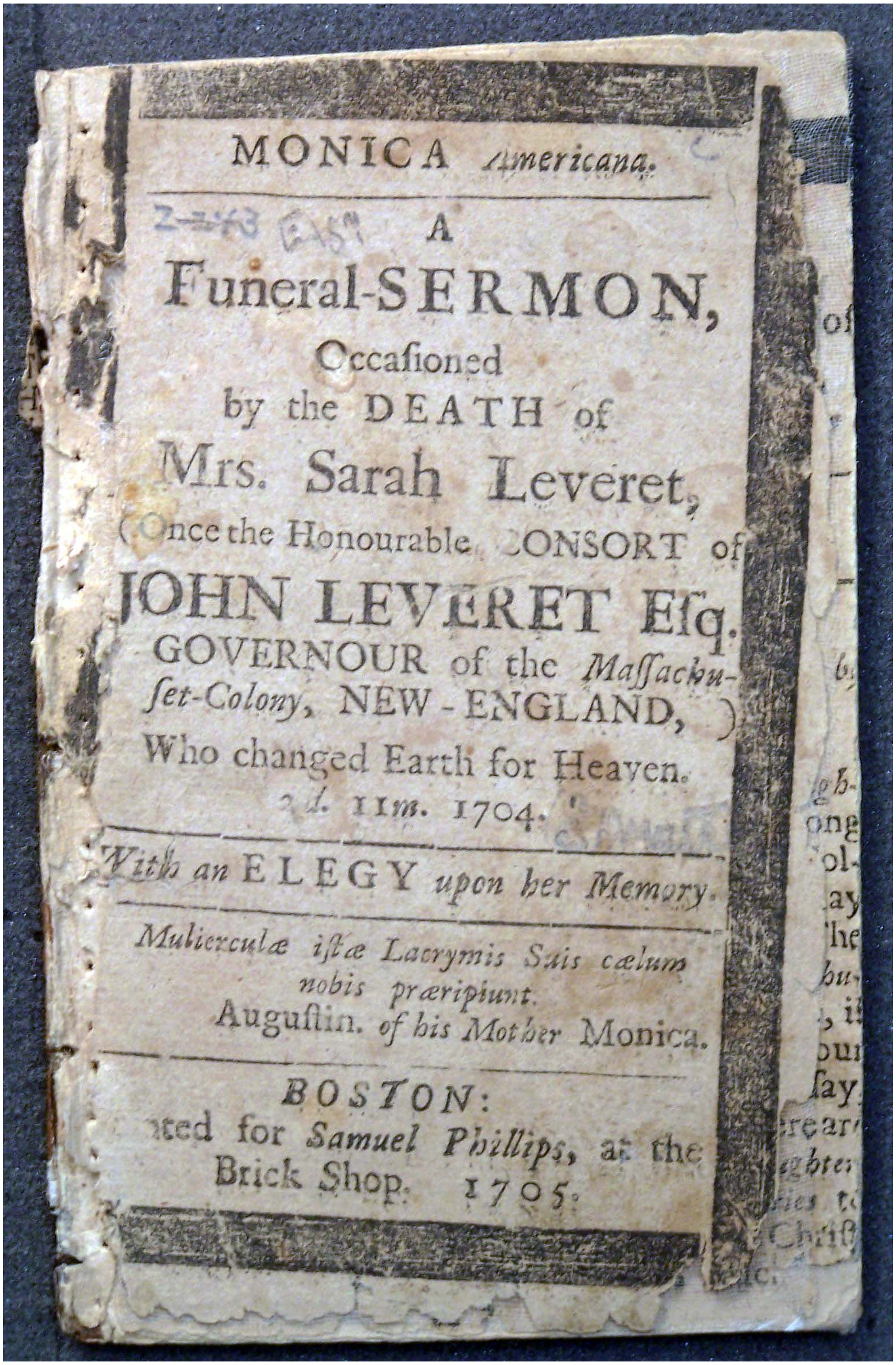


Figure 49. “Louis victorious,” View of the *Place des Victoires*, frontispiece, John Northleigh, *Topographical Descriptions*, London, 1702. British Library, London

Figure 50. The North Star (Polaris)



MONICA *Americana.*

A
Funeral-SERMON,
Occaſioned
by the DEATH of
Mrs. Sarah Leveret,
(Once the Honourable CONSORT of
JOHN LEVERET Eſq.
GOVERNOUR of the *Maſſachuſet-Colony*, NEW-ENGLAND,)
Who changed Earth for Heaven.
2d. 11m. 1704.

With an ELEGY *upon her Memory.*

Mulierculæ iſtæ Lacrymis Suis cælum
nobis præripiunt.
Auguſtin. *of his Mother* Monica.

BOSTON:
nted for *Samuel Phillips*, at the
Brick Shop. 1705.

Figure 51. Title page, Cotton Mather, *Monica Americana*, Boston, 1705. Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston

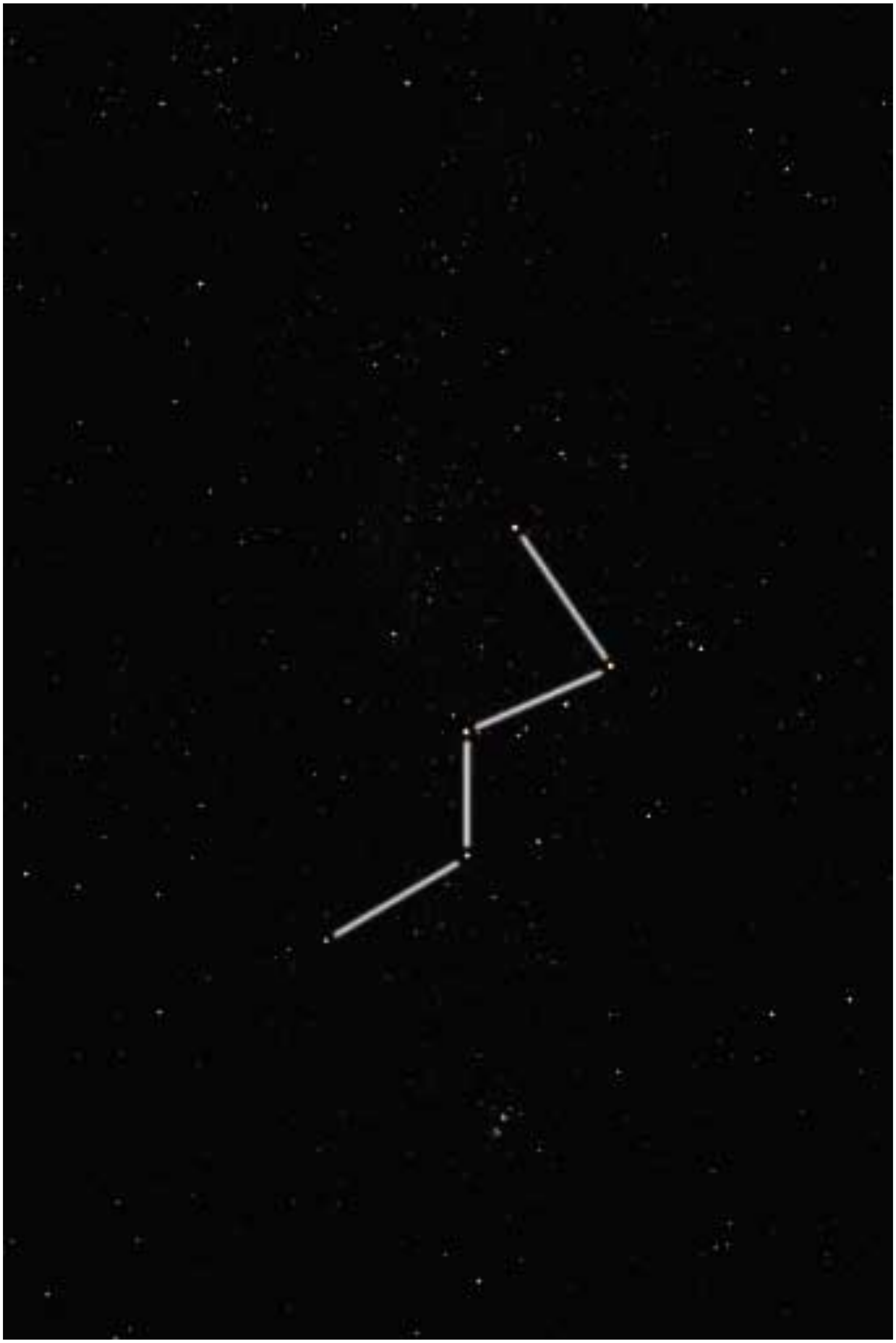


Figure 52. The constellation *Cassiopeia*

Figure 53. The moon partly reflecting the sun at night

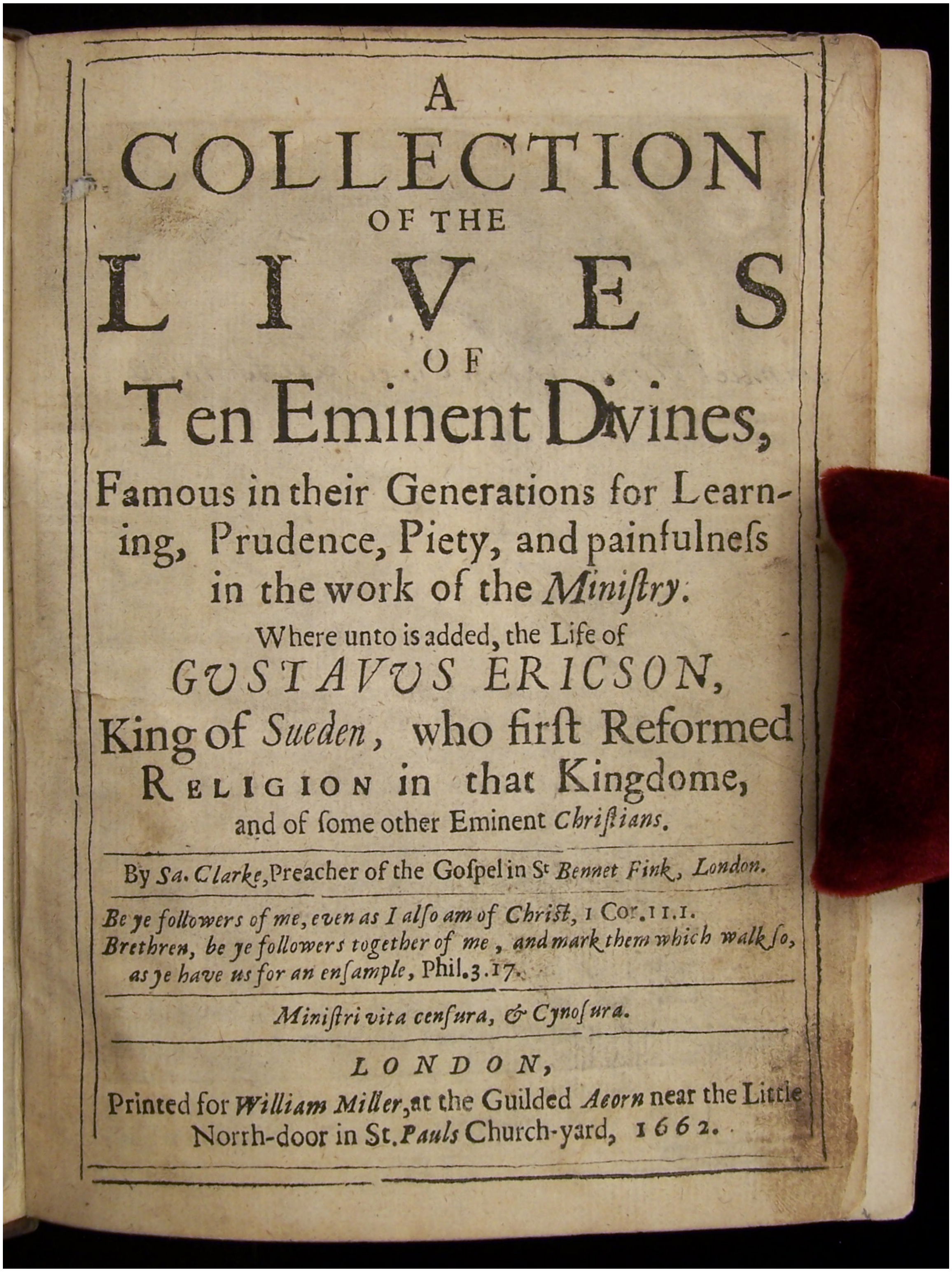
HELIOTROPIVM
ſeu
CONFORMATIO
humanæ voluntatis cum
diuina;
Libris quinque explicata
AB
HIEREMIA DREXELIO
è Societate IESV

DVACI.
Ex Typ. BALTAZARIS
BELLERI.
ſub Circino aureo,
An. 1628.

Cum Priuileg.

Figure 54. Title page, Jeremias Drexel, *Heliotropium seu Conformatio humanae voluntatis cum diuina*, Duaci, 1628. Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin

Figure 55. Plate 1, n.p., Jeremias Drexel, *Heliotropium seu Conformatio humanae voluntatis cum diuina*, Duaci, 1628. Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin



A
COLLECTION
OF THE
LIVES
OF
Ten Eminent Divines,
Famous in their Generations for Learning, Prudence, Piety, and painfulneſs
in the work of the *Miniſtry*.
Where unto is added, the Life of
GUSTAVUS ERICSON,
King of *Sueden*, who firſt Reformed
RELIGION in that Kingdome,
and of ſome other Eminent *Chriſtians*.

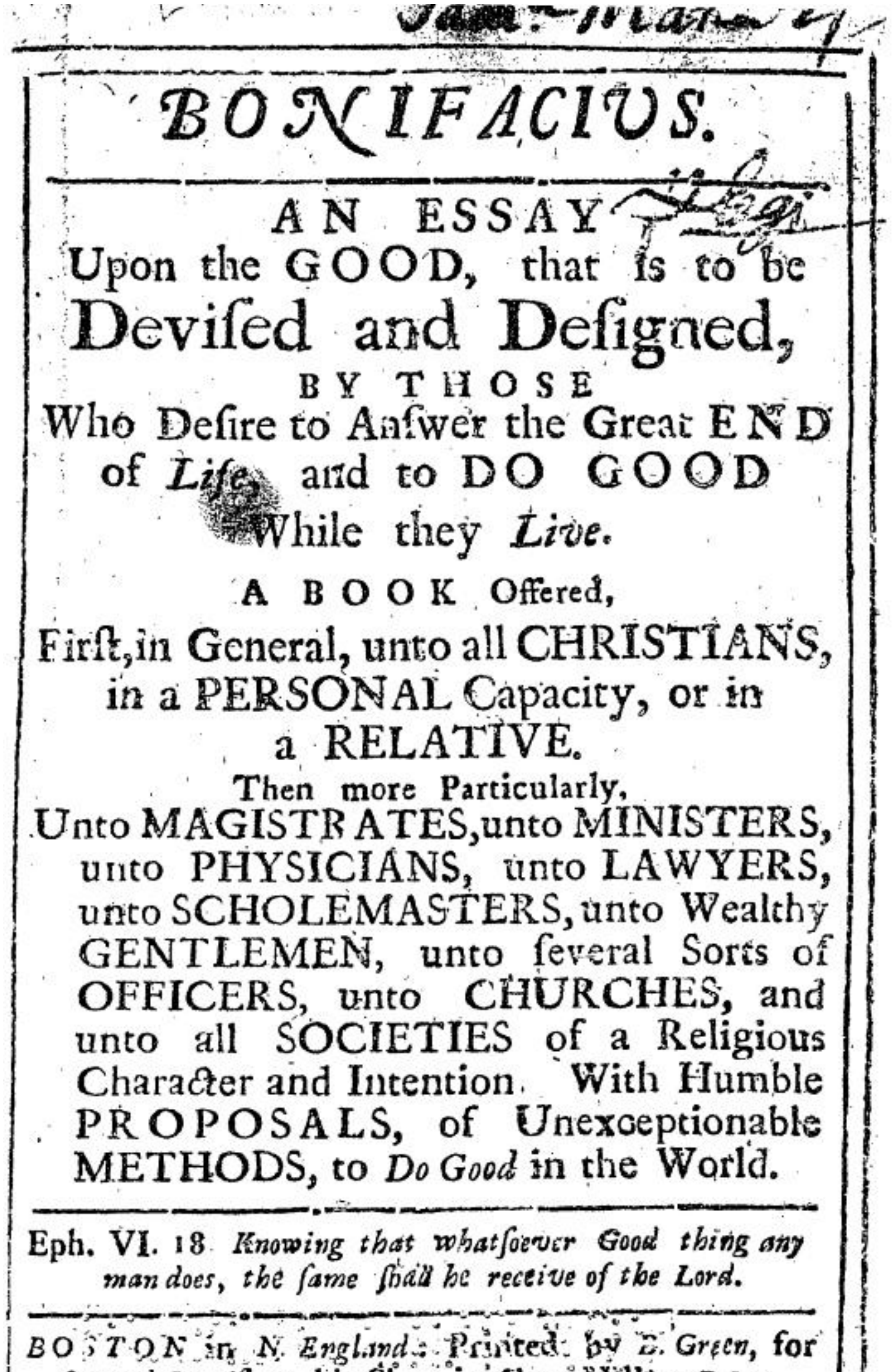
By *Sa. Clarke*, Preacher of the Goſpel in S^{t} *Bennet Fink*, *London*.

Be ye followers of me, even as I alſo am of Chriſt, 1 Cor. 11. 1.
Brethren, be ye followers together of me, and mark them which walk ſo, as ye have us for an enſample, Phil. 3. 17.

Miniſtri vita cenſura, & Cynoſura.

LONDON,
Printed for *William Miller*, at the Guilded *Acorn* near the Little
North-door in St. *Pauls* Church-yard, 1662.

Figure 56. Title page, Samuel Clarke, *A Collection of the Lives of Ten Eminent Divines*, London, 1662. Huntington Library, San Marino, California



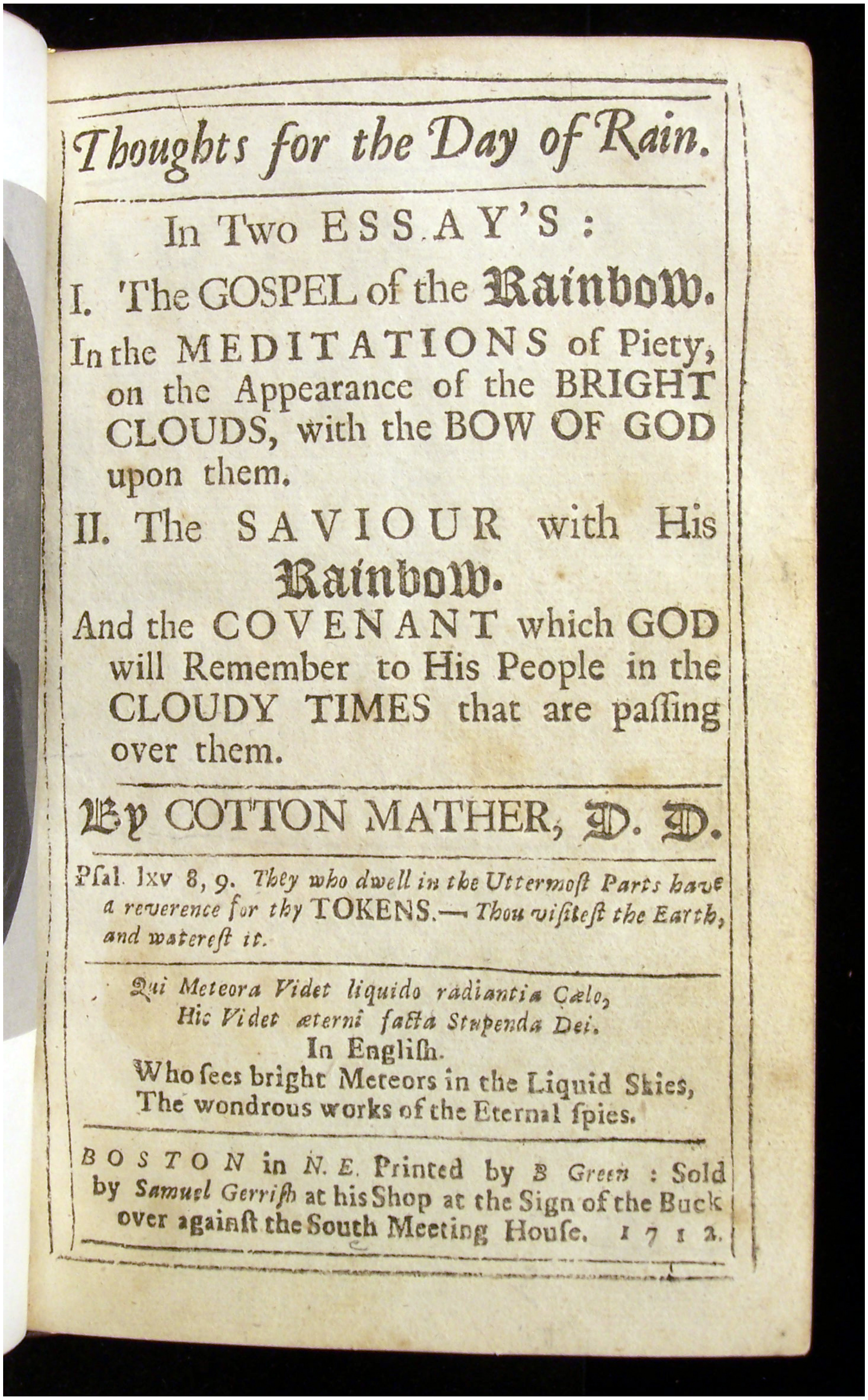
BONIFACIUS.

AN ESSAY
Upon the GOOD, that is to be
Deviſed and Deſigned,
BY THOSE
Who Deſire to Anſwer the Great END
of *Life*, and to DO GOOD
While they *Live*.
A BOOK Offered,
Firſt, in General, unto all CHRISTIANS,
in a PERSONAL Capacity, or in
a RELATIVE.
Then more Particularly,
Unto MAGISTRATES, unto MINISTERS,
unto PHYSICIANS, unto LAWYERS,
unto SCHOLEMASTERS, unto Wealthy
GENTLEMEN, unto ſeveral Sorts of
OFFICERS, unto CHURCHES, and
unto all SOCIETIES of a Religious
Character and Intention. With Humble
PROPOSALS, of Unexceptionable
METHODS, to *Do Good* in the World.

Eph. VI. 18 *Knowing that whatſoever Good thing any man does, the ſame ſhall he receive of the Lord.*

BOSTON *in N. England*: Printed by *B. Green*, for
Samuel Gerriſh at his Shop in Corn Hill: 1710

Figure 57. Title page, Cotton Mather, *Bonifacius: An Essay upon the Good*, Boston, 1710. Boston Public Library



Thoughts for the Day of Rain.

In Two ESSAY'S:

I. The GOSPEL of the **Rainbow**.

In the MEDITATIONS of Piety,
on the Appearance of the BRIGHT
CLOUDS, with the BOW OF GOD
upon them.

II. The SAVIOUR with His
Rainbow.

And the COVENANT which GOD
will Remember to His People in the
CLOUDY TIMES that are paſſing
over them.

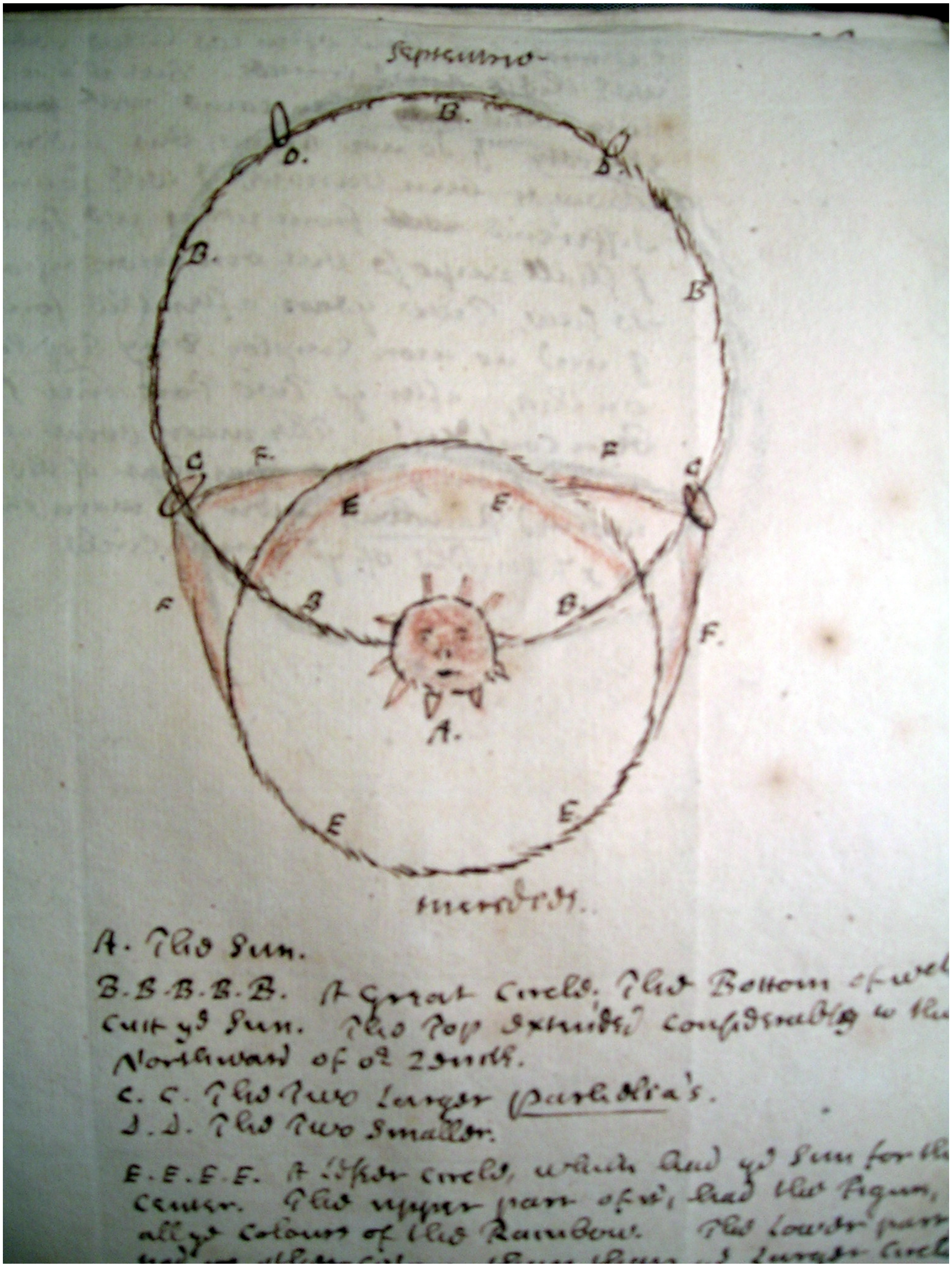
By COTTON MATHER, D. D.

Pſal. lxv 8, 9. *They who dwell in the Uttermoſt Parts have a reverence for thy* TOKENS.— *Thou viſiteſt the Earth, and matereſt it.*

Qui Meteora Videt liquido radiantia Cælo,
Hic Videt æterni facta Stupenda Dei.
In Engliſh.
Who ſees bright Meteors in the Liquid Skies,
The wondrous works of the Eternal ſpies.

BOSTON in *N. E.* Printed by *B Green*: Sold
by *Samuel Gerriſh* at his Shop at the Sign of the Buck
over againſt the South Meeting Houſe. 1712.

Figure 58. Title page, Cotton Mather, *Thoughts for the Day of Rain*, Boston, 1712.
Huntington Library, San Marino, California



A. The Sun.

B.B.B.B.B. A Great Circle. The Bottom of wh
Cutt ye Sun. The Top extended considerably to the
Northward of or Zenith.

C. C. The Two larger Parhelia's.

D. D. The Two Smaller.

E.E.E.E. A lesser circle, which had ye Sun for th
Center. The upper part of it, had the figure,
all ye Colours of the Rainbow. The lower part

Figure 59. Cotton Mather, Letter to Richard Waller containing drawings of celestial phenomena (detail), Royal Society Early Letters Vol. M2: 29, 25 November 1712. The Royal Society, London; Photos by Matthew Hunter

A. The Sun.

B.B. Two parhelia, a little distance from the Sun: Between which and the Sun, the part of the great circle made by the Sun, was not so dense and conspicuous, as ye rest of ye circle was.

C.C. Two smaller and fainter parhelia, under the Zenith.

D.D.D.D. A Great circle, passing from the Sun, thro' ye four parhelia.

E.E.E.E. A lesser circle, having the Sun for the centre of it.

F.F.F. A Rainbow in the middle of the great

Figure 60. Cotton Mather, Letter to Richard Waller containing drawings of celestial phenomena (detail), Royal Society Early Letters Vol. M2: 29, 25 November 1712. The Royal Society, London; Photos by Matthew Hunter

Figure 61. Solar halo. Photo by Geoff Cloake

Figure 62. Giotto, *Last Judgment*, ca. 1305. Arena Chapel, Padua, Italy

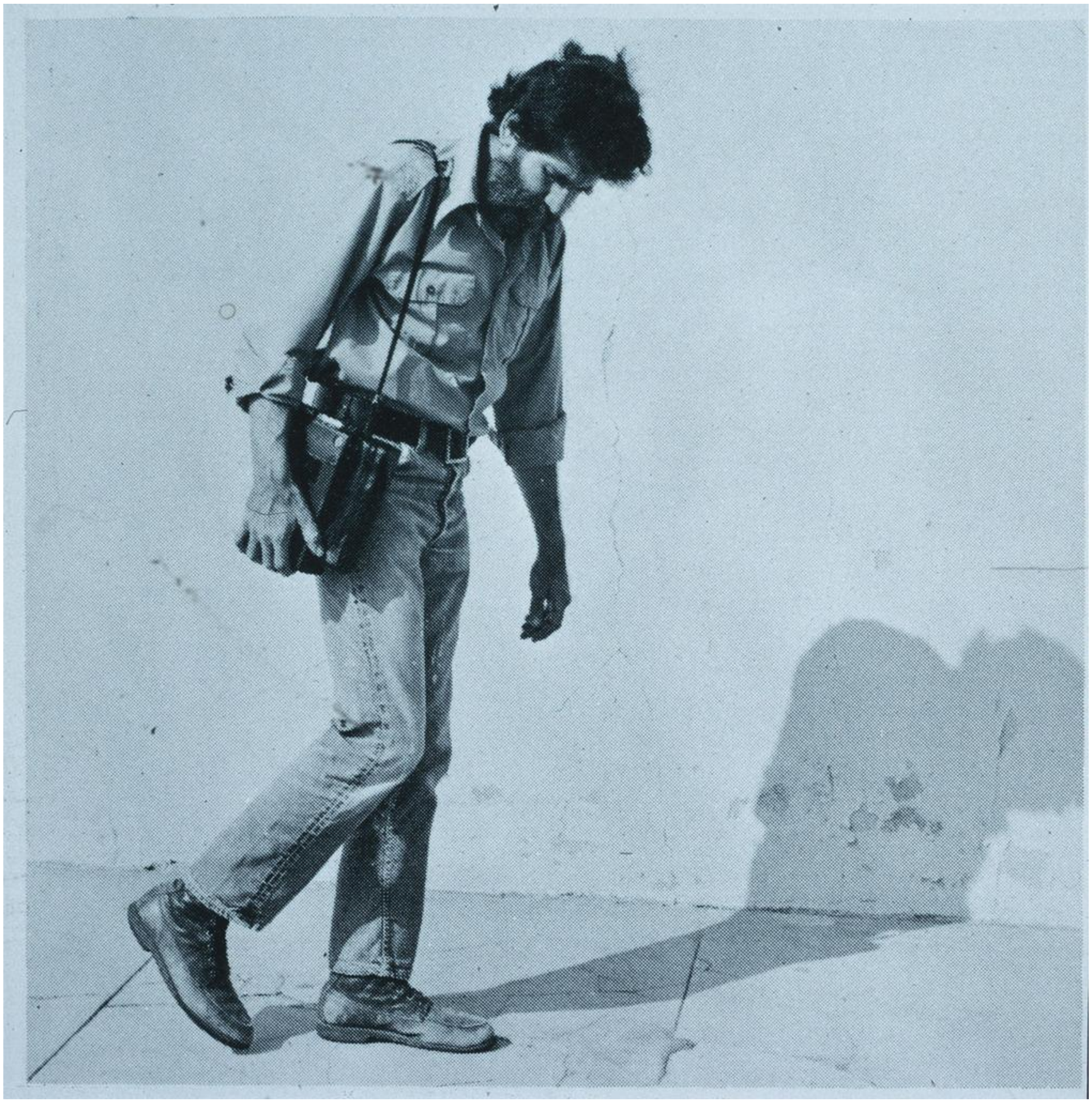


Figure 63. Allan Kaprow, *Rates of Exchange: Walking & Shaking* (detail: Kaprow walking), documentation of a happening, March 22-23, 1975

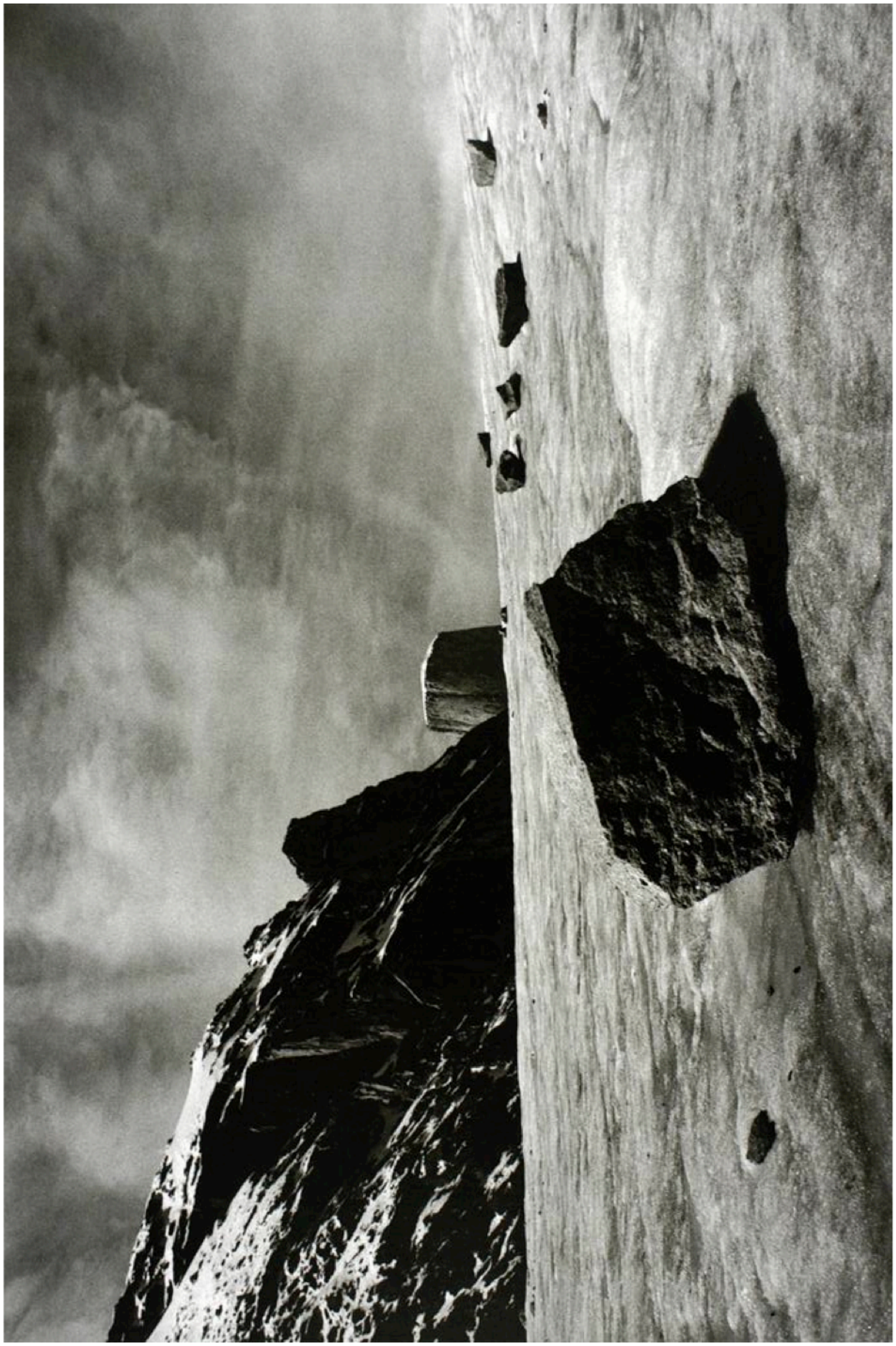
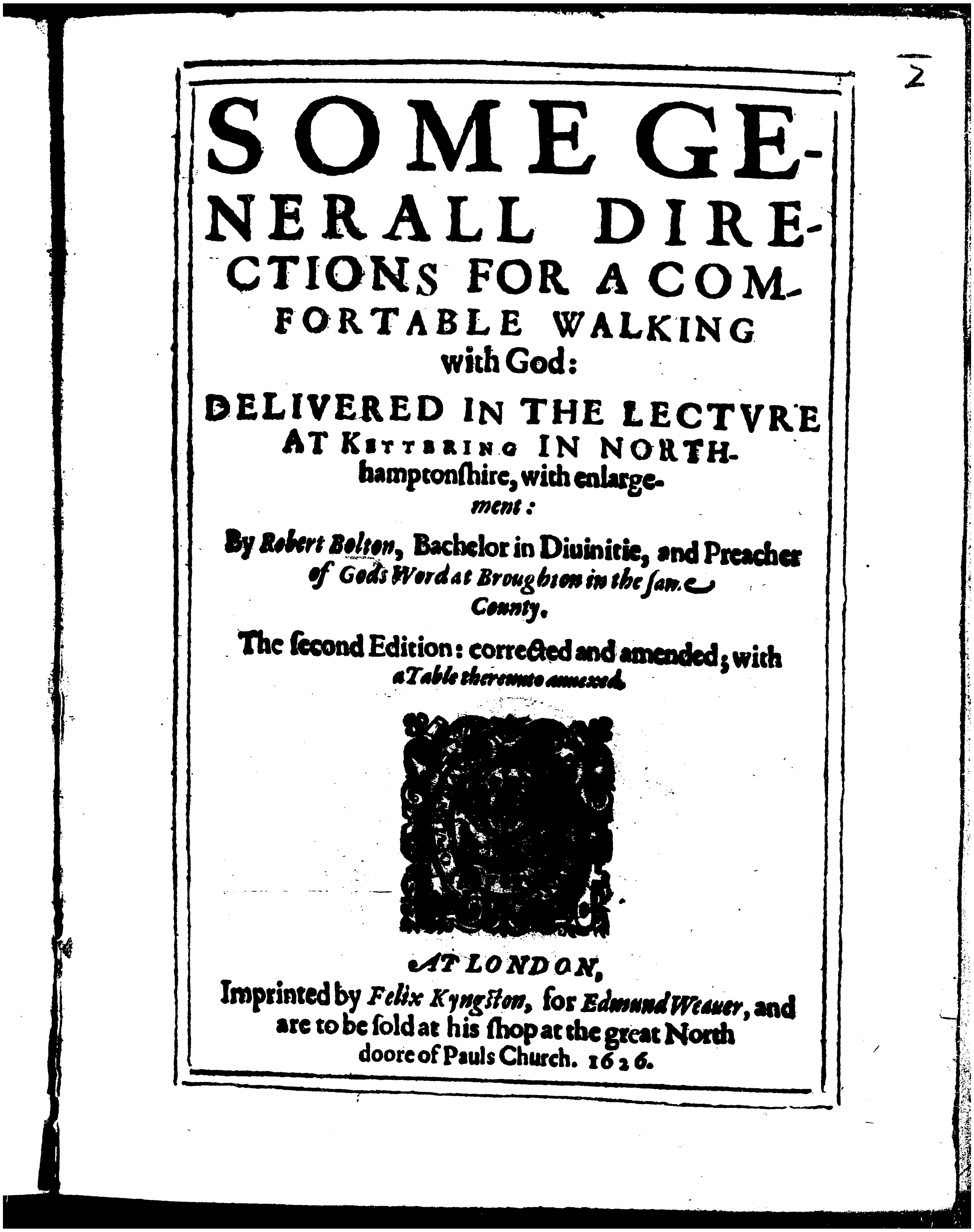


Figure 64. Hamish Fulton, *Walking passed, standing stones, cairns, milestones, rocks and boulders*. Twelve-and-a-half-day walk on Baffin Island arctic Canada summer 1988. Stone on ice. Exhibition of photographs December 11, 1992-February 14, 1993



2

SOME GE-
NERALL DIRE-
CTIONS FOR A COM-
FORTABLE WALKING
with God:

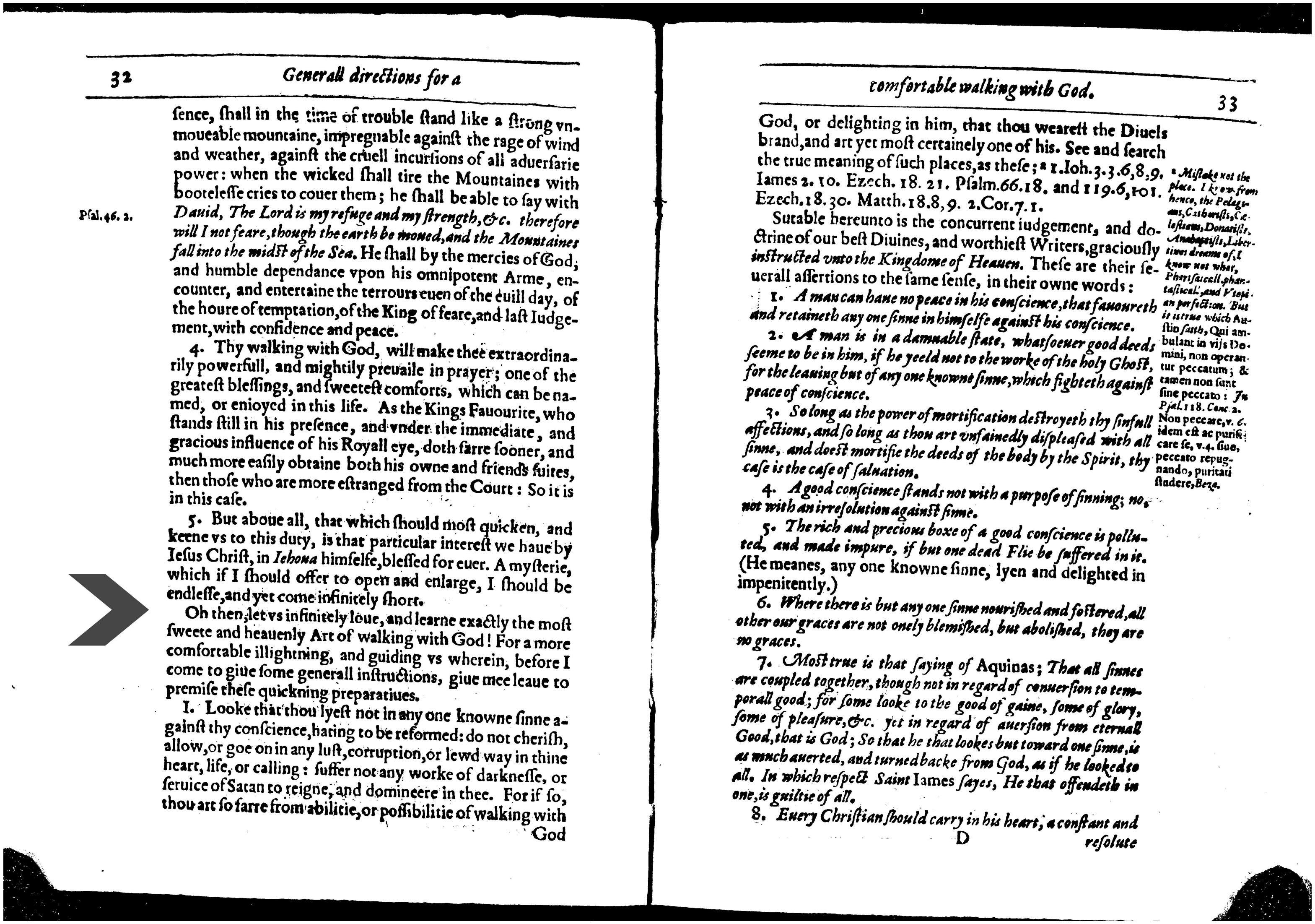
DELIVERED IN THE LECTVRE
AT KETTERING IN NORTH-
hamptonſhire, with enlarge-
ment:

By *Robert Bolton*, Bachelor in Diuinitie, and Preacher
of Gods Word at Broughton in the ſame
County.

The ſecond Edition: corrected and amended; with
a Table thereunto annexed.

AT LONDON,
Imprinted by *Felix Kyngſton*, for *Edmund Weauer*, and
are to be ſold at his ſhop at the great North
doore of Pauls Church. 1626.

Figure 65. Title page, Robert Bolton, *Some Generall Directions for a Comfortable Walking with God*, London, 1626. British Library, London



32 *Generall directions for a*

ſence, ſhall in the time of trouble ſtand like a ſtrong vnmoueable mountaine, impregnable againſt the rage of wind and weather, againſt the cruell incurſions of all aduerſarie power: when the wicked ſhall tire the Mountaines with bootleſſe cries to couer them; he ſhall be able to ſay with *David, The Lord is my refuge and my ſtrength, &c. therefore will I not feare, though the earth be moued, and the Mountaines fall into the midſt of the Sea.* He ſhall by the mercies of God, and humble dependance vpon his omnipotent Arme, encounter, and entertaine the terrours euen of the euill day, of the houre of temptation, of the King of feare, and laſt Iudgement, with confidence and peace.

Pſal. 46. 2.

4. Thy walking with God, will make thee extraordinarily powerfull, and mightily preuaile in prayer; one of the greateſt bleſſings, and ſweeteſt comforts, which can be named, or enioyed in this life. As the Kings Fauourite, who ſtands ſtill in his preſence, and vnder the immediate, and gracious influence of his Royall eye, doth farre ſooner, and much more eaſily obtaine both his owne and friends ſuites, then thoſe who are more eſtranged from the Court: So it is in this caſe.

5. But aboue all, that which ſhould moſt quicken, and keene vs to this duty, is that particular intereſt we haue by Ieſus Chriſt, in *Iehoua* himſelfe, bleſſed for euer. A myſterie, which if I ſhould offer to open and enlarge, I ſhould be endleſſe, and yet come infinitely ſhort.

Oh then, let vs infinitely loue, and learne exactly the moſt ſweete and heauenly Art of walking with God! For a more comfortable illightning, and guiding vs wherein, before I come to giue ſome generall inſtructions, giue mee leaue to premiſe theſe quickning preparatiues.

I. Looke that thou lyeſt not in any one knowne ſinne againſt thy conſcience, hating to be reformed: do not cheriſh, allow, or goe on in any luſt, corruption, or lewd way in thine heart, life, or calling: ſuffer not any worke of darkneſſe, or ſeruice of Satan to reigne, and domineere in thee. For if ſo, thou art ſo farre from abilitie, or poſſibilitie of walking with

God

comfortable walking with God. 33

God, or delighting in him, that thou weareſt the Diuels brand, and art yet moſt certainely one of his. See and ſearch the true meaning of ſuch places, as theſe; [a] 1. Ioh. 3. 3. 6, 8, 9. Iames 2. 10. Ezech. 18. 21. Pſalm. 66. 18. and 119. 6, 101. Ezech. 18. 30. Matth. 18. 8, 9. 2. Cor. 7. 1.

Sutable hereunto is the concurrent iudgement, and doctrine of our beſt Diuines, and worthieſt Writers, graciouſly *inſtructed vnto the Kingdome of Heauen.* Theſe are their ſeuerall aſſertions to the ſame ſenſe, in their owne words:

1. *A man can haue no peace in his conſcience, that fauoureth and retaineth any one ſinne in himſelfe againſt his conſcience.*

2. *A man is in a damnable ſtate, whatſoeuer good deeds ſeeme to be in him, if he yeeld not to the worke of the holy Ghoſt, for the leauing but of any one knowne ſinne, which fighteth againſt peace of conſcience.*

3. *So long as the power of mortification deſtroyeth thy ſinfull affections, and ſo long as thou art vnfainedly diſpleaſed with all ſinne, and doeſt mortifie the deeds of the body by the Spirit, thy caſe is the caſe of ſaluation.*

4. *A good conſcience ſtands not with a purpoſe of ſinning; no, not with an irreſolution againſt ſinne.*

5. *The rich and precious boxe of a good conſcience is polluted, and made impure, if but one dead Flie be ſuffered in it.* (He meanes, any one knowne ſinne, lyen and delighted in impenitently.)

6. *Where there is but any one ſinne nouriſhed and foſtered, all other our graces are not onely blemiſhed, but aboliſhed, they are no graces.*

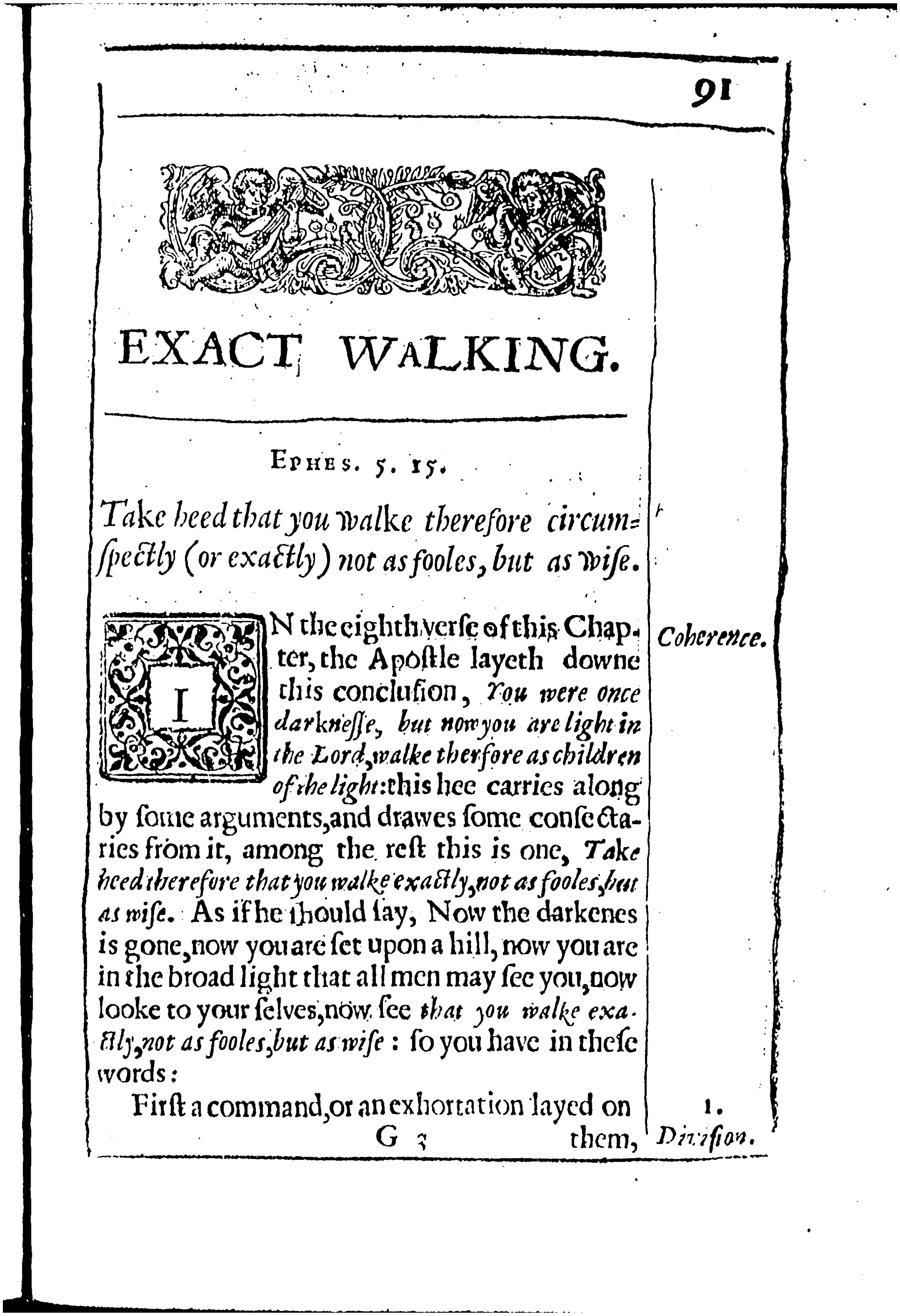
7. *Moſt true is that ſaying of* Aquinas; *That all ſinnes are coupled together, though not in regard of conuerſion to temporall good; for ſome looke to the good of gaine, ſome of glory, ſome of pleaſure, &c. yet in regard of auerſion from eternall Good, that is God; So that he that lookes but toward one ſinne, is as much auerted, and turned backe from God, as if he looked to all. In which reſpect Saint* Iames *ſayes, He that offendeth in one, is guiltie of all.*

8. *Euery Chriſtian ſhould carry in his heart, a conſtant and*

D *reſolute*

[a] *Miſtake not the place. I know from hence, the Pelagians, Cathariſts, Celeſtians, Donatiſts, Anabaptiſts, Libertines dreame of, I know not what, Phariſaicall, phantaſticall, and Vtopian perfection. But it is true which Auſtin ſaith,* Qui ambulant in vijs Domini, non operantur peccatum; & tamen non ſunt ſine peccato: *In Pſal. 118. Conc. 2.* Non peccare, v. 6. idem eſt ac purificare ſe, v. 4. ſiue, peccato repugnando, puritati ſtudere, *Beza.*

Figure 66. Pages 32-33, Robert Bolton, *Some Generall Directions for a Comfortable Walking with God*, London, 1626. British Library, London



EXACT WALKING.

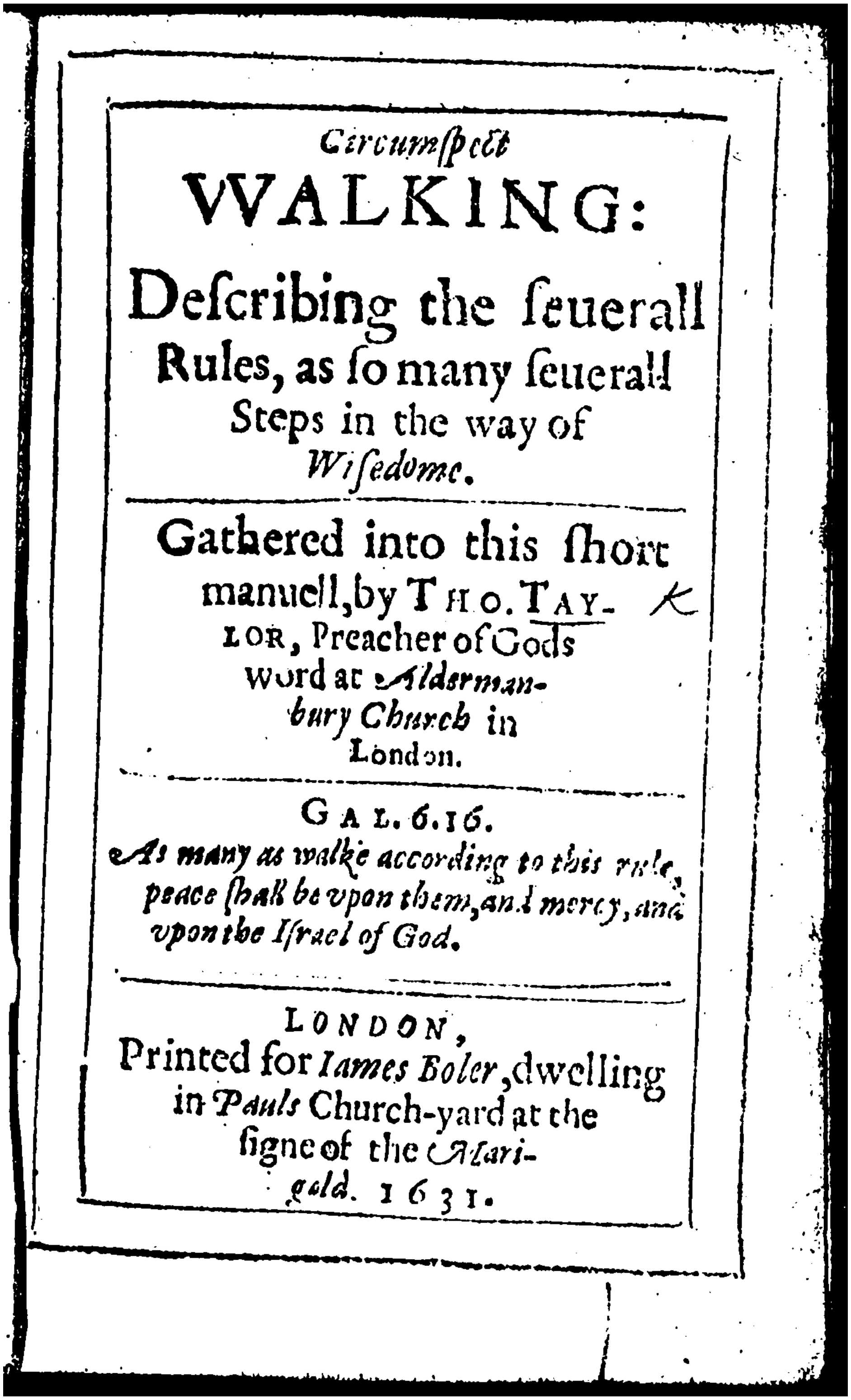
EPHES. 5. 15.

Take heed that you walke therefore circumſpectly (or exactly) not as fooles, but as wiſe.

Coherence. IN the eighth verſe of this Chapter, the Apoſtle layeth downe this concluſion, *You were once darkneſſe, but now you are light in the Lord, walke therfore as children of the light:* this hee carries along by ſome arguments, and drawes ſome conſectaries from it, among the reſt this is one, *Take heed therefore that you walke exactly, not as fooles, but as wiſe.* As if he ſhould ſay, Now the darkenes is gone, now you are ſet upon a hill, now you are in the broad light that all men may ſee you, now looke to your ſelves, now ſee *that you walke exactly, not as fooles, but as wiſe*: ſo you have in theſe words:

1. Diviſion. Firſt a command, or an exhortation layed on them,

Figure 67. Page 91, John Preston, *Exact Walking*, in *Sermons Preached Before His Maiestie, and Upon Other Speciall Occasions*, London, 1637. New York Public Library



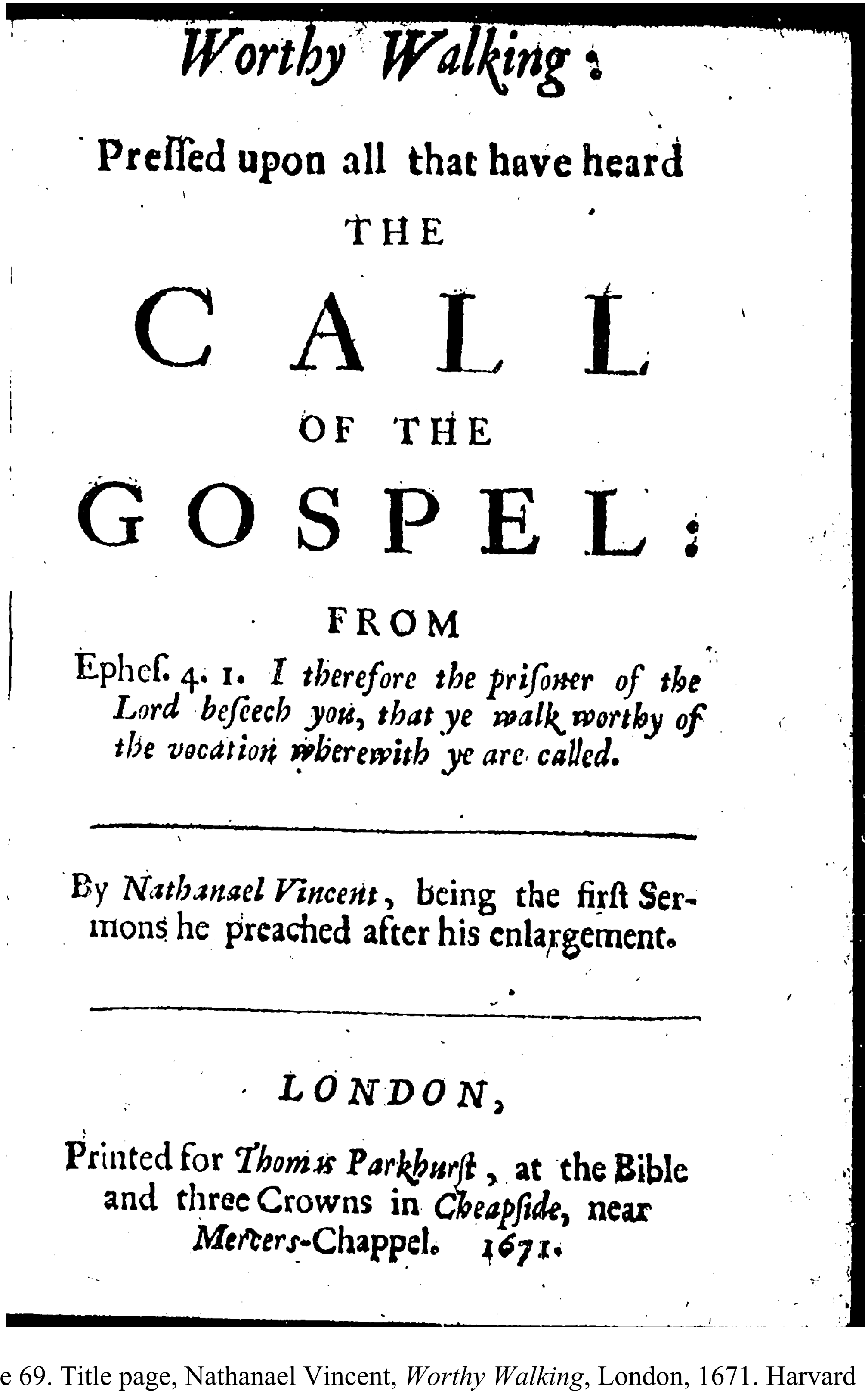
Circumſpect
WALKING:
Deſcribing the ſeuerall
Rules, as ſo many ſeuerall
Steps in the way of
Wiſedome.

Gathered into this ſhort
manuell, by THO. TAYLOR, K
Preacher of Gods
word at *Alderman-*
bury Church in
London.

GAL. 6.16.
As many as walke according to this rule,
peace ſhall be vpon them, and mercy, and
vpon the Iſrael of God.

LONDON,
Printed for *Iames Boler*, dwelling
in *Pauls* Church-yard at the
ſigne of the *Mari-*
gold. 1631.

Figure 68. Title page, Thomas Taylor, *Circumspect Walking*, London, 1631. British Library, London



Worthy Walking:

Preſſed upon all that have heard

THE

CALL

OF THE

GOSPEL:

FROM

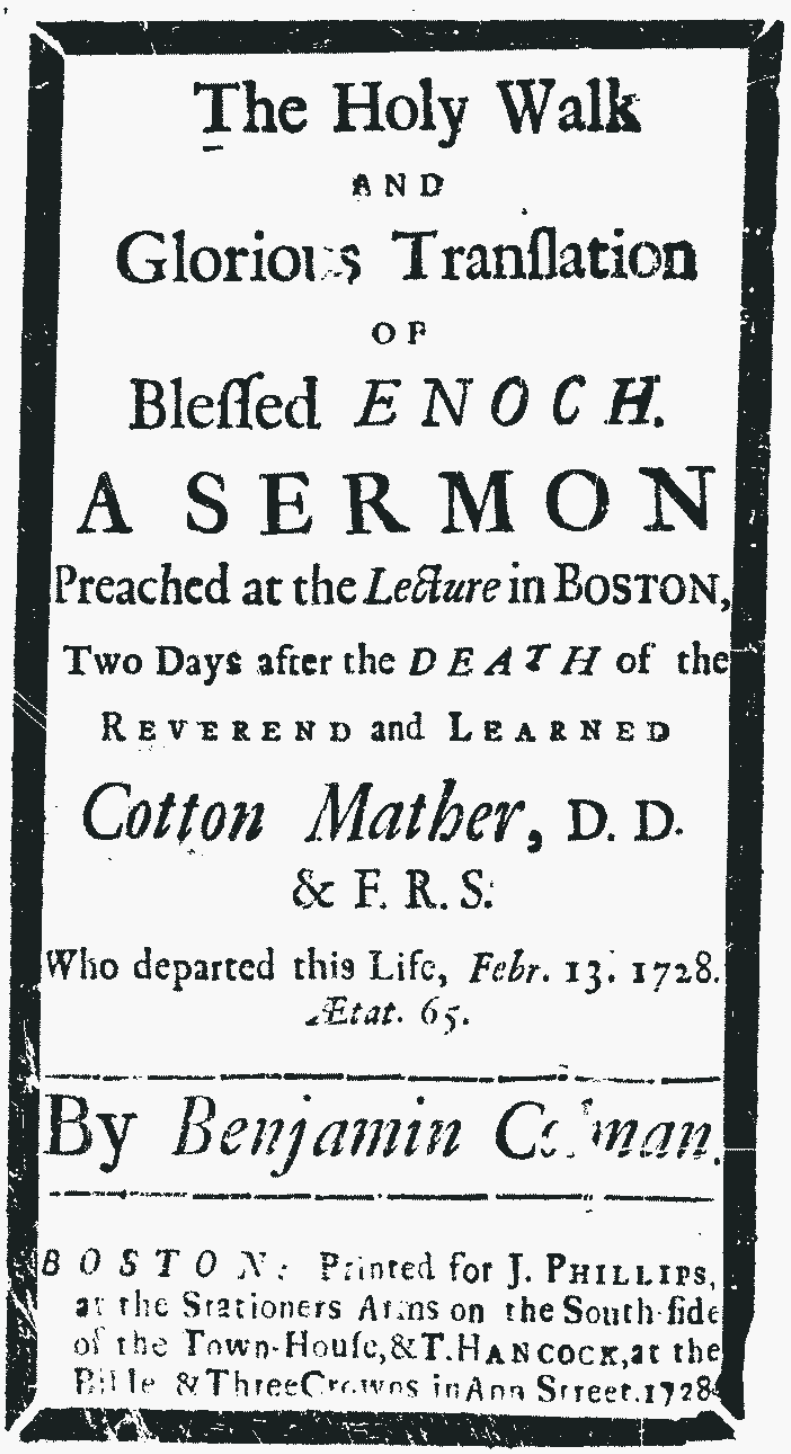
Epheſ. 4. 1. *I therefore the priſoner of the Lord beſeech you, that ye walk worthy of the vocation wherewith ye are called.*

By *Nathanael Vincent*, being the firſt Sermons he preached after his enlargement.

LONDON,

Printed for *Thomas Parkhurſt*, at the Bible
and three Crowns in *Cheapſide*, near
Mercers-Chappel. 1671.

Figure 69. Title page, Nathanael Vincent, *Worthy Walking*, London, 1671. Harvard University Library, Cambridge, Massachusetts



The Holy Walk

AND

Glorious Tranſlation

OF

Bleſſed *ENOCH.*

A SERMON

Preached at the *Lecture* in BOSTON,

Two Days after the *DEATH* of the

REVEREND and LEARNED

Cotton Mather, D. D.

& F. R. S.

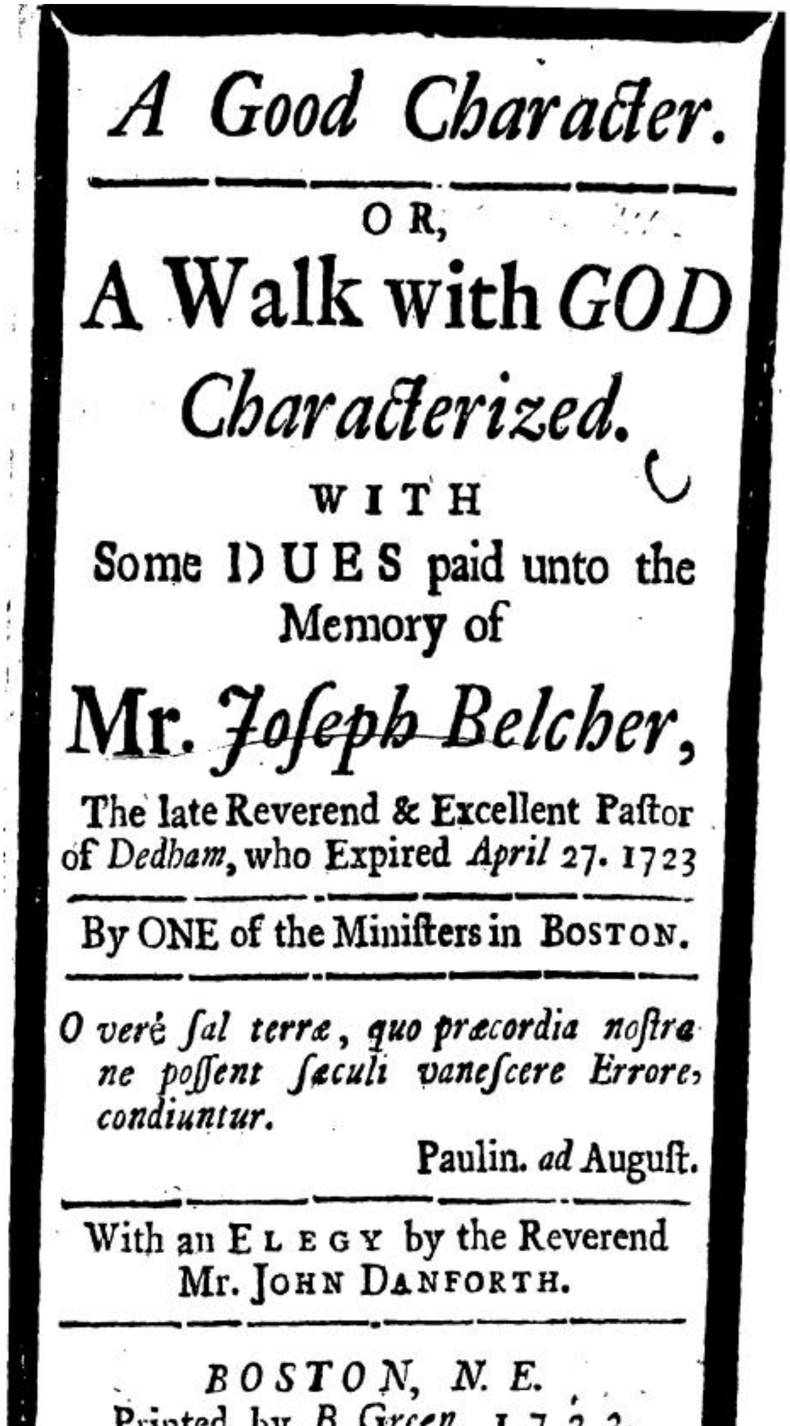
Who departed this Life, *Febr.* 13. 1728.

Ætat. 65.

By *Benjamin Colman.*

BOSTON: Printed for J. PHILLIPS,
at the Stationers Arms on the South-ſide
of the Town-Houſe, & T. HANCOCK, at the
Bible & Three Crowns in Ann Street. 1728.

Figure 70. Title page, Benjamin Colman, *The Holy Walk and Glorious Translation of Blessed Enoch*, Boston, 1728. American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts



A Good Character.

OR,

A Walk with *GOD*

Characterized.

WITH

Some DUES paid unto the

Memory of

Mr. *Joſeph Belcher*,

The late Reverend & Excellent Paſtor

of *Dedham*, who Expired *April* 27. 1723

By ONE of the Miniſters in BOSTON.

O verè ſal terræ, quo præcordia noſtra
ne poſſent ſæculi vaneſcere Errore,
condiuntur.

Paulin. *ad* Auguſt.

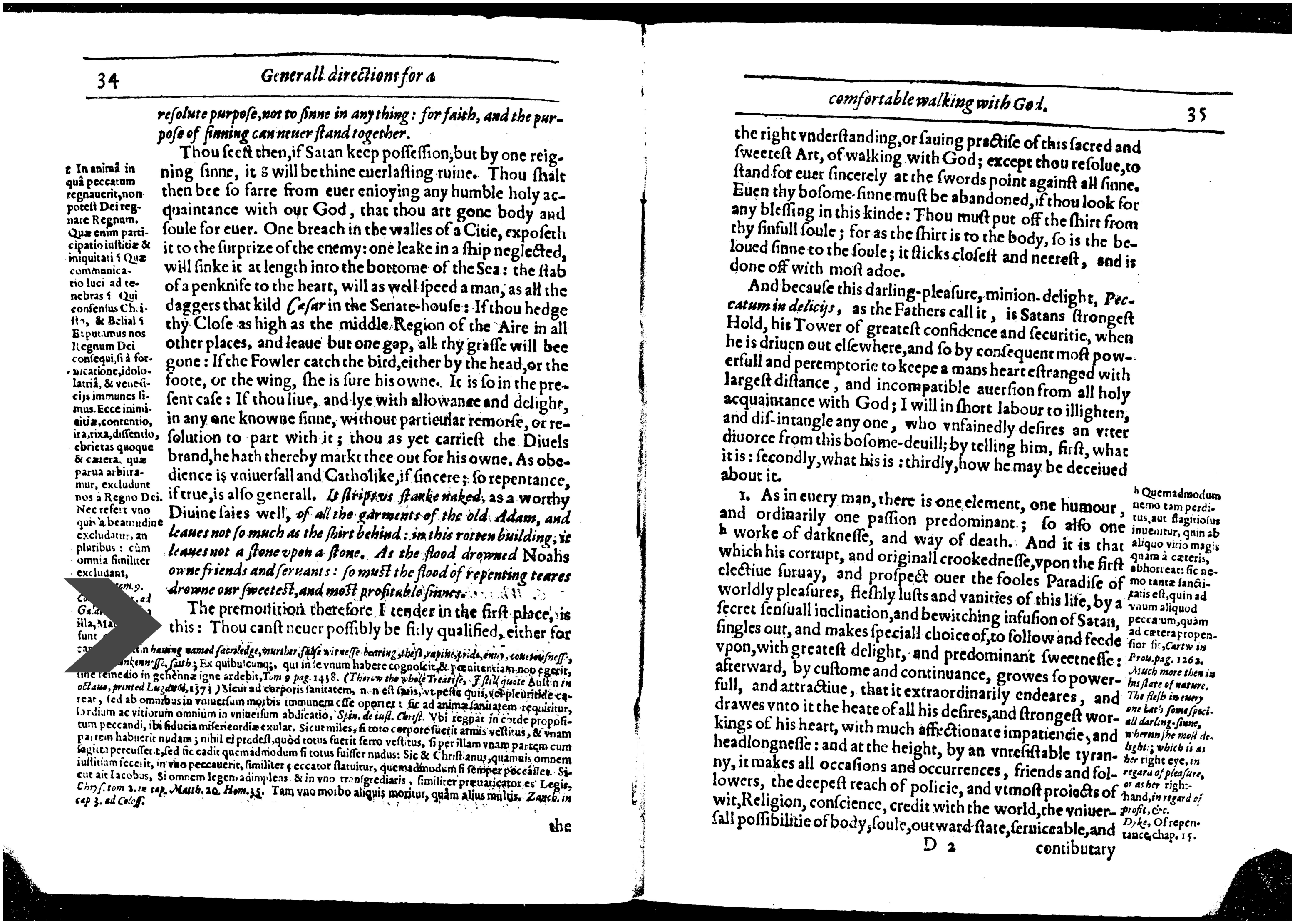
With an ELEGY by the Reverend

Mr. JOHN DANFORTH.

BOSTON, N. E.

Printed by *B. Green*, 1723.

Figure 71. Title page, Cotton Mather, *A Good Character. Or A Walk with God Characterized*, Boston, 1723. Boston Public Library



34 *Generall directions for a*

reſolute purpoſe, not to ſinne in any thing: for faith, and the purpoſe of ſinning can neuer ſtand together.

Thou ſeeſt then, if Satan keep poſſeſſion, but by one reigning ſinne, it [g] will be thine euerlaſting ruine. Thou ſhalt then bee ſo farre from euer enioying any humble holy acquaintance with our God, that thou art gone body and ſoule for euer. One breach in the walles of a Citie, expoſeth it to the ſurprize of the enemy: one leake in a ſhip neglected, will ſinke it at length into the bottome of the Sea: the ſtab of a penknife to the heart, will as well ſpeed a man, as all the daggers that kild *Cæſar* in the Senate-houſe: If thou hedge thy Cloſe as high as the middle Region of the Aire in all other places, and leaue but one gap, all thy graſſe will bee gone: If the Fowler catch the bird, either by the head, or the foote, or the wing, ſhe is ſure his owne. It is ſo in the preſent caſe: If thou liue, and lye with allowance and delight, in any one knowne ſinne, without particular remorſe, or reſolution to part with it; thou as yet carrieſt the Diuels brand, he hath thereby markt thee out for his owne. As obedience is vniuerſall and Catholike, if ſincere; ſo repentance, if true, is alſo generall. *It ſtrips vs ſtarke naked,* as a worthy Diuine ſaies well, *of all the garments of the old Adam, and leaues not ſo much as the ſhirt behind: in this rotten building, it leaues not a ſtone vpon a ſtone. As the flood drowned* Noahs *owne friends and ſeruants: ſo muſt the flood of repenting teares drowne our ſweeteſt, and moſt profitable ſinnes.*

The premonition therefore I tender in the firſt place, is this: Thou canſt neuer poſſibly be fitly qualified, either for

[g] In animâ in quâ peccatum regnauerit, non poteſt Dei regnare Regnum. Quæ enim participatio iuſtitiæ & iniquitati? Quæ communicatio luci ad tenebras? Qui conſenſus Chriſto, & Belial? Et putamus nos Regnum Dei conſequi, ſi à fornicatione, idololatriâ, & veneficijs immunes ſimus. Ecce inimicitiæ, contentio, ira, rixa, diſſentio, ebrietas quoque & cætera, quæ parua arbitramur, excludunt nos à Regno Dei. Nec refert vno quis à beatitudine excludatur, an pluribus: cùm omnia ſimiliter excludant,

m. 9.

Co ad

Gal

illa, Ma

ſunt

ca tin *hauing named ſacriledge, murther, falſe witneſſe-bearing, theft, rapine, pride, enuy, couetouſneſſe,* *nkenneſſe, ſaith;* Ex quibuſcunq; qui in ſe vnum habere cognoſcit, & pœnitentiam non egerit, ſine remedio in gehennæ igne ardebit, *Tom 9 pag.* 1458. *(Thorow the whole Treatiſe, I ſtill quote* Auſtin *in octauo, printed Lugduni,* 1573.) Sicut ad corporis ſanitatem, non eſt ſatis, vt peſte quis, vel pleuritide careat, ſed ab omnibus in vniuerſum morbis immunem eſſe oportet: ſic ad animæ ſanitatem requiritur, ſordium ac vitiorum omnium in vniuerſum abdicatio, *Spin. de iuſt. Chriſt.* Vbi regnat in corde propoſitum peccandi, ibi fiducia miſericordiæ exulat. Sicut miles, ſi toto corpore fuerit armis veſtitus, & vnam partem habuerit nudam; nihil ei prodeſt, quòd totus fuerit ferro veſtitus, ſi per illam vnam partem cum ſagitta percuſſerit, ſed ſic cadit quemadmodum ſi totus fuiſſet nudus: Sic & Chriſtianus, quamuis omnem iuſtitiam fecerit, in vno peccauerit, ſimiliter peccator ſtatuitur, quemadmodum ſi ſemper peccaſſet. Sicut ait Iacobus, Si omnem legem adimpleas & in vno tranſgrediaris, ſimiliter præuaricator es Legis, *Chryſ. tom* 2. *in cap. Matth.* 20. *Hom.* 35. Tam vno morbo aliquis moritur, quàm alius multis. *Zanch. in cap* 3. *ad Coloſſ.*

the

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comfortable walking with God. 35

the right vnderſtanding, or ſauing practiſe of this ſacred and ſweeteſt Art, of walking with God; except thou reſolue, to ſtand for euer ſincerely at the ſwords point againſt all ſinne. Euen thy boſome-ſinne muſt be abandoned, if thou look for any bleſſing in this kinde: Thou muſt put off the ſhirt from thy ſinfull ſoule; for as the ſhirt is to the body, ſo is the beloued ſinne to the ſoule; it ſticks cloſeſt and neereſt, and is done off with moſt adoe.

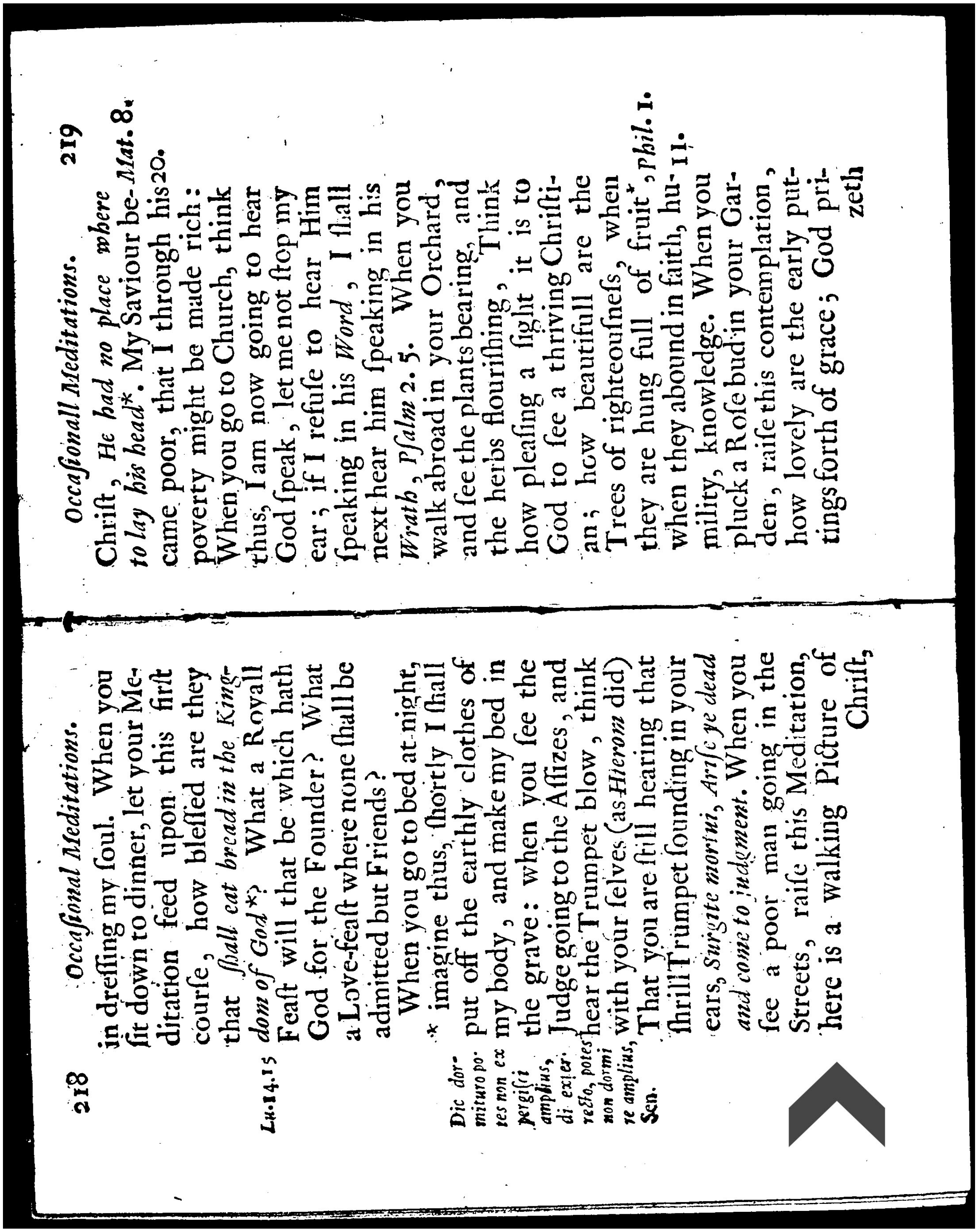
And becauſe this darling-pleaſure, minion-delight, *Peccatum in delicijs,* as the Fathers call it, is Satans ſtrongeſt Hold, his Tower of greateſt confidence and ſecuritie, when he is driuen out elſewhere, and ſo by conſequent moſt powerfull and peremptorie to keepe a mans heart eſtranged with largeſt diſtance, and incompatible auerſion from all holy acquaintance with God; I will in ſhort labour to illighten, and diſ-intangle any one, who vnfainedly deſires an vtter diuorce from this boſome-deuill; by telling him, firſt, what it is: ſecondly, what his is: thirdly, how he may be deceiued about it.

1. As in euery man, there is one element, one humour, and ordinarily one paſſion predominant; ſo alſo one [h] worke of darkneſſe, and way of death. And it is that which his corrupt, and originall crookedneſſe, vpon the firſt electiue ſuruay, and proſpect ouer the fooles Paradiſe of worldly pleaſures, fleſhly luſts and vanities of this life, by a ſecret ſenſuall inclination, and bewitching infuſion of Satan, ſingles out, and makes ſpeciall choice of, to follow and feede vpon, with greateſt delight, and predominant ſweetneſſe: afterward, by cuſtome and continuance, growes ſo powerfull, and attractiue, that it extraordinarily endeares, and drawes vnto it the heate of all his deſires, and ſtrongeſt workings of his heart, with much affectionate impatiencie, and headlongneſſe: and at the height, by an vnreſiſtable tyranny, it makes all occaſions and occurrences, friends and followers, the deepeſt reach of policie, and vtmoſt proiects of wit, Religion, conſcience, credit with the world, the vniuerſall poſſibilitie of body, ſoule, outward ſtate, ſeruiceable, and

[h] Quemadmodum nemo tam perditus, aut flagitioſus inuenitur, quin ab aliquo vitio magis quam à cæteris, abhorreat: ſic nemo tantæ ſanctitatis eſt, quin ad vnum aliquod peccatum, quàm ad cætera propenſior ſit, *Cartw in Prou. pag.* 1262. *Much more then in his ſtate of nature. The fleſh in euery one hath ſome ſpeciall darling-ſinne, wherein ſhe moſt delights; which is as her* right eye, *in regard of pleaſure, or as her* right-hand, *in regard of profit, &c. Dyke,* Of repentance, chap. 15.

D 2 contibutary

Figure 72. Pages 34-35, Robert Bolton, *Some Generall Directions for a Comfortable Walking with God*, London, 1626. British Library, London



218 *Occaſional Meditations.*

in dreſſing my ſoul. When you ſit down to dinner, let your Meditation feed upon this firſt courſe, how bleſſed are they that *ſhall eat bread in the Kingdom of God**? What a Royall Feaſt will that be which hath God for the Founder? What a Love-feaſt where none ſhall be admitted but Friends?

*Lu.*14.15

When you go to bed at night, * imagine thus, ſhortly I ſhall put off the earthly clothes of my body, and make my bed in the grave: when you ſee the Judge going to the Aſſizes, and hear the Trumpet blow, think with your ſelves (as *Hierom* did) That you are ſtill hearing that ſhrill Trumpet ſounding in your ears, *Surgite mortui, Ariſe ye dead and come to judgment*. When you ſee a poor man going in the Streets, raiſe this Meditation, here is a walking Picture of Chriſt,

Dic dormituro potes non expergiſci amplius, di experrecto, potes non dormire amplius, Sen.

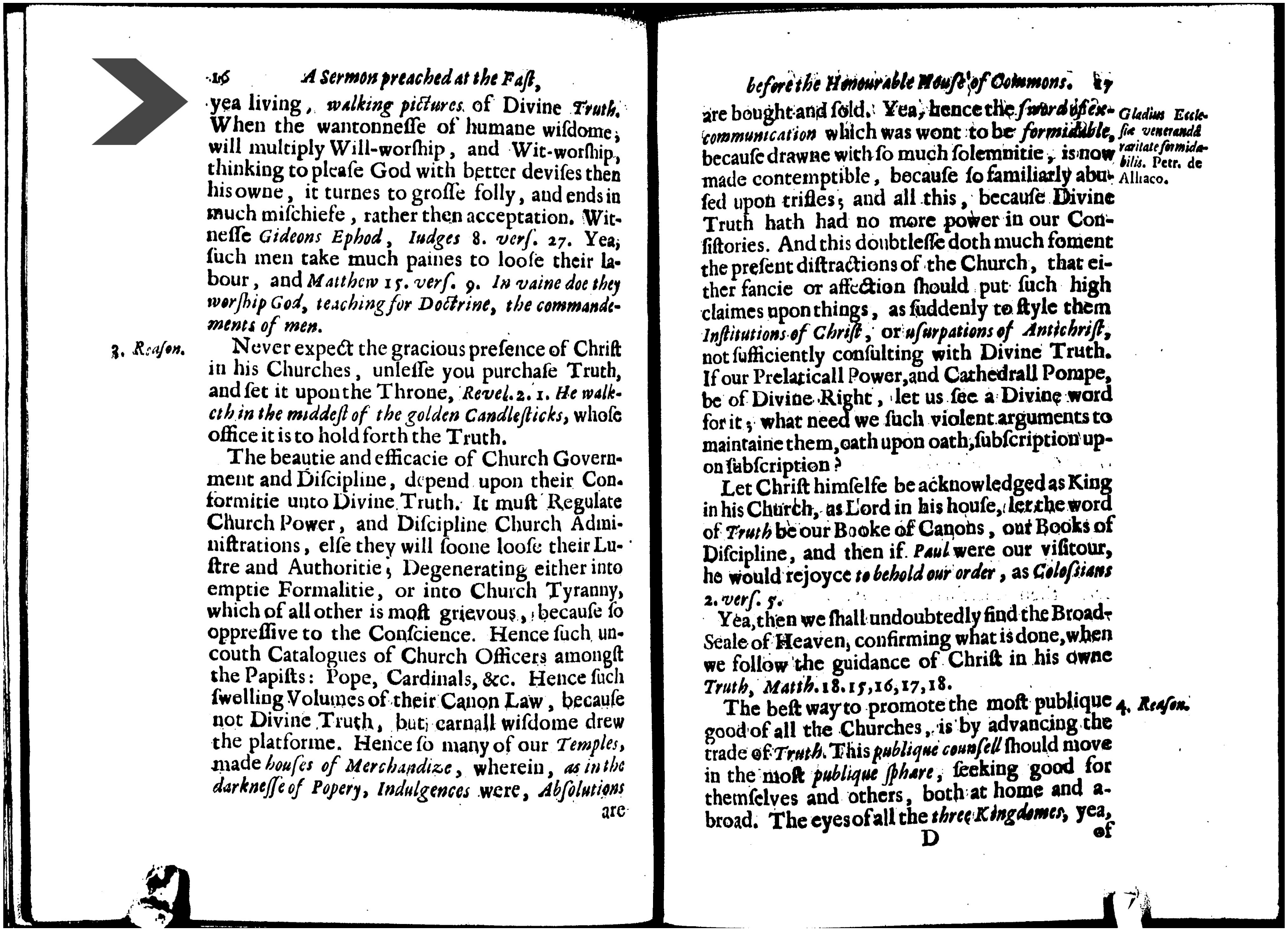
Occaſionall Meditations. 219

Chriſt, *He had no place where to lay his head**. My Saviour became poor, that I through his poverty might be made rich: When you go to Church, think thus, I am now going to hear God ſpeak, let me not ſtop my ear; if I refuſe to hear Him ſpeaking in his *Word*, I ſhall next hear him ſpeaking in his *Wrath*, *Pſalm* 2. 5. When you walk abroad in your Orchard, and ſee the plants bearing, and the herbs flouriſhing, Think how pleaſing a ſight it is to God to ſee a thriving Chriſtian; how beautifull are the Trees of righteouſneſs, when they are hung full of fruit*, when they abound in faith, humility, knowledge. When you pluck a Roſe bud in your Garden, raiſe this contemplation, how lovely are the early puttings forth of grace; God prizeth

Mat. 8. 20.

Phil. 1. 11.

Figure 73. Pages 218-219, Thomas Watson, *The Saints Delight*, London, 1657. British Library, London



16 *A Sermon preached at the Faſt,*

yea living, *walking pictures* of Divine *Truth.* When the wantonneſſe of humane wiſdome; will multiply Will-worſhip, and Wit-worſhip, thinking to pleaſe God with better deviſes then his owne, it turnes to groſſe folly, and ends in much miſchiefe, rather then acceptation. Witneſſe *Gideons Ephod*, *Iudges* 8. *verſ.* 27. Yea; ſuch men take much paines to looſe their labour, and *Matthew* 15. *verſ.* 9. *In vaine doe they worſhip God, teaching for Doctrine, the commandements of men.*

3. *Reaſon.* Never expect the gracious preſence of Chriſt in his Churches, unleſſe you purchaſe Truth, and ſet it upon the Throne, *Revel.* 2. 1. *He walketh in the middeſt of the golden Candleſticks,* whoſe office it is to hold forth the Truth.

The beautie and efficacie of Church Government and Diſcipline, depend upon their Conformitie unto Divine Truth. It muſt Regulate Church Power, and Diſcipline Church Adminiſtrations, elſe they will ſoone looſe their Luſtre and Authoritie; Degenerating either into emptie Formalitie, or into Church Tyranny, which of all other is moſt grievous, becauſe ſo oppreſſive to the Conſcience. Hence ſuch uncouth Catalogues of Church Officers amongſt the Papiſts: Pope, Cardinals, &c. Hence ſuch ſwelling Volumes of their Canon Law, becauſe not Divine Truth, but carnall wiſdome drew the platforme. Hence ſo many of our *Temples,* made *houſes of Merchandize*, wherein, *as in the darkneſſe of Popery, Indulgences* were, *Abſolutions* are

before the Honourable Houſe of Commons. 17

are bought and ſold. Yea, hence the *ſword of excommunication* which was wont to be *formidable*, becauſe drawne with ſo much ſolemnitie, is now made contemptible, becauſe ſo familiarly abuſed upon trifles; and all this, becauſe Divine Truth hath had no more power in our Conſiſtories. And this doubtleſſe doth much foment the preſent diſtractions of the Church, that either fancie or affection ſhould put ſuch high claimes upon things, as ſuddenly to ſtyle them *Inſtitutions of Chriſt*, or *uſurpations of Antichriſt*, not ſufficiently conſulting with Divine Truth. If our Prelaticall Power, and Cathedrall Pompe, be of Divine Right, let us ſee a Divine word for it; what need we ſuch violent arguments to maintaine them, oath upon oath, ſubſcription upon ſubſcription?

Gladius Eccleſiæ venerandâ varitate formidabilis. Petr. de Alliaco.

Let Chriſt himſelfe be acknowledged as King in his Church, as Lord in his houſe, let the word of *Truth* be our Booke of Canons, our Books of Diſcipline, and then if *Paul* were our viſitour, he would rejoyce *to behold our order*, as *Coloſſians* 2. *verſ.* 5.

Yea, then we ſhall undoubtedly find the Broad-Seale of Heaven, confirming what is done, when we follow the guidance of Chriſt in his owne *Truth*, *Matth.* 18. 15, 16, 17, 18.

4. *Reaſon.* The beſt way to promote the moſt publique good of all the Churches, is by advancing the trade of *Truth*. This *publique counſell* ſhould move in the moſt *publique ſphare*, ſeeking good for themſelves and others, both at home and abroad. The eyes of all the *three Kingdomes*, yea, of

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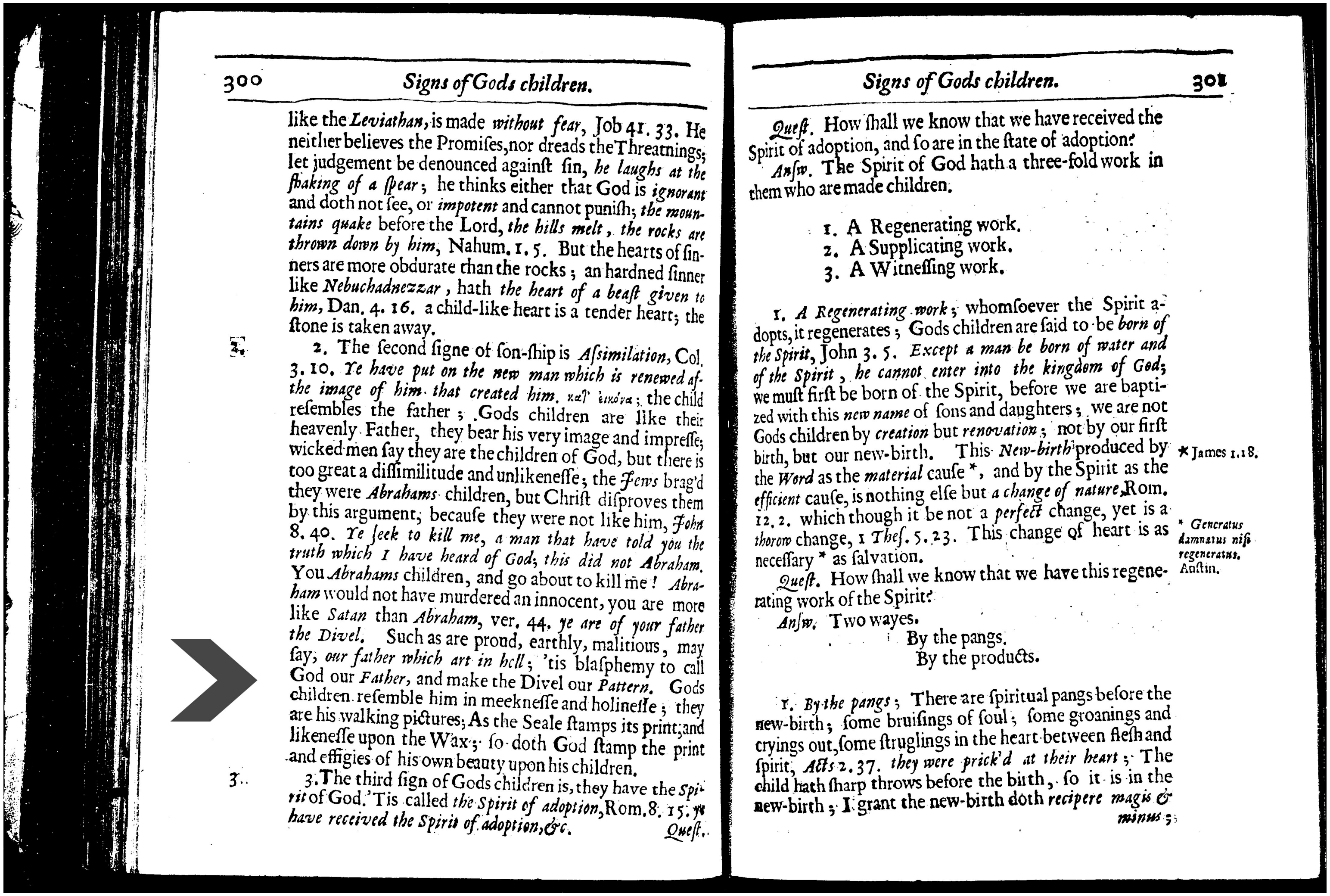
Figure 74. Pages 16-17, Thomas Hill, *The Trade of Truth Advanced*, London, 1642. British Library, London



300 *Signs of Gods children.*

like the *Leviathan,* is made *without fear,* Job 41. 33. He neither believes the Promiſes, nor dreads the Threatnings; let judgement be denounced againſt ſin, *he laughs at the ſhaking of a ſpear*; he thinks either that God is *ignorant* and doth not ſee, or *impotent* and cannot puniſh; *the mountains quake* before the Lord, *the hills melt, the rocks are thrown down by him,* Nahum. 1. 5. But the hearts of ſinners are more obdurate than the rocks; an hardned ſinner like *Nebuchadnezzar*, hath *the heart of a beaſt given to him,* Dan. 4. 16. a child-like heart is a tender heart; the ſtone is taken away.

2. 2. The ſecond ſigne of ſon-ſhip is *Aſſimilation,* Col. 3. 10. *Ye have put on the new man which is renewed after the image of him that created him.* κατ᾽ εἰκόνα; the child reſembles the father; Gods children are like their heavenly Father, they bear his very image and impreſſe; wicked men ſay they are the children of God, but there is too great a diſſimilitude and unlikeneſſe; the *Jews* brag'd they were *Abrahams* children, but Chriſt diſproves them by this argument; becauſe they were not like him, *John* 8. 40. *Ye ſeek to kill me, a man that have told you the truth which I have heard of God; this did not Abraham.* You *Abrahams* children, and go about to kill me! *Abraham* would not have murdered an innocent, you are more like *Satan* than *Abraham,* ver. 44. *ye are of your father the Divel.* Such as are proud, earthly, malitious, may ſay, *our father which art in hell*; 'tis blaſphemy to call God our *Father,* and make the Divel our *Pattern.* Gods children reſemble him in meekneſſe and holineſſe; they are his walking pictures; As the Seale ſtamps its print and likeneſſe upon the Wax; ſo doth God ſtamp the print and effigies of his own beauty upon his children.

3. 3. The third ſign of Gods children is, they have the *Spirit* of God. 'Tis called *the Spirit of adoption,* Rom. 8. 15. *ye have received the Spirit of adoption, &c.*

Queſt.

Signs of Gods children. 301

Queſt. How ſhall we know that we have received the Spirit of adoption, and ſo are in the ſtate of adoption?

Anſw. The Spirit of God hath a three-fold work in them who are made children.

1. A Regenerating work.
2. A Supplicating work.
3. A Witneſſing work.

1. *A Regenerating work*; whomſoever the Spirit adopts, it regenerates; Gods children are ſaid to be *born of the Spirit,* John 3. 5. *Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God*; we muſt firſt be born of the Spirit, before we are baptized with this *new name* of ſons and daughters; we are not Gods children by *creation* but *renovation*; not by our firſt birth, but our new-birth. This *New-birth* produced by the *Word* as the *material* cauſe *, and by the Spirit as the *efficient* cauſe, is nothing elſe but *a change of nature,* Rom. 12. 2. which though it be not a *perfect* change, yet is a *thorow* change, 1 *Theſ.* 5. 23. This change of heart is as neceſſary * as ſalvation.

*James 1.18.

* *Generatus damnatus niſi regeneratus.* Auſtin.

Queſt. How ſhall we know that we have this regenerating work of the Spirit?

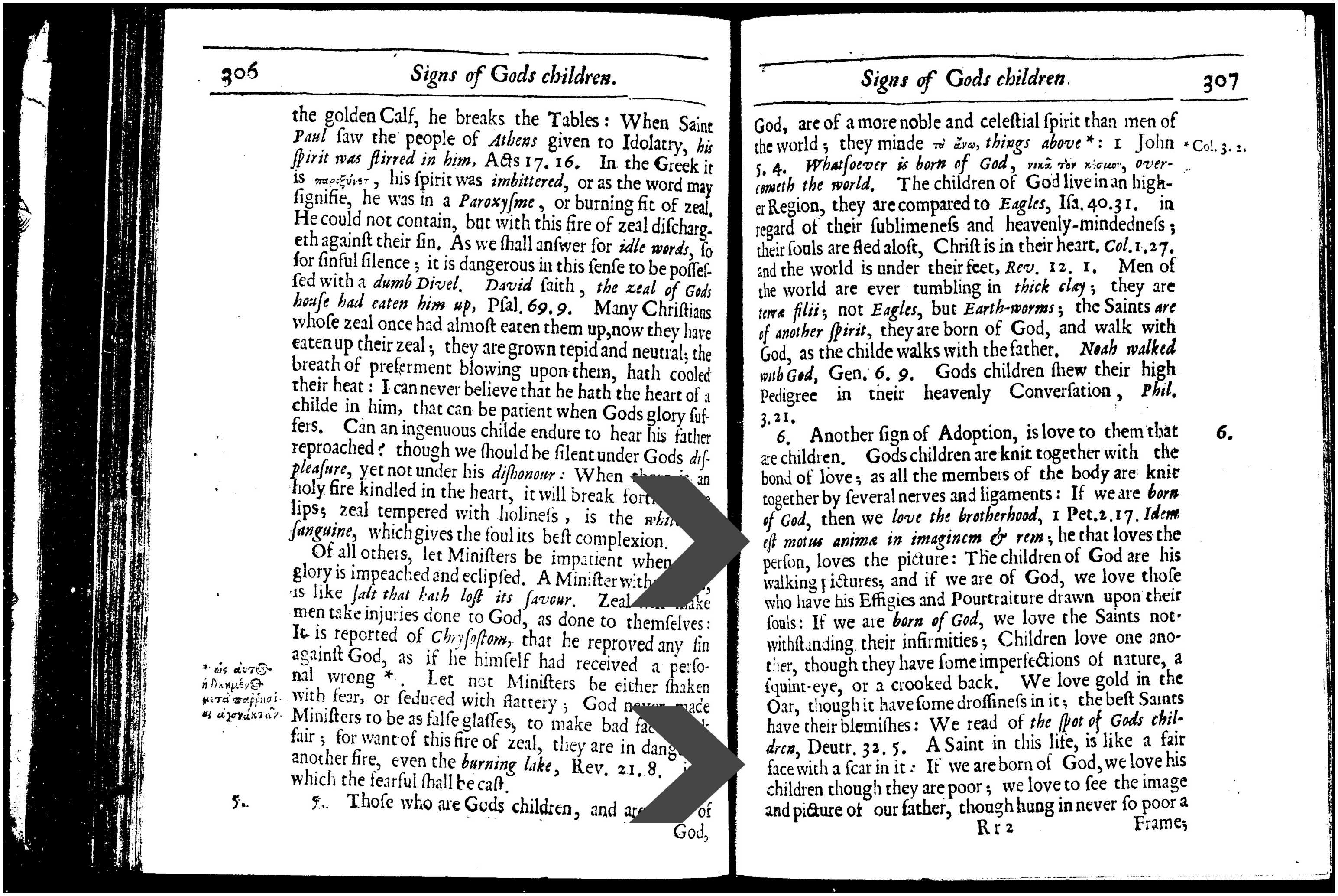
Anſw. Two wayes.

By the pangs.
By the products.

1. *By the pangs*; There are ſpiritual pangs before the new-birth; ſome bruiſings of ſoul; ſome groanings and cryings out, ſome ſtruglings in the heart between fleſh and ſpirit, *Acts* 2. 37. *they were prick'd at their heart*; The child hath ſharp throws before the birth, ſo it is in the new-birth; I grant the new-birth doth *recipere magis & minus*;

minus;

Figure 75. Pages 300-301, Thomas Watson, *The Beatitudes, or A Discourse Upon Part of Christs Famous Sermon on the Mount*, London, 1660. Bristol Public Libraries, Bristol, UK



306 *Signs of Gods children.*

the golden Calf, he breaks the Tables: When Saint *Paul* ſaw the people of *Athens* given to Idolatry, *his ſpirit was ſtirred in him,* Acts 17. 16. In the Greek it is παρωξύνετο, his ſpirit was *imbittered*, or as the word may ſignifie, he was in a *Paroxyſme*, or burning fit of zeal. He could not contain, but with this fire of zeal diſchargeth againſt their ſin. As we ſhall anſwer for *idle words*, ſo for ſinful ſilence; it is dangerous in this ſenſe to be poſſeſſed with a *dumb Divel*. *David* ſaith, *the zeal of Gods houſe had eaten him up*, Pſal. 69. 9. Many Chriſtians whoſe zeal once had almoſt eaten them up, now they have eaten up their zeal; they are grown tepid and neutral; the breath of preferment blowing upon them, hath cooled their heat: I can never believe that he hath the heart of a childe in him, that can be patient when Gods glory ſuffers. Can an ingenuous childe endure to hear his father reproached? though we ſhould be ſilent under Gods *diſpleaſure*, yet not under his *diſhonour*: When [illegible] an holy fire kindled in the heart, it will break fort[illegible] lips; zeal tempered with holineſs, is the *whi*[illegible] *ſanguine*, which gives the ſoul its beſt complexion.

Of all others, let Miniſters be impatient when [illegible] glory is impeached and eclipſed. A Miniſter with[illegible] is like *ſalt that hath loſt its ſavour*. Zeal [illegible] make men take injuries done to God, as done to themſelves: It is reported of *Chryſoſtom*, that he reproved any ſin againſt God, as if he himſelf had received a perſonal wrong *. Let not Miniſters be either ſhaken with fear, or ſeduced with flattery; God n[illegible] made Miniſters to be as falſe glaſſes, to make bad fac[illegible] fair; for want of this fire of zeal, they are in dang[illegible] another fire, even the *burning lake*, Rev. 21. 8. [illegible] which the fearful ſhall be caſt.

* ὡς αὐτὸς ἠδικημένος μετὰ παῤῥησίας ἠγανάκτει.

5. 5. Thoſe who are Gods children, and ar[illegible] of God,

Signs of Gods children. 307

God, are of a more noble and celeſtial ſpirit than men of the world; they minde τὰ ἄνω, *things above* *: 1 John 5. 4. *Whatſoever is born of God*, νικᾷ τὸν κόσμον, *overcometh the world.* The children of God live in an higher Region, they are compared to *Eagles*, Iſa. 40. 31. in regard of their ſublimeneſs and heavenly-mindedneſs; their ſouls are fled aloft, Chriſt is in their heart. *Col.* 1. 27. and the world is under their feet, *Rev.* 12. 1. Men of the world are ever tumbling in *thick clay*; they are *terræ filii*; not *Eagles*, but *Earth-worms*; the Saints *are of another ſpirit*, they are born of God, and walk with God, as the childe walks with the father. *Noah walked with God*, Gen. 6. 9. Gods children ſhew their high Pedigree in their heavenly Converſation, *Phil.* 3. 21.

* Col. 3. 2.

6. 6. Another ſign of Adoption, is love to them that are children. Gods children are knit together with the bond of love; as all the members of the body are knit together by ſeveral nerves and ligaments: If we are *born of God*, then we *love the brotherhood*, 1 Pet. 2. 17. *Idem eſt motus animæ in imaginem & rem*; he that loves the perſon, loves the picture: The children of God are his walking pictures; and if we are of God, we love thoſe who have his Effigies and Pourtraiture drawn upon their ſouls: If we are *born of God*, we love the Saints notwithſtanding their infirmities; Children love one another, though they have ſome imperfections of nature, a ſquint-eye, or a crooked back. We love gold in the Oar, though it have ſome droſſineſs in it; the beſt Saints have their blemiſhes: We read of *the ſpot of Gods children*, Deutr. 32. 5. A Saint in this life, is like a fair face with a ſcar in it: If we are born of God, we love his children though they are poor; we love to ſee the image and picture of our father, though hung in never ſo poor a

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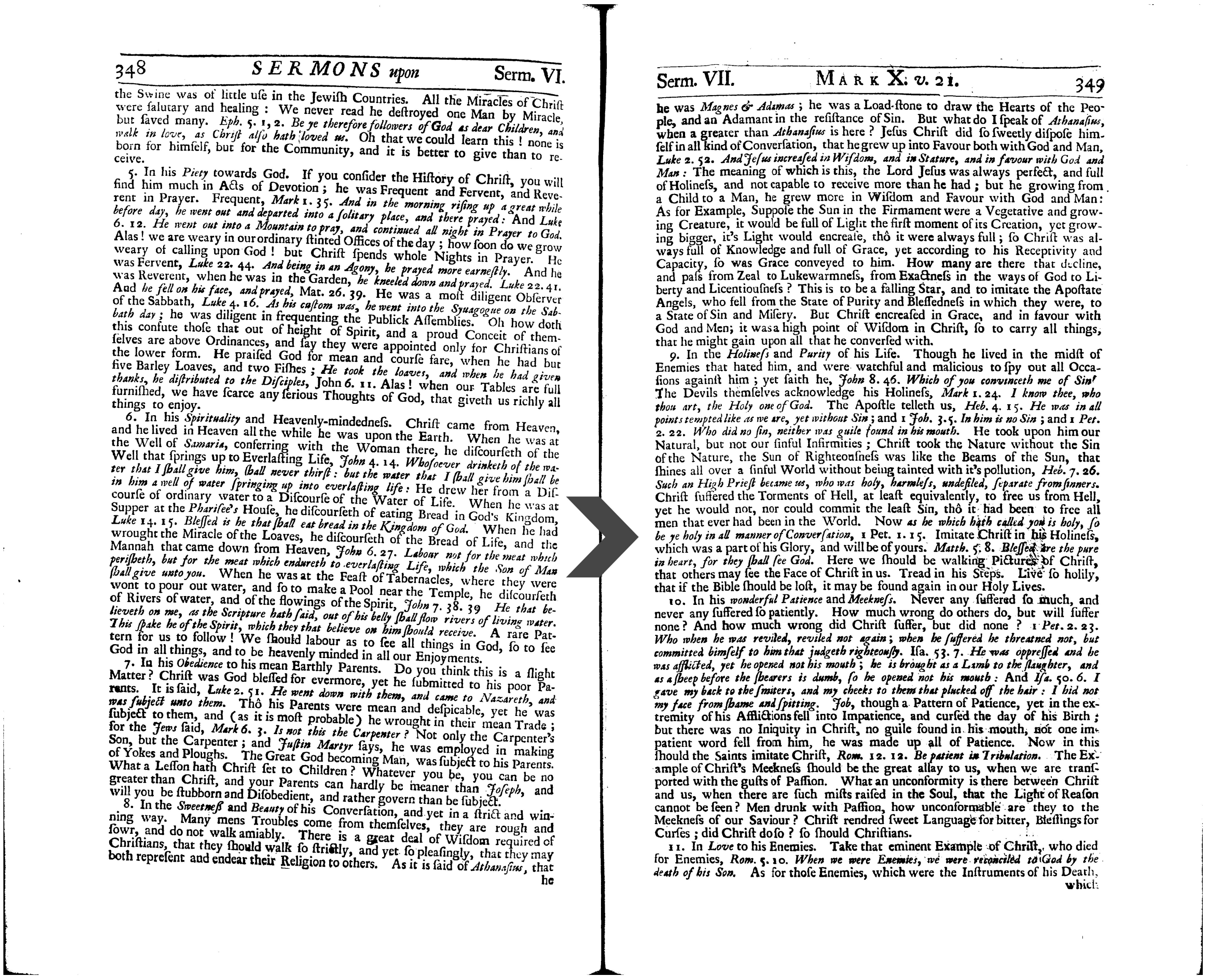
Figure 76. Pages 306-307, Thomas Watson, *The Beatitudes, or A Discourse Upon Part of Christs Famous Sermon on the Mount*, London, 1660. Bristol Public Libraries, Bristol, UK



348 *SERMONS upon* Serm. VI.

the Swine was of little uſe in the Jewiſh Countries. All the Miracles of Chriſt were ſalutary and healing: We never read he deſtroyed one Man by Miracle, but ſaved many. *Eph.* 5. 1, 2. *Be ye therefore followers of God as dear Children, and walk in love, as Chriſt alſo hath loved us.* Oh that we could learn this! none is born for himſelf, but for the Community, and it is better to give than to receive.

5. In his *Piety* towards God. If you conſider the Hiſtory of Chriſt, you will find him much in Acts of Devotion; he was Frequent and Fervent, and Reverent in Prayer. Frequent, *Mark* 1. 35. *And in the morning riſing up a great while before day, he went out and departed into a ſolitary place, and there prayed:* And *Luke* 6. 12. *He went out into a Mountain to pray, and continued all night in Prayer to God.* Alas! we are weary in our ordinary ſtinted Offices of the day; how ſoon do we grow weary of calling upon God! but Chriſt ſpends whole Nights in Prayer. He was Fervent, *Luke* 22. 44. *And being in an Agony, he prayed more earneſtly.* And he was Reverent, when he was in the Garden, *he kneeled down and prayed. Luke* 22. 41. And *he fell on his face, and prayed,* Mat. 26. 39. He was a moſt diligent Obſerver of the Sabbath, *Luke* 4. 16. *As his cuſtom was, he went into the Syuagogue on the Sabbath day;* he was diligent in frequenting the Publick Aſſemblies. Oh how doth this confute thoſe that out of height of Spirit, and a proud Conceit of themſelves are above Ordinances, and ſay they were appointed only for Chriſtians of the lower form. He praiſed God for mean and courſe fare, when he had but five Barley Loaves, and two Fiſhes; *He took the loaves, and when he had given thanks, he diſtributed to the Diſciples,* John 6. 11. Alas! when our Tables are full furniſhed, we have ſcarce any ſerious Thoughts of God, that giveth us richly all things to enjoy.

6. In his *Spirituality* and Heavenly-mindedneſs. Chriſt came from Heaven, and he lived in Heaven all the while he was upon the Earth. When he was at the Well of *Samaria,* conferring with the Woman there, he diſcourſeth of the Well that ſprings up to Everlaſting Life, *John* 4. 14. *Whoſoever drinketh of the water that I ſhall give him, ſhall never thirſt: but the water that I ſhall give him ſhall be in him a well of water ſpringing up into everlaſting life:* He drew her from a Diſcourſe of ordinary water to a Diſcourſe of the Water of Life. When he was at Supper at the *Phariſee's* Houſe, he diſcourſeth of eating Bread in God's Kingdom, *Luke* 14. 15. *Bleſſed is he that ſhall eat bread in the Kingdom of God.* When he had wrought the Miracle of the Loaves, he diſcourſeth of the Bread of Life, and the Mannah that came down from Heaven, *John* 6. 27. *Labour not for the meat which periſheth, but for the meat which endureth to everlaſting Life, which the Son of Man ſhall give unto you.* When he was at the Feaſt of Tabernacles, where they were wont to pour out water, and ſo to make a Pool near the Temple, he diſcourſeth of Rivers of water, and of the flowings of the Spirit, *John* 7. 38. 39 *He that believeth on me, as the Scripture hath ſaid, out of his belly ſhall flow rivers of living water. This ſpake he of the Spirit, which they that believe on him ſhould receive.* A rare Pattern for us to follow! We ſhould labour as to ſee all things in God, ſo to ſee God in all things, and to be heavenly minded in all our Enjoyments.

7. In his *Obedience* to his mean Earthly Parents. Do you think this is a ſlight Matter? Chriſt was God bleſſed for evermore, yet he ſubmitted to his poor Parents. It is ſaid, *Luke* 2. 51. *He went down with them, and came to Nazareth, and was ſubject unto them.* Thô his Parents were mean and deſpicable, yet he was ſubject to them, and (as it is moſt probable) he wrought in their mean Trade; for the *Jews* ſaid, *Mark* 6. 3. *Is not this the Carpenter?* Not only the Carpenter's Son, but the Carpenter; and *Juſtin Martyr* ſays, he was employed in making of Yokes and Ploughs. The Great God becoming Man, was ſubject to his Parents. What a Leſſon hath Chriſt ſet to Children? Whatever you be, you can be no greater than Chriſt, and your Parents can hardly be meaner than *Joſeph,* and will you be ſtubborn and Diſobedient, and rather govern than be ſubject.

8. In the *Sweetneſs* and *Beauty* of his Converſation, and yet in a ſtrict and winning way. Many mens Troubles come from themſelves, they are rough and ſowr, and do not walk amiably. There is a great deal of Wiſdom required of Chriſtians, that they ſhould walk ſo ſtrictly, and yet ſo pleaſingly, that they may both repreſent and endear their Religion to others. As it is ſaid of *Athanaſius,* that

he

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he was *Magnes & Adamas;* he was a Load-ſtone to draw the Hearts of the People, and an Adamant in the reſiſtance of Sin. But what do I ſpeak of *Athanaſius,* when a greater than *Athanaſius* is here? Jeſus Chriſt did ſo ſweetly diſpoſe himſelf in all kind of Converſation, that he grew up into Favour both with God and Man, *Luke* 2. 52. *And Jeſus increaſed in Wiſdom, and in Stature, and in favour with God and Man:* The meaning of which is this, the Lord Jeſus was always perfect, and full of Holineſs, and not capable to receive more than he had; but he growing from a Child to a Man, he grew more in Wiſdom and Favour with God and Man: As for Example, Suppoſe the Sun in the Firmament were a Vegetative and growing Creature, it would be full of Light the firſt moment of its Creation, yet growing bigger, it's Light would encreaſe, thô it were always full; ſo Chriſt was always full of Knowledge and full of Grace, yet according to his Receptivity and Capacity, ſo was Grace conveyed to him. How many are there that decline, and paſs from Zeal to Lukewarmneſs, from Exactneſs in the ways of God to Liberty and Licentiouſneſs? This is to be a falling Star, and to imitate the Apoſtate Angels, who fell from the State of Purity and Bleſſedneſs in which they were, to a State of Sin and Miſery. But Chriſt encreaſed in Grace, and in favour with God and Men; it was a high point of Wiſdom in Chriſt, ſo to carry all things, that he might gain upon all that he converſed with.

9. In the *Holineſs* and *Purity* of his Life. Though he lived in the midſt of Enemies that hated him, and were watchful and malicious to ſpy out all Occaſions againſt him; yet ſaith he, *John* 8. 46. *Which of you convinceth me of Sin?* The Devils themſelves acknowledge his Holineſs, *Mark* 1. 24. *I know thee, who thou art, the Holy one of God.* The Apoſtle telleth us, *Heb.* 4. 15. *He was in all points tempted like as we are, yet without Sin;* and 1 *Joh.* 3. 5. *In him is no Sin;* and 1 *Pet.* 2. 22. *Who did no ſin, neither was guile found in his mouth.* He took upon him our Natural, but not our ſinful Infirmities; Chriſt took the Nature without the Sin of the Nature, the Sun of Righteouſneſs was like the Beams of the Sun, that ſhines all over a ſinful World without being tainted with it's pollution, *Heb.* 7. 26. *Such an High Prieſt became us, who was holy, harmleſs, undefiled, ſeparate from ſinners.* Chriſt ſuffered the Torments of Hell, at leaſt equivalently, to free us from Hell, yet he would not, nor could commit the leaſt Sin, thô it had been to free all men that ever had been in the World. Now *as he which hath called you is holy, ſo be ye holy in all manner of Converſation,* 1 Pet. 1. 15. Imitate Chriſt in his Holineſs, which was a part of his Glory, and will be of yours. *Matth.* 5. 8. *Bleſſed are the pure in heart, for they ſhall ſee God.* Here we ſhould be walking Pictures of Chriſt, that others may ſee the Face of Chriſt in us. Tread in his Steps. Live ſo holily, that if the Bible ſhould be loſt, it may be found again in our Holy Lives.

10. In his *wonderful Patience* and *Meekneſs.* Never any ſuffered ſo much, and never any ſuffered ſo patiently. How much wrong do others do, but will ſuffer none? And how much wrong did Chriſt ſuffer, but did none? 1 *Pet.* 2. 23. *Who when he was reviled, reviled not again; when he ſuffered he threatned not, but committed himſelf to him that judgeth righteouſly.* Iſa. 53. 7. *He was oppreſſed and he was afflicted, yet he opened not his mouth; he is brought as a Lamb to the ſlaughter, and as a ſheep before the ſhearers is dumb, ſo he opened not his mouth:* And *Iſa.* 50. 6. *I gave my back to the ſmiters, and my cheeks to them that plucked off the hair: I hid not my face from ſhame and ſpitting. Job,* though a Pattern of Patience, yet in the extremity of his Afflictions fell into Impatience, and curſed the day of his Birth; but there was no Iniquity in Chriſt, no guile found in his mouth, not one impatient word fell from him, he was made up all of Patience. Now in this ſhould the Saints imitate Chriſt, *Rom.* 12. 12. *Be patient in Tribulation.* The Example of Chriſt's Meekneſs ſhould be the great allay to us, when we are tranſported with the guſts of Paſſion. What an unconformity is there between Chriſt and us, when there are ſuch miſts raiſed in the Soul, that the Light of Reaſon cannot be ſeen? Men drunk with Paſſion, how unconformable are they to the Meekneſs of our Saviour? Chriſt rendred ſweet Language for bitter, Bleſſings for Curſes; did Chriſt do ſo? ſo ſhould Chriſtians.

11. In *Love* to his Enemies. Take that eminent Example of Chriſt, who died for Enemies, *Rom.* 5. 10. *When we were Enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son.* As for thoſe Enemies, which were the Inſtruments of his Death,

which

Figure 77. Pages 348-349, Thomas Manton, *A Fourth Volume Containing One Hundred and Fifty Sermons on Several Texts of Scripture in Two Parts*, London, 1693. Huntington Library, San Marino, California

THE
Pilgrim's Progreſs
FROM
THIS WORLD,
TO
That which is to come
Delivered under the Similitude of a
DREAM
Wherein is Diſcovered,
The Manner of his ſetting out,
His Dangerous JOURNEY,
AND
Safe Arrival at the Deſired Countrey.

By *JOHN BUNYAN.*

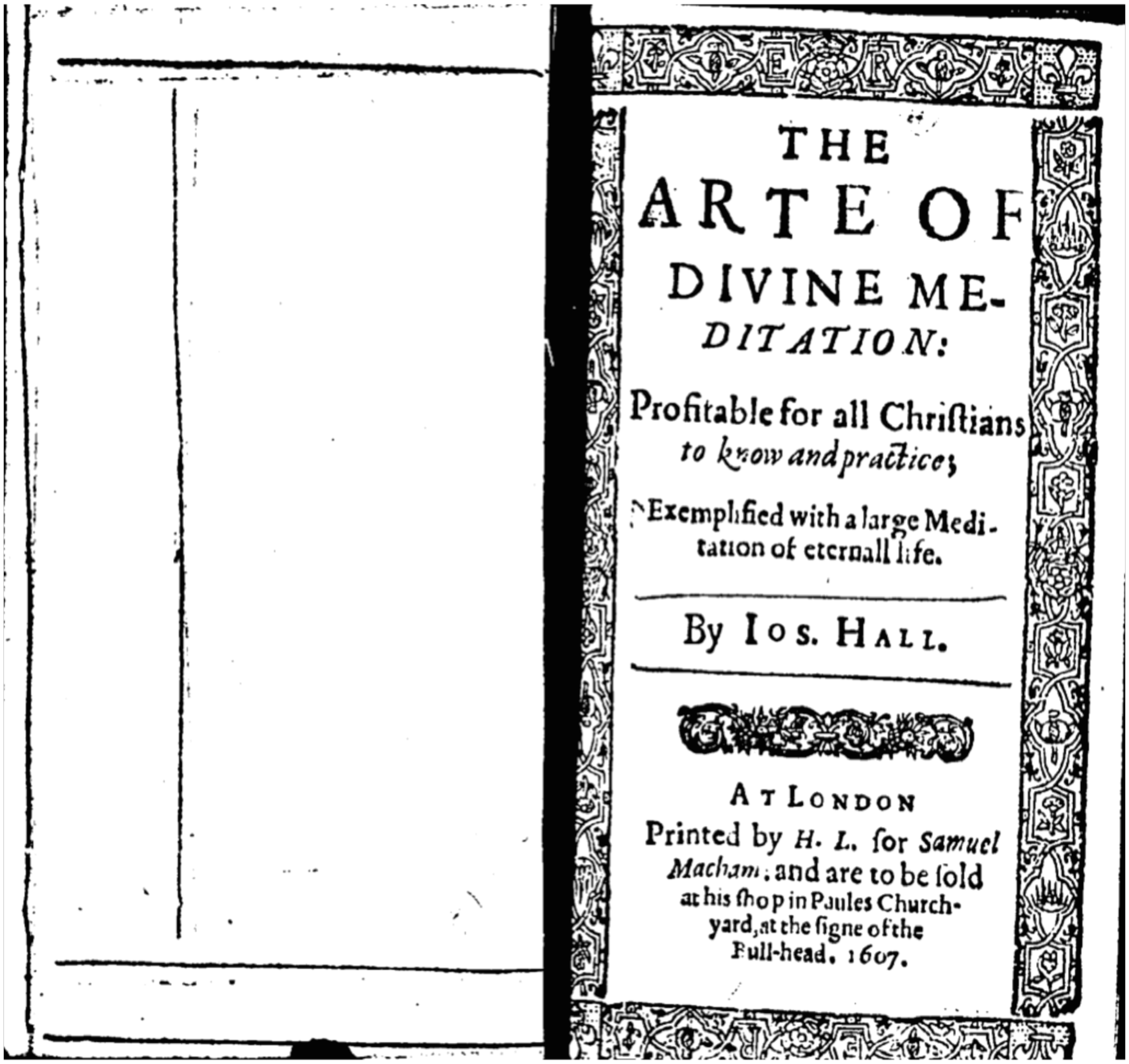
The Fourth Edition, with Additions.

I have uſed Similitudes. *Hoſea*, 12. 10.

Licenſed and Entred according to Order.

LONDON,
Printed for *Nath. Ponder*, at the *Peacock*
in the *Poultrey* near the Church, 1680.

Figure 78. Opening with frontispiece and title page, John Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, 4th edition, London, 1680, frontispiece by Robert White. Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D.C.

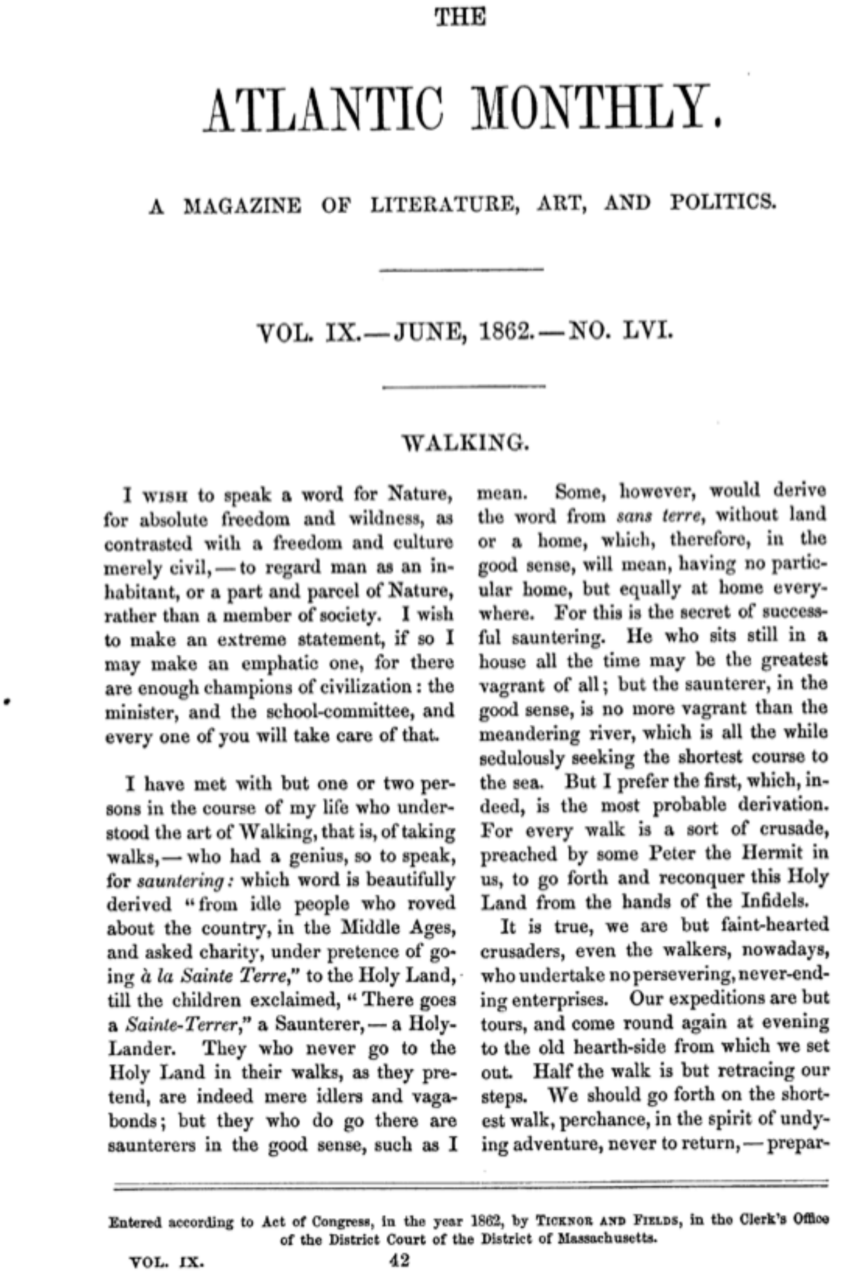


THE
ARTE OF
DIVINE MEDITATION:
Profitable for all Chriſtians
to know and practice;
Exemplified with a large Meditation of eternall life.

By Ios. Hall.

At London
Printed by *H. L.* for *Samuel
Macham*: and are to be ſold
at his ſhop in Paules Church-
yard, at the ſigne of the
Bull-head. *1607.*

Figure 79. Title page, Joseph Hall, *The Arte of Divine Meditation*, London, 1607. Harvard University Library, Cambridge, Massachusetts



THE

ATLANTIC MONTHLY.

A MAGAZINE OF LITERATURE, ART, AND POLITICS.

VOL. IX.—JUNE, 1862.—NO. LVI.

WALKING.

I WISH to speak a word for Nature, for absolute freedom and wildness, as contrasted with a freedom and culture merely civil,—to regard man as an inhabitant, or a part and parcel of Nature, rather than a member of society. I wish to make an extreme statement, if so I may make an emphatic one, for there are enough champions of civilization: the minister, and the school-committee, and every one of you will take care of that.

I have met with but one or two persons in the course of my life who understood the art of Walking, that is, of taking walks,—who had a genius, so to speak, for *sauntering:* which word is beautifully derived "from idle people who roved about the country, in the Middle Ages, and asked charity, under pretence of going *à la Sainte Terre*," to the Holy Land, till the children exclaimed, "There goes a *Sainte-Terrer*," a Saunterer,—a Holy-Lander. They who never go to the Holy Land in their walks, as they pretend, are indeed mere idlers and vagabonds; but they who do go there are saunterers in the good sense, such as I mean. Some, however, would derive the word from *sans terre*, without land or a home, which, therefore, in the good sense, will mean, having no particular home, but equally at home everywhere. For this is the secret of successful sauntering. He who sits still in a house all the time may be the greatest vagrant of all; but the saunterer, in the good sense, is no more vagrant than the meandering river, which is all the while sedulously seeking the shortest course to the sea. But I prefer the first, which, indeed, is the most probable derivation. For every walk is a sort of crusade, preached by some Peter the Hermit in us, to go forth and reconquer this Holy Land from the hands of the Infidels.

It is true, we are but faint-hearted crusaders, even the walkers, nowadays, who undertake no persevering, never-ending enterprises. Our expeditions are but tours, and come round again at evening to the old hearth-side from which we set out. Half the walk is but retracing our steps. We should go forth on the shortest walk, perchance, in the spirit of undying adventure, never to return,—prepar-

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1862, by TICKNOR AND FIELDS, in the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the District of Massachusetts.

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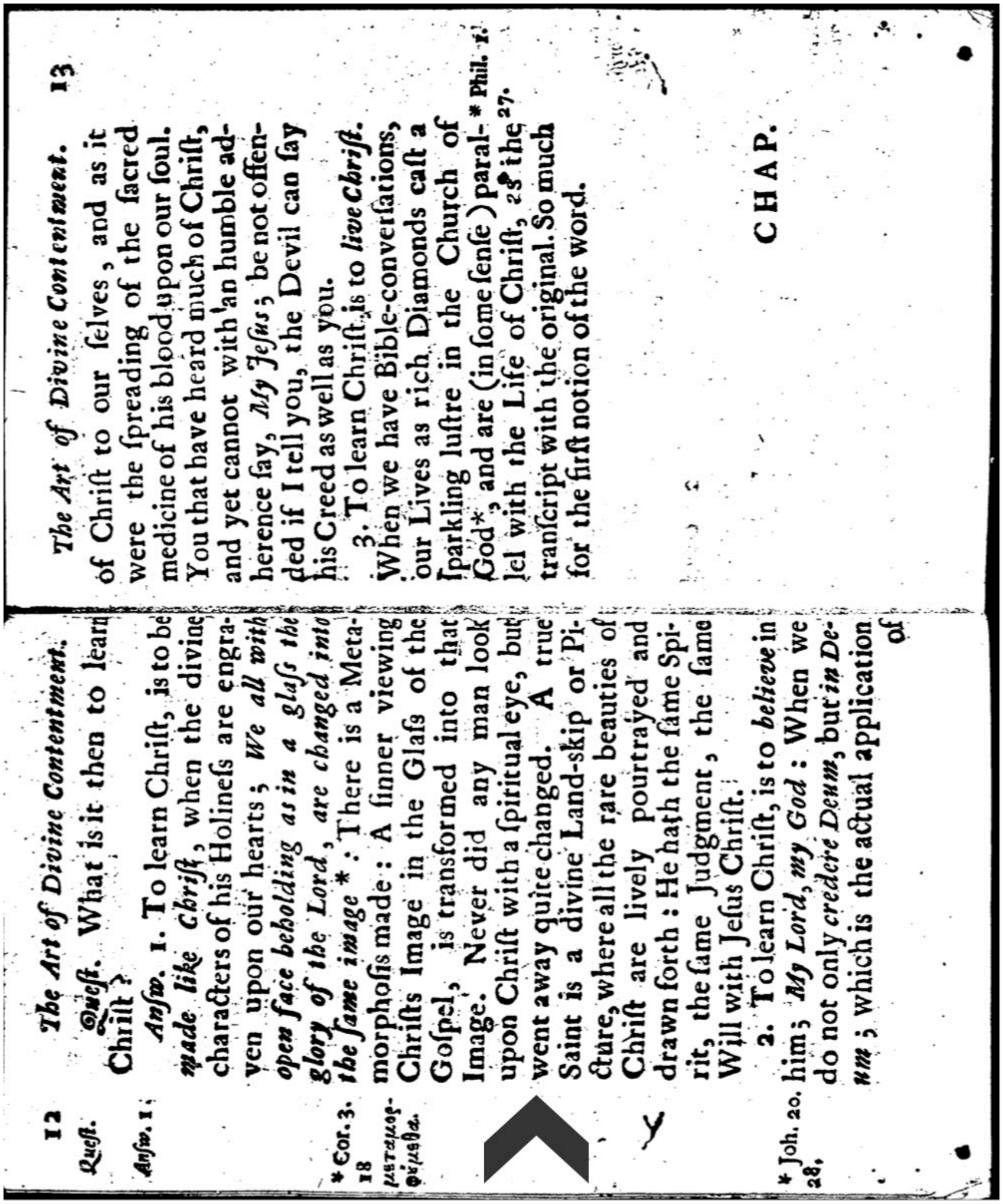
Figure 80. First page (page 42), Henry David Thoreau, "Walking," *The Atlantic Monthly* IX:LVI (June 1862). Cornell University Library Making of America



Queſt. **Queſt.** What is it then to learn Chriſt?

Anſw. 1. *Anſw.* 1. To learn Chriſt, is to be *made like Chriſt*, when the divine characters of his Holineſs are engraven upon our hearts; *We all with open face beholding as in a glaſs the glory of the Lord, are changed into the ſame image* *: There is a Metamorphoſis made: A ſinner viewing Chriſts Image in the Glaſs of the Goſpel, is transformed into that Image. Never did any man look upon Chriſt with a ſpiritual eye, but went away quite changed. A true Saint is a divine Land-skip or Picture, where all the rare beauties of Chriſt are lively pourtrayed and drawn forth: He hath the ſame Spirit, the ſame Judgment, the ſame Will with Jeſus Chriſt.

* Cor. 3. 18 μεταμορφέμεθα.

2. To learn Chriſt, is to *believe* in him; *My Lord, my God* *: When we do not only *credere Deum*, but *in Deum*; which is the actual application

* Joh. 20. 28.

of

of Chriſt to our ſelves, and as it were the ſpreading of the ſacred medicine of his blood upon our ſoul. You that have heard much of Chriſt, and yet cannot with an humble adherence ſay, *My Jeſus*; be not offended if I tell you, the Devil can ſay his Creed as well as you.

3. To learn Chriſt, is to *live Chriſt*. When we have Bible-converſations, our Lives as rich Diamonds caſt a ſparkling luſtre in the Church of God*, and are (in ſome ſenſe) parallel with the Life of Chriſt, the tranſcript with the original. So much for the firſt notion of the word.

* Phil. 1. 27.

CHAP.

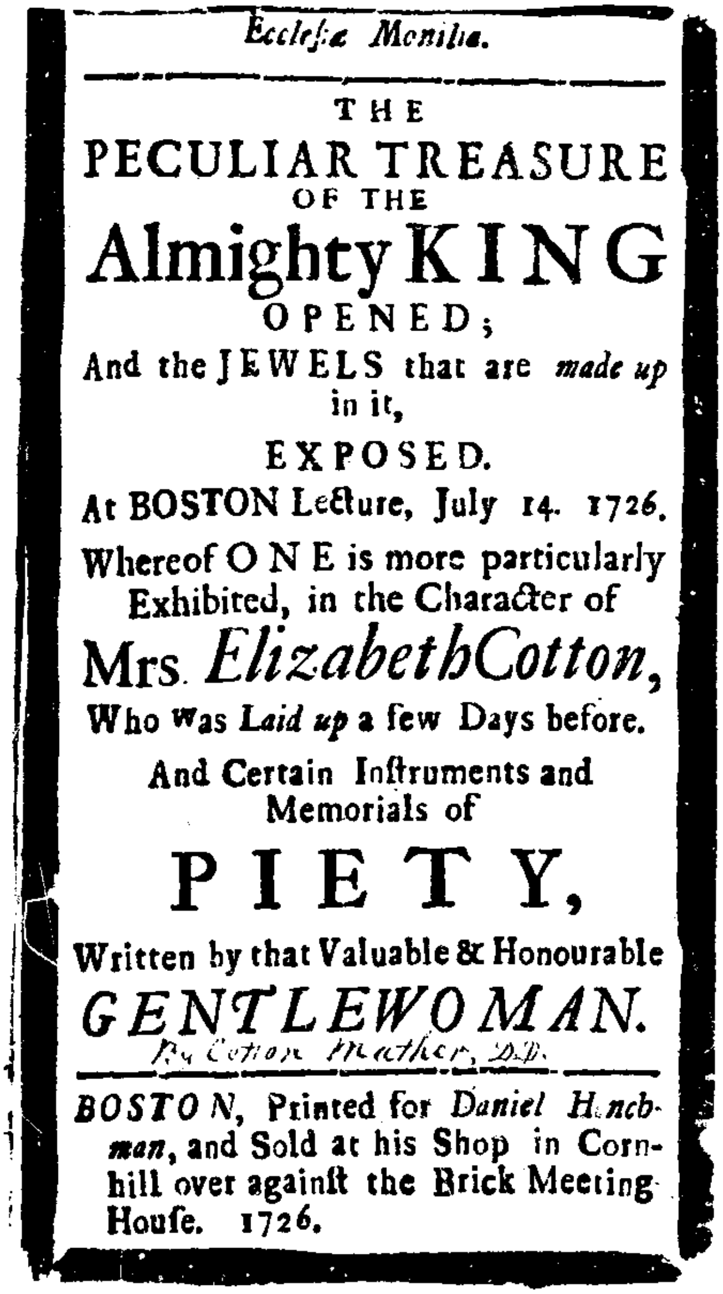
Figure 81. Pages 12-13, Thomas Watson, *Autarkeia, or the Art of Divine Contentment*, London, 1668. Bodleian Library, University of Oxford

Figure 82. Meindert Hobbema, *Landscape with a Wooded Road*, 1662. Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Figure 83. Francis Alÿs, *Paradox of Praxis 1 (Sometimes Doing Something Leads to Nothing)*, Mexico City, 1997. Still from video documentation of an action

Figure 84. Francis Alÿs, *Paradox of Praxis 1 (Sometimes Doing Something Leads to Nothing)*, Mexico City, 1997. Stills from video documentation of an action

Figure 85. Richard Long, *Line Made by Walking*, England, 1967. Dimensions variable

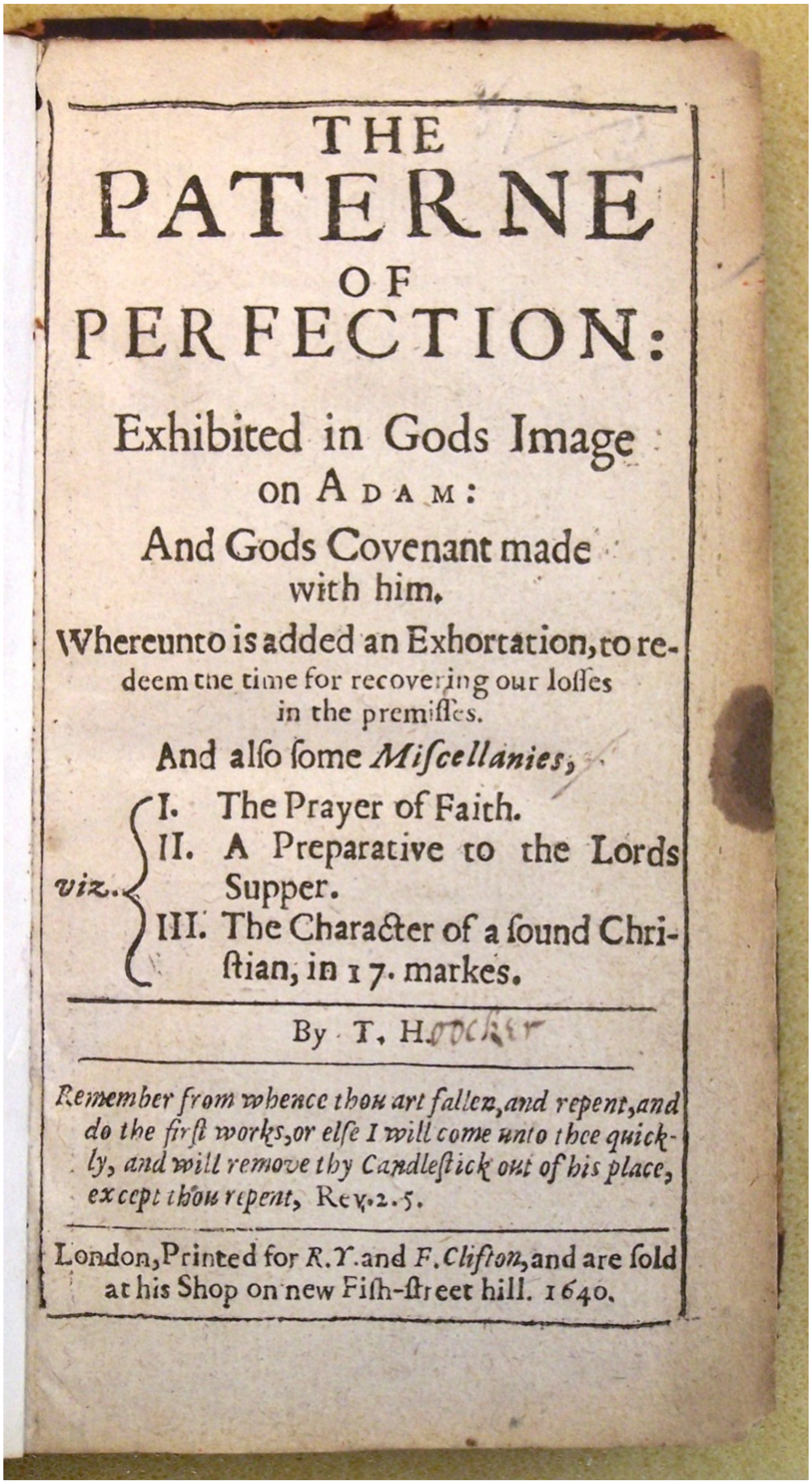


Eccleſiæ Monilia.

THE
PECULIAR TREASURE
OF THE
Almighty KING
OPENED;
And the JEWELS that are *made up*
in it,
EXPOSED.
At BOSTON Lecture, July 14. 1726.
Whereof ONE is more particularly
Exhibited, in the Character of
Mrs. *Elizabeth Cotton*,
Who was *Laid up* a few Days before.
And Certain Inſtruments and
Memorials of
PIETY,
Written by that Valuable & Honourable
GENTLEWOMAN.
By Cotton Mather, D.D.

BOSTON, Printed for *Daniel Henchman*, and Sold at his Shop in Cornhill over againſt the Brick Meeting-Houſe. 1726.

Figure 86. Title page, Cotton Mather, *Ecclesiæ Monilia*, Boston, 1726. American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts



THE
PATERNE
OF
PERFECTION:

Exhibited in Gods Image
on ADAM:
And Gods Covenant made
with him.
Whereunto is added an Exhortation, to redeem the time for recovering our loſſes
in the premiſſes.
And alſo ſome *Miſcellanies*,

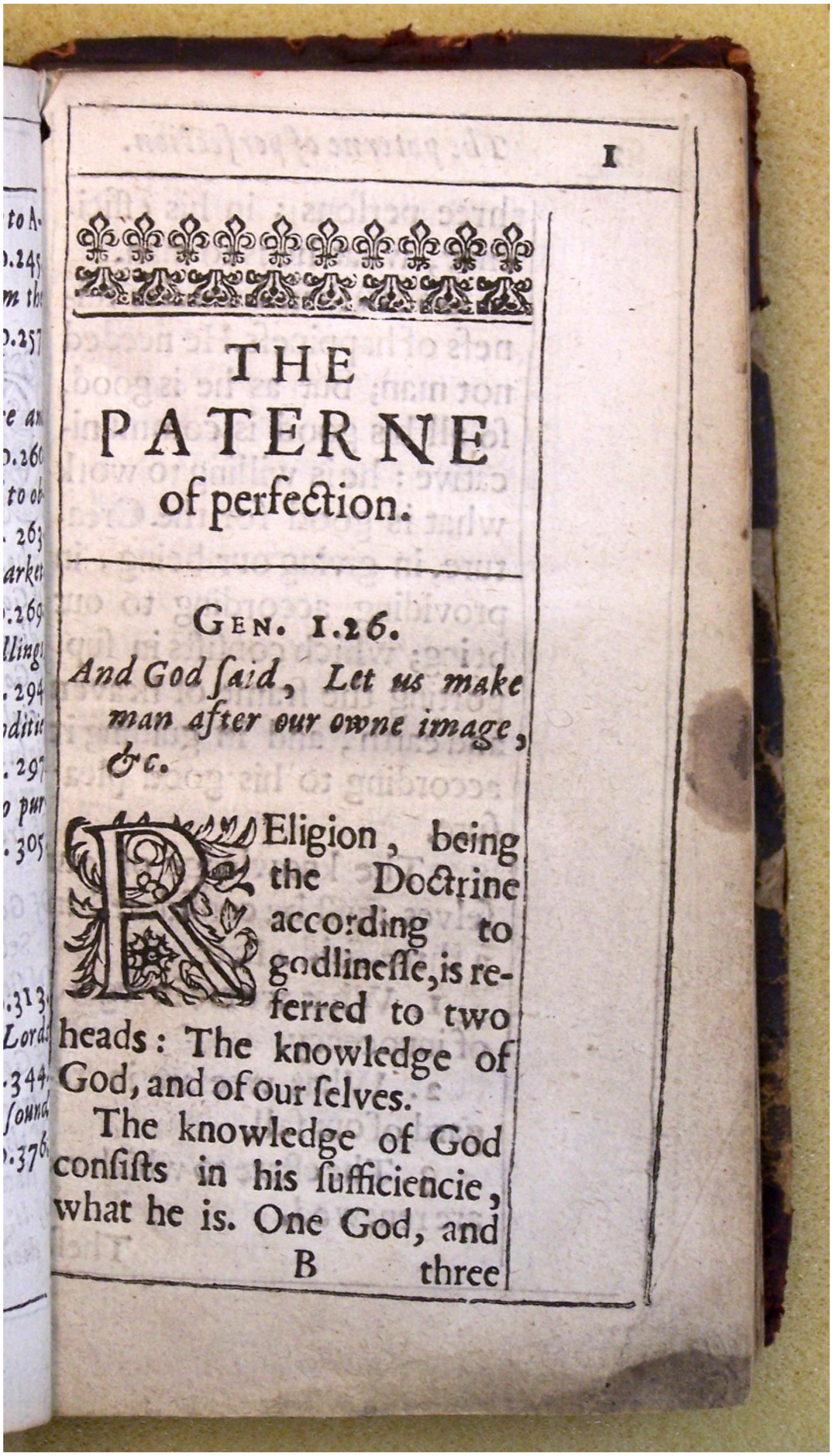
viz.
- I. The Prayer of Faith.
- II. A Preparative to the Lords Supper.
- III. The Character of a ſound Chriſtian, in 17. markes.

By T, H.ooker

Remember from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do the firſt works, or elſe I will come unto thee quickly, and will remove thy Candleſtick out of his place, except thou repent, Rev. 2. 5.

London, Printed for *R. Y.* and *F. Clifton*, and are ſold
at his Shop on new Fiſh-ſtreet hill. 1640.

Figure 87. Title page, Thomas Hooker, *The Paterne of Perfection*, London, 1640. Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford



1

THE
PATERNE
of perfection.

GEN. 1.26.

And God ſaid, Let us make man after our owne image, &c.

REligion, being the Doctrine according to godlineſſe, is referred to two heads: The knowledge of God, and of our ſelves.

The knowledge of God conſiſts in his ſufficiencie, what he is. One God, and

B three

Figure 88. Page 1, Thomas Hooker, *The Paterne of Perfection*, London, 1640. Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford

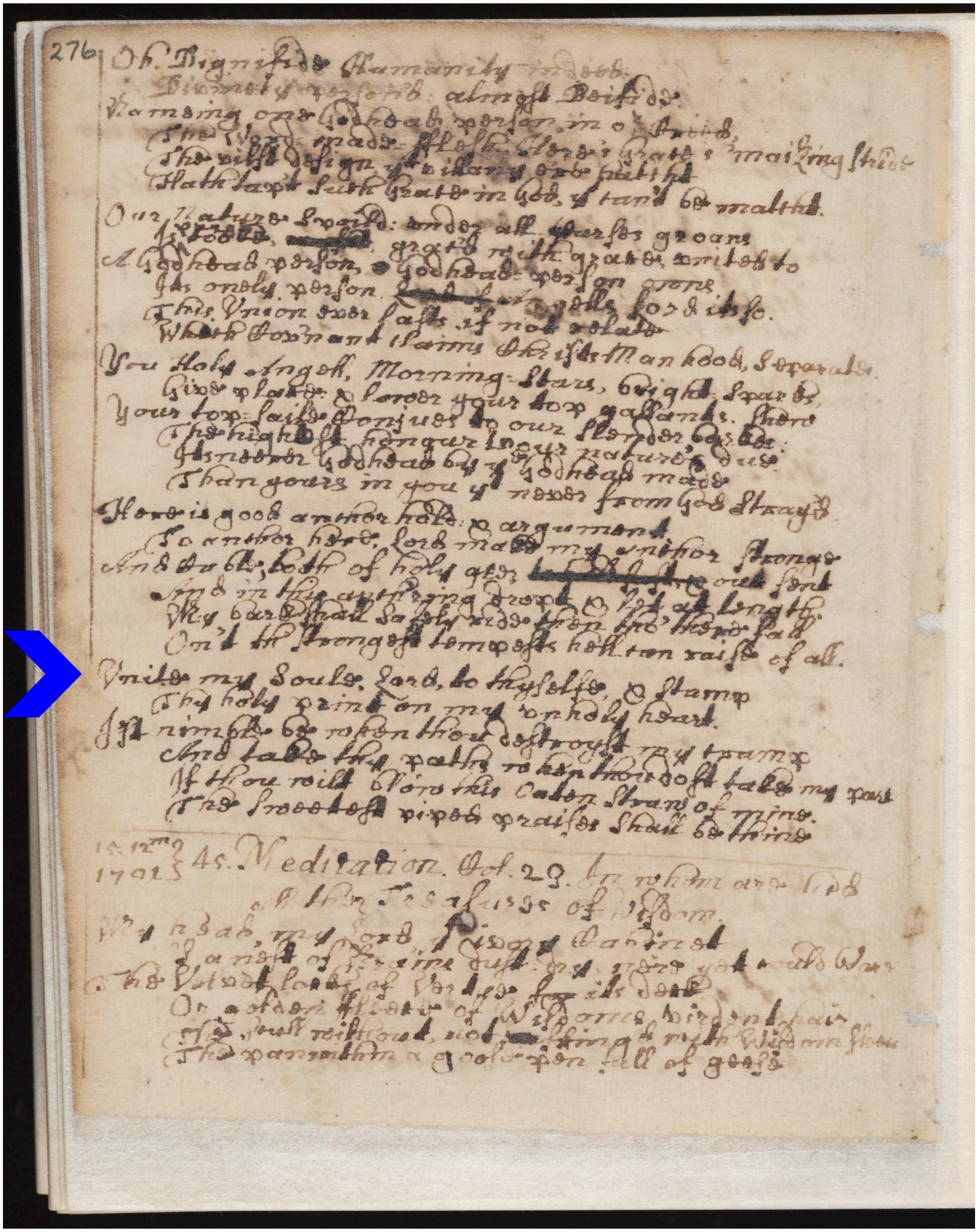
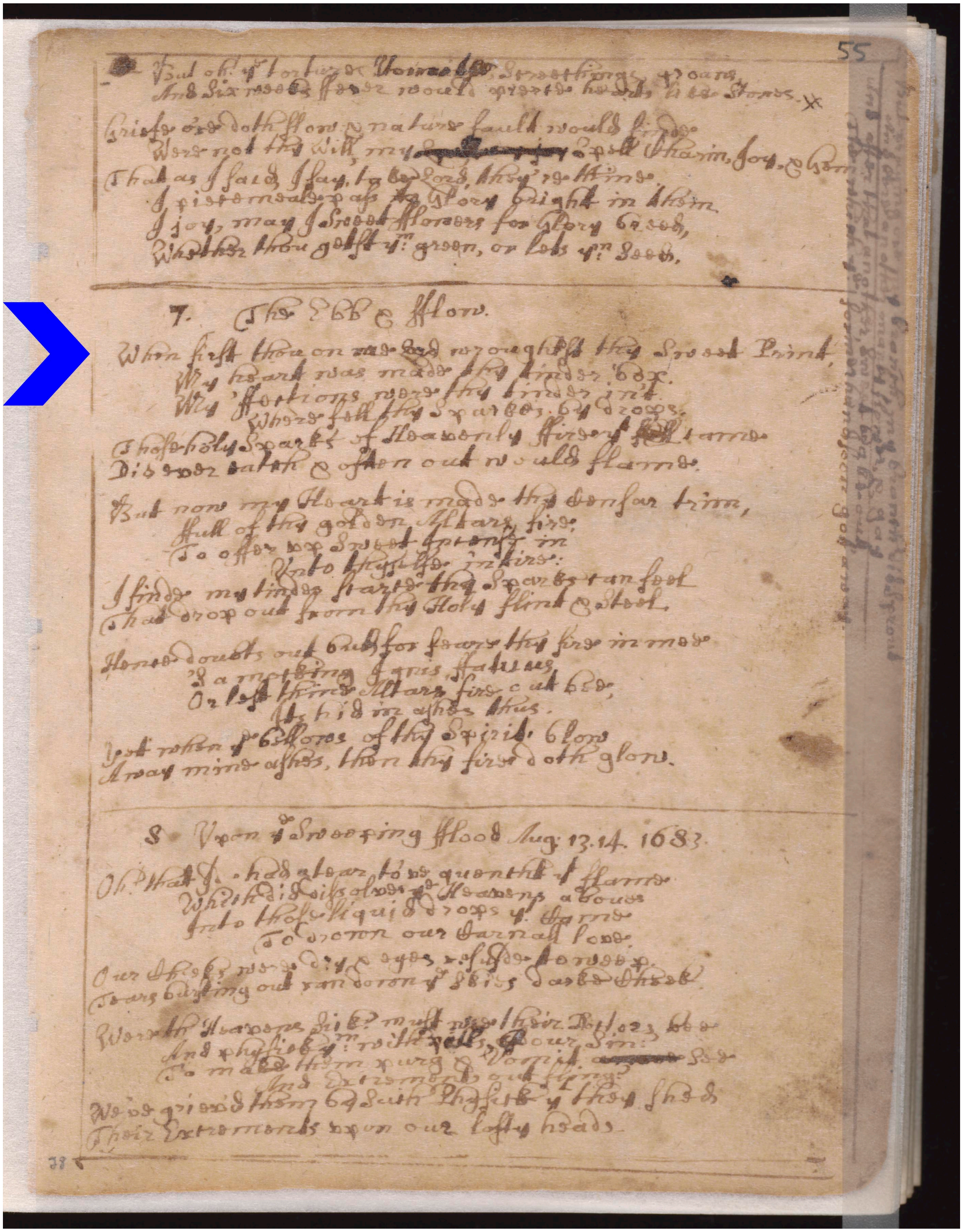


Figure 89. “Meditation 44. Joh. 1.14. The word was made Flesh” (1701), page 276, Edward Taylor, “Poetical Works” manuscript, n.d. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University



55

But oh! the tortures, Vomit, screechings, groans,
And six weeks fever would pierce hearts like stones. ✳

Griefe o're doth flow: & nature fault would finde
Were not thy Will, my [illegible] Spell Charm, Joy, & Gem:
That as I said, I say, take Lord, they're thine.
I piecemeale pass to Glory bright in them.
I joy, may I sweet Flowers for Glory breed,
Whether thou getst them green, or lets them seed.

7. The Ebb & Flow.

When first thou on me Lord wroughtst thy Sweet Print,
My heart was made thy tinder box.
My 'ffections were thy tinder in't.
Where fell thy Sparkes by drops.
Those holy Sparks of Heavenly fire that came
Did ever catch & often out would flame.

But now my Heart is made thy Censar trim,
Full of thy golden Altars fire,
To offer up Sweet Incense in
Unto thyselfe intire:
I finde my tinder scarce thy sparks can feel
That drop out from thy Holy flint & Steel.

Hence doubts out bud for feare thy fire in mee
'S a mocking Ignis Fatuus
Or lest thine Altars fire out bee,
It's hid in ashes thus.
Yet when the bellows of thy Spirit blow
Away mine ashes, then thy fire doth glow.

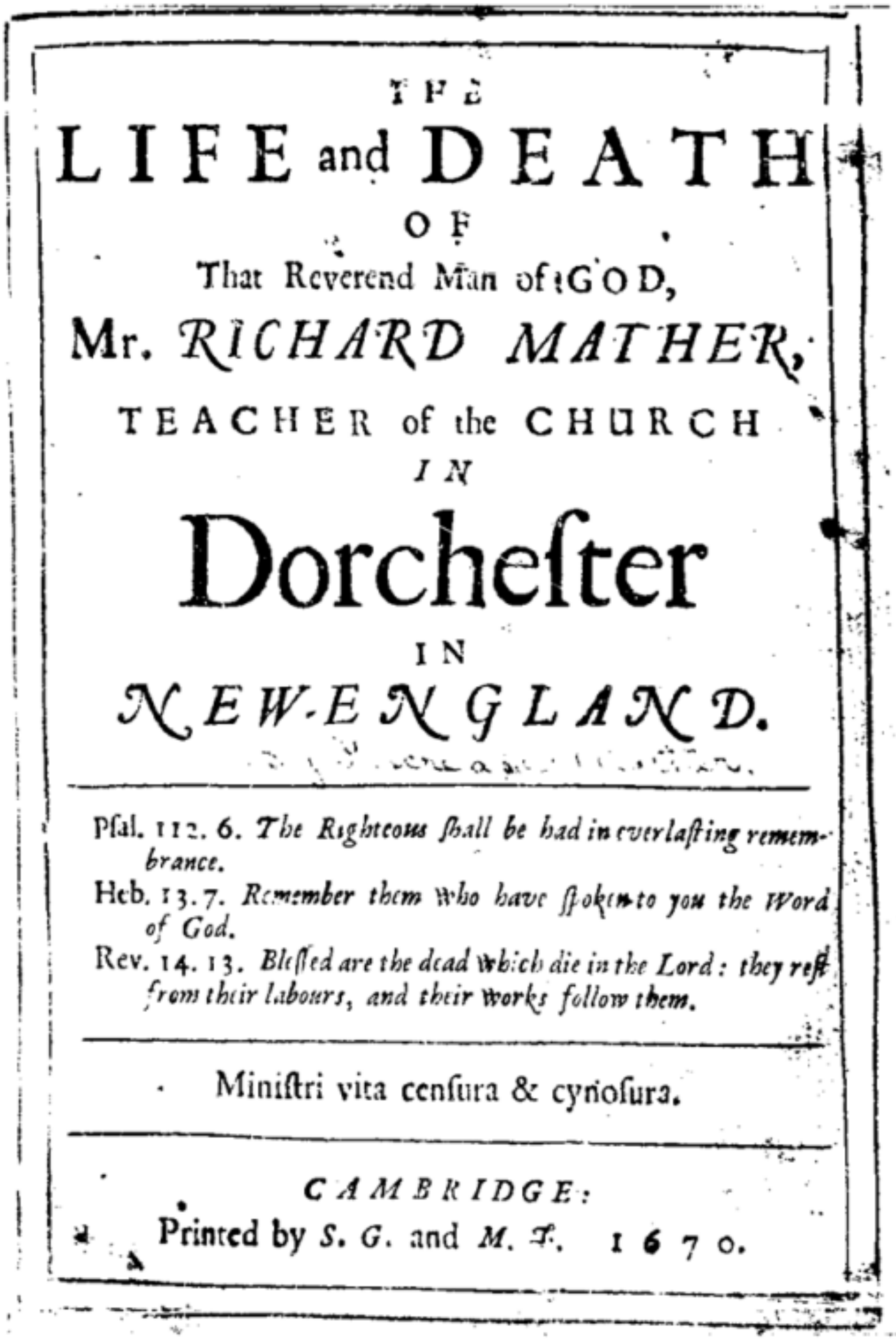
8. Upon the Sweeping Flood Aug: 13.14. 1683.

Oh! that I had a tear to've quencht that flame
Which did dissolve the Heavens above
Into those liquid drops that Came
To drown our Carnall love.
Our cheeks were dry & eyes refusde to weep.
Tears bursting out ran down the skies darke Cheek.

Were th'Heavens sick? must wee their Doctors bee
And physick them with pills, our sin?
To make them purg & Vomit, [illegible] see
And Excrements out fling?
We've griev'd them by such Physick that they shed
Their Excrements upon our lofty heads.

38

Figure 90. "The Ebb & Flow," (n.d.), page 55, Edward Taylor, "Poetical Works" manuscript, n.d. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University



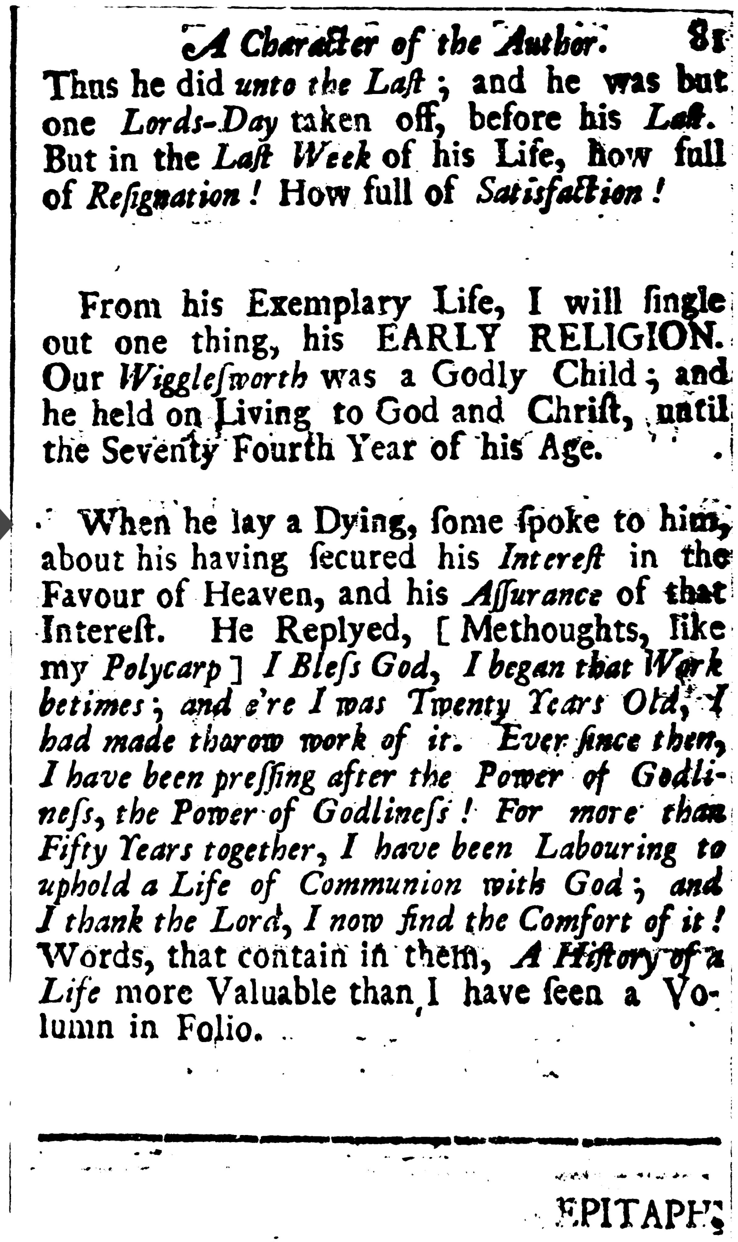
THE
LIFE and DEATH
OF
That Reverend Man of GOD,
Mr. RICHARD MATHER,
TEACHER of the CHURCH
IN
Dorcheſter
IN
NEW-ENGLAND.

Pſal. 112. 6. *The Righteous ſhall be had in everlaſting remembrance.*
Heb. 13.7. *Remember them who have ſpoken to you the Word of God.*
Rev. 14. 13. *Bleſſed are the dead which die in the Lord: they reſt from their labours, and their works follow them.*

Miniſtri vita cenſura & cynoſura.

CAMBRIDGE:
Printed by *S. G.* and *M. J.* 1670.

Figure 91. Title page, Increase Mather, *The Life and Death of that Reverend Man of God, Mr. Richard Mather*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1670. American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts



A Character of the Author. 81

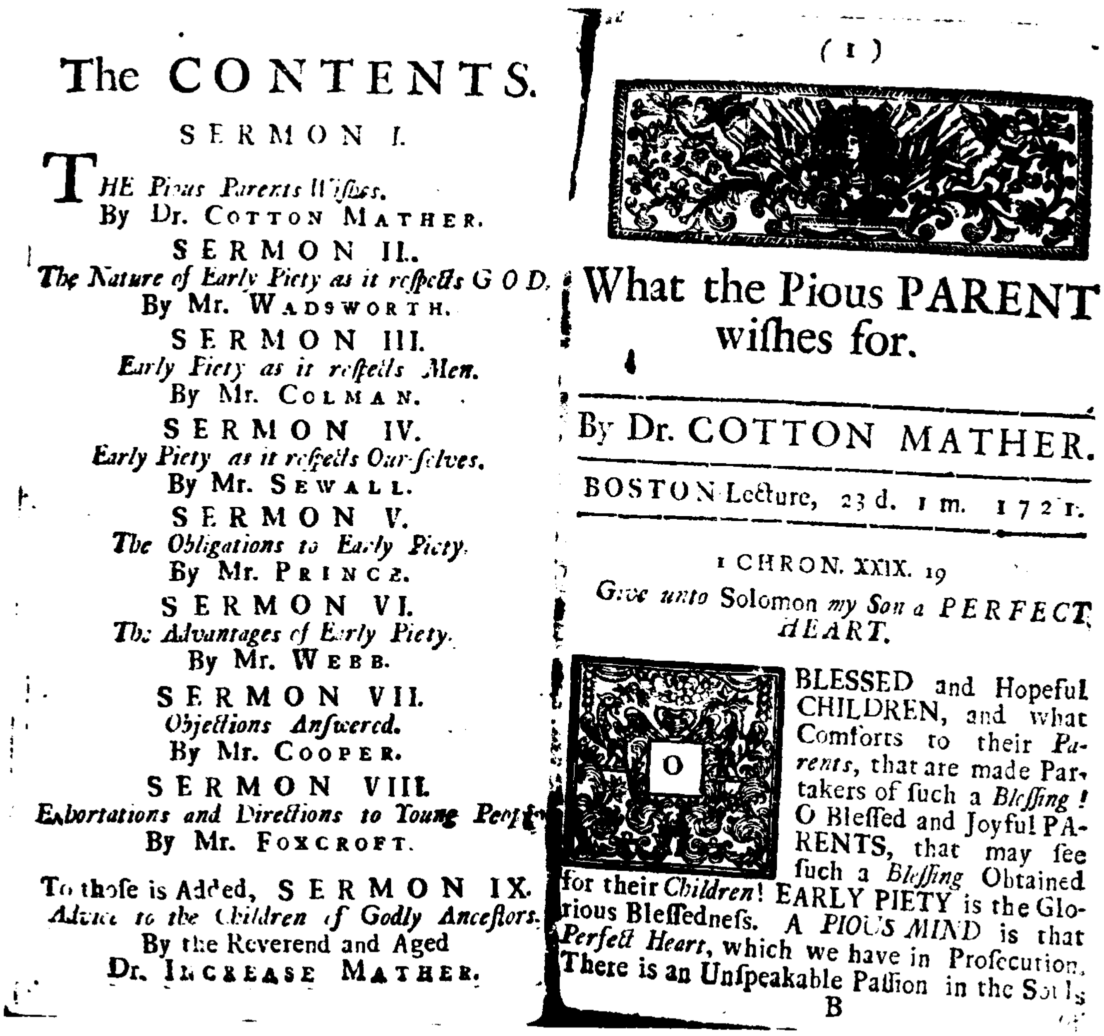
Thus he did *unto the Laſt*; and he was but one *Lords-Day* taken off, before his *Laſt*. But in the *Laſt Week* of his Life, how full of *Reſignation!* How full of *Satisfaction!*

From his Exemplary Life, I will ſingle out one thing, his EARLY RELIGION. Our *Wiggleſworth* was a Godly Child; and he held on Living to God and Chriſt, until the Seventy Fourth Year of his Age.

When he lay a Dying, ſome ſpoke to him, about his having ſecured his *Intereſt* in the Favour of Heaven, and his *Aſſurance* of that Intereſt. He Replyed, [Methoughts, like my *Polycarp*] *I Bleſs God, I began that Work betimes; and e're I was Twenty Years Old, I had made thorow work of it. Ever ſince then, I have been preſſing after the Power of Godlineſs, the Power of Godlineſs! For more than Fifty Years together, I have been Labouring to uphold a Life of Communion with God; and I thank the Lord, I now find the Comfort of it!* Words, that contain in them, *A Hiſtory of a Life* more Valuable than I have ſeen a Volumn in Folio.

EPITAPH;

Figure 92. Page 81, Cotton Mather, “A Character of the Author,” in Michael Wigglesworth, *The Day of Doom*, 6th edition, Boston, 1715. American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts



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By the Reverend and Aged
Dr. INCREASE MATHER.

(1)

What the Pious PARENT wiſhes for.

By Dr. COTTON MATHER.

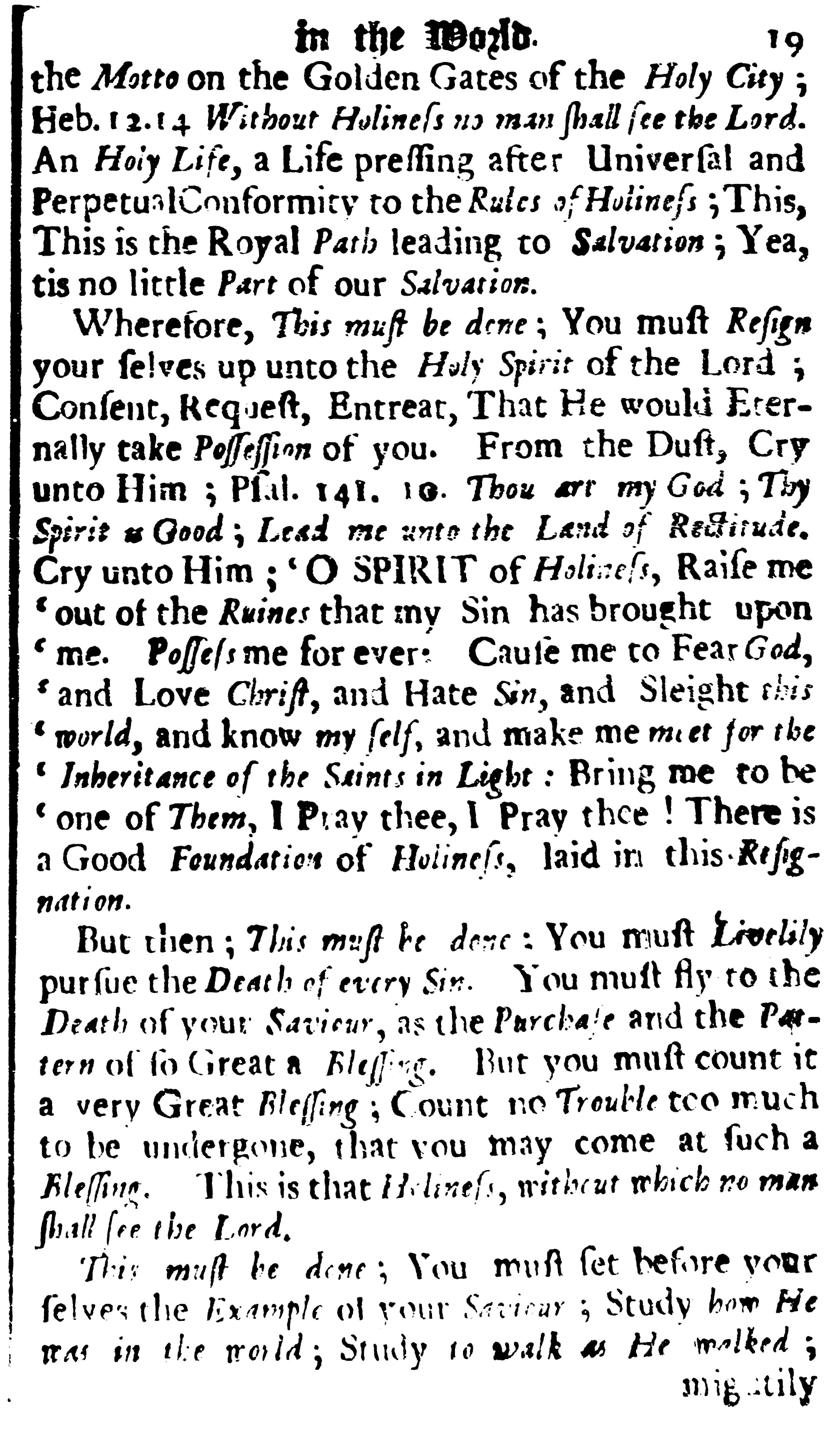
BOSTON Lecture, 23 d. 1 m. 1721.

1 CHRON. XXIX. 19
Give unto Solomon *my Son a* PERFECT HEART.

O BLESSED and Hopeful CHILDREN, and what Comforts to their *Parents*, that are made Partakers of ſuch a *Bleſſing!* O Bleſſed and Joyful PARENTS, that may ſee ſuch a *Bleſſing* Obtained for their *Children!* EARLY PIETY is the Glorious Bleſſedneſs. A *PIOUS MIND* is that *Perfect Heart*, which we have in Proſecution. There is an Unſpeakable Paſſion in the Souls

B

Figure 93. Table of contents and page 1, Cotton Mather, *The Pious Parents Wishes*, in *A Course of Sermons on Early Piety*, Boston, 1721. American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts



in the World. 19

the *Motto* on the Golden Gates of the *Holy City*; Heb. 12.14 *Without Holineſs no man ſhall ſee the Lord.* An *Holy Life*, a Life preſſing after Univerſal and Perpetual Conformity to the *Rules of Holineſs*; This, This is the Royal *Path* leading to *Salvation*; Yea, tis no little *Part* of our *Salvation.*

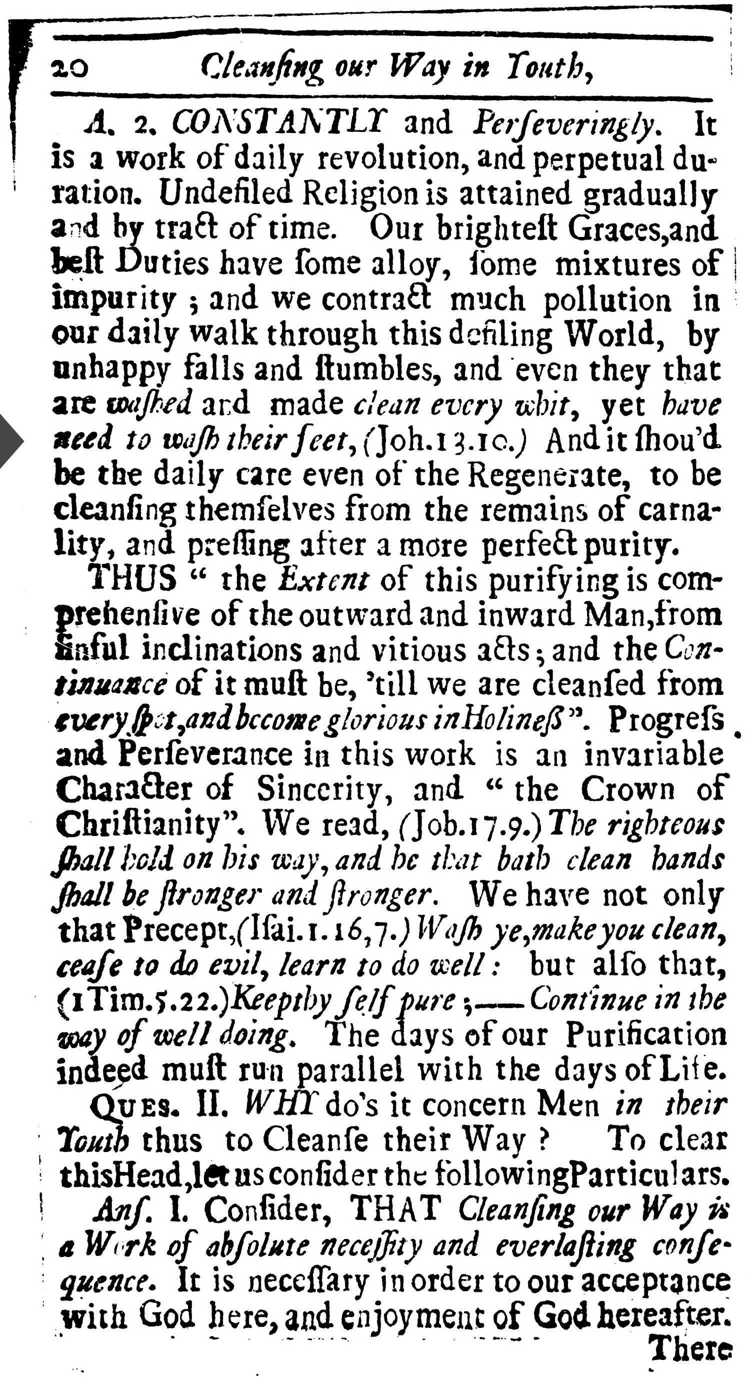
Wherefore, *This muſt be done*; You muſt *Reſign* your ſelves up unto the *Holy Spirit* of the Lord; Conſent, Requeſt, Entreat, That He would Eternally take *Poſſeſſion* of you. From the Duſt, Cry unto Him; Pſal. 141. 10. *Thou art my God; Thy Spirit is Good; Lead me unto the Land of Rectitude.* Cry unto Him; 'O SPIRIT of *Holineſs*, Raiſe me 'out of the *Ruines* that my Sin has brought upon 'me. *Poſſeſs* me for ever: Cauſe me to Fear *God*, 'and Love *Chriſt*, and Hate *Sin*, and Sleight *this* '*world*, and know *my ſelf*, and make me *meet for the* '*Inheritance of the Saints in Light*: Bring me to be 'one of *Them*, I Pray thee, I Pray thee! There is a Good *Foundation* of *Holineſs*, laid in this *Reſignation.*

But then; *This muſt be done*: You muſt *Livelily* purſue the *Death of every Sin.* You muſt fly to the *Death* of your *Saviour*, as the *Purchaſe* and the *Pattern* of ſo Great a *Bleſſing.* But you muſt count it a very Great *Bleſſing*; Count no *Trouble* too much to be undergone, that you may come at ſuch a *Bleſſing.* This is that *Holineſs, without which no man ſhall ſee the Lord.*

This muſt be done; You muſt ſet before your ſelves the *Example* of your *Saviour*; Study *how He was in the world*; Study *to walk as He walked*;

mightily

Figure 94. Page 19, Cotton Mather, *The Greatest Concern in the World*, 2nd edition, Boston, 1718. “WL Library”



20 *Cleanſing our Way in Youth,*

A. 2. *CONSTANTLY* and *Perſeveringly.* It is a work of daily revolution, and perpetual duration. Undefiled Religion is attained gradually and by tract of time. Our brighteſt Graces, and beſt Duties have ſome alloy, ſome mixtures of impurity; and we contract much pollution in our daily walk through this defiling World, by unhappy falls and ſtumbles, and even they that are *waſhed* and made *clean every whit*, yet *have need to waſh their feet*, (Joh.13.10.) And it ſhou'd be the daily care even of the Regenerate, to be cleanſing themſelves from the remains of carnality, and preſſing after a more perfect purity.

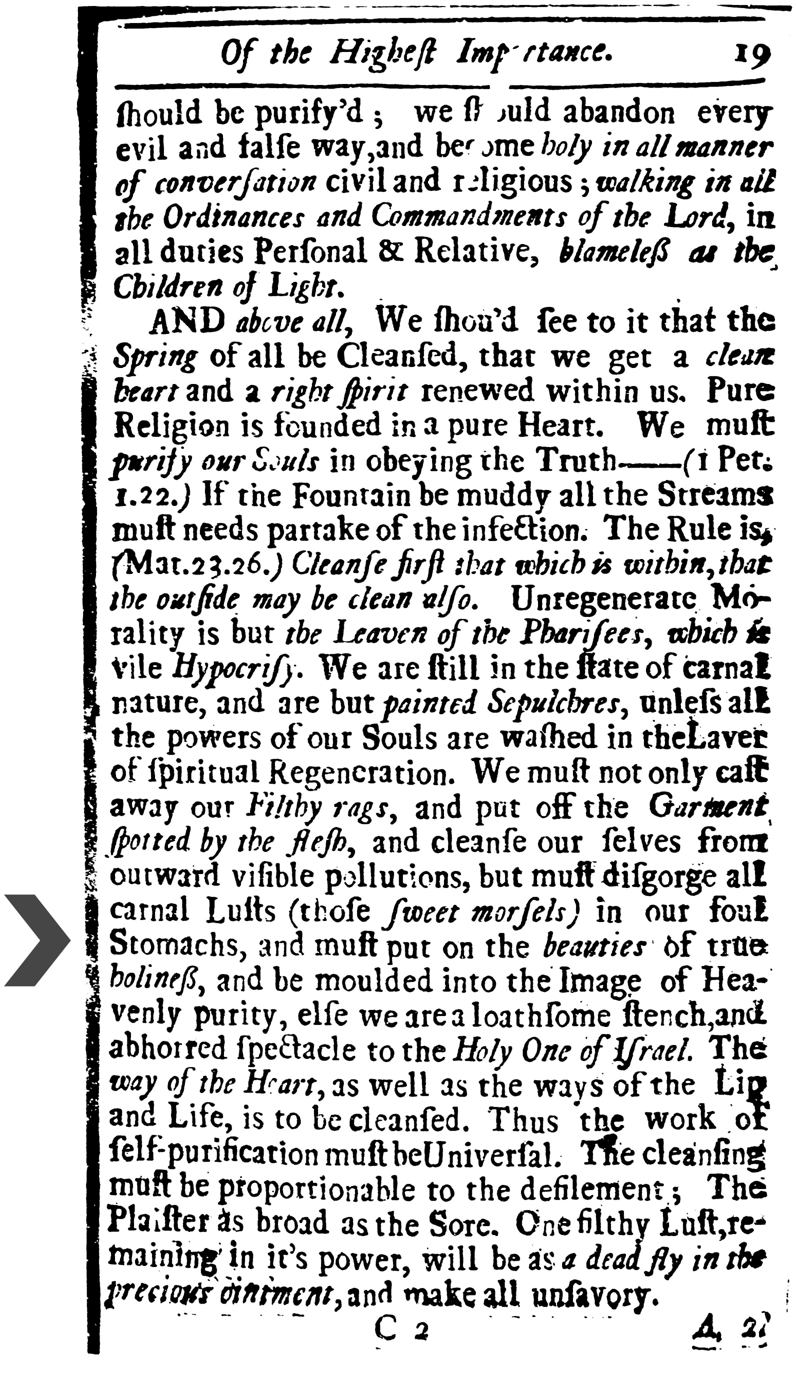
THUS " the *Extent* of this purifying is comprehenſive of the outward and inward Man, from ſinful inclinations and vitious acts; and the *Continuance* of it muſt be, 'till we are cleanſed from *every ſpot, and become glorious in Holineſs*". Progreſs and Perſeverance in this work is an invariable Character of Sincerity, and " the Crown of Chriſtianity". We read, (Job.17.9.) *The righteous ſhall hold on his way, and he that hath clean hands ſhall be ſtronger and ſtronger.* We have not only that Precept, (Iſai.1.16,7.) *Waſh ye, make you clean, ceaſe to do evil, learn to do well:* but alſo that, (1Tim.5.22.) *Keep thy ſelf pure*;—— *Continue in the way of well doing.* The days of our Purification indeed muſt run parallel with the days of Life.

QUES. II. *WHY* do's it concern Men *in their Youth* thus to Cleanſe their Way? To clear this Head, let us conſider the following Particulars.

Anſ. I. Conſider, THAT *Cleanſing our Way is a Work of abſolute neceſſity and everlaſting conſequence.* It is neceſſary in order to our acceptance with God here, and enjoyment of God hereafter.

There

Figure 95. Page 20, Thomas Foxcroft, *Cleansing Our Way in Youth Press'd…*, Boston, 1719. American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts



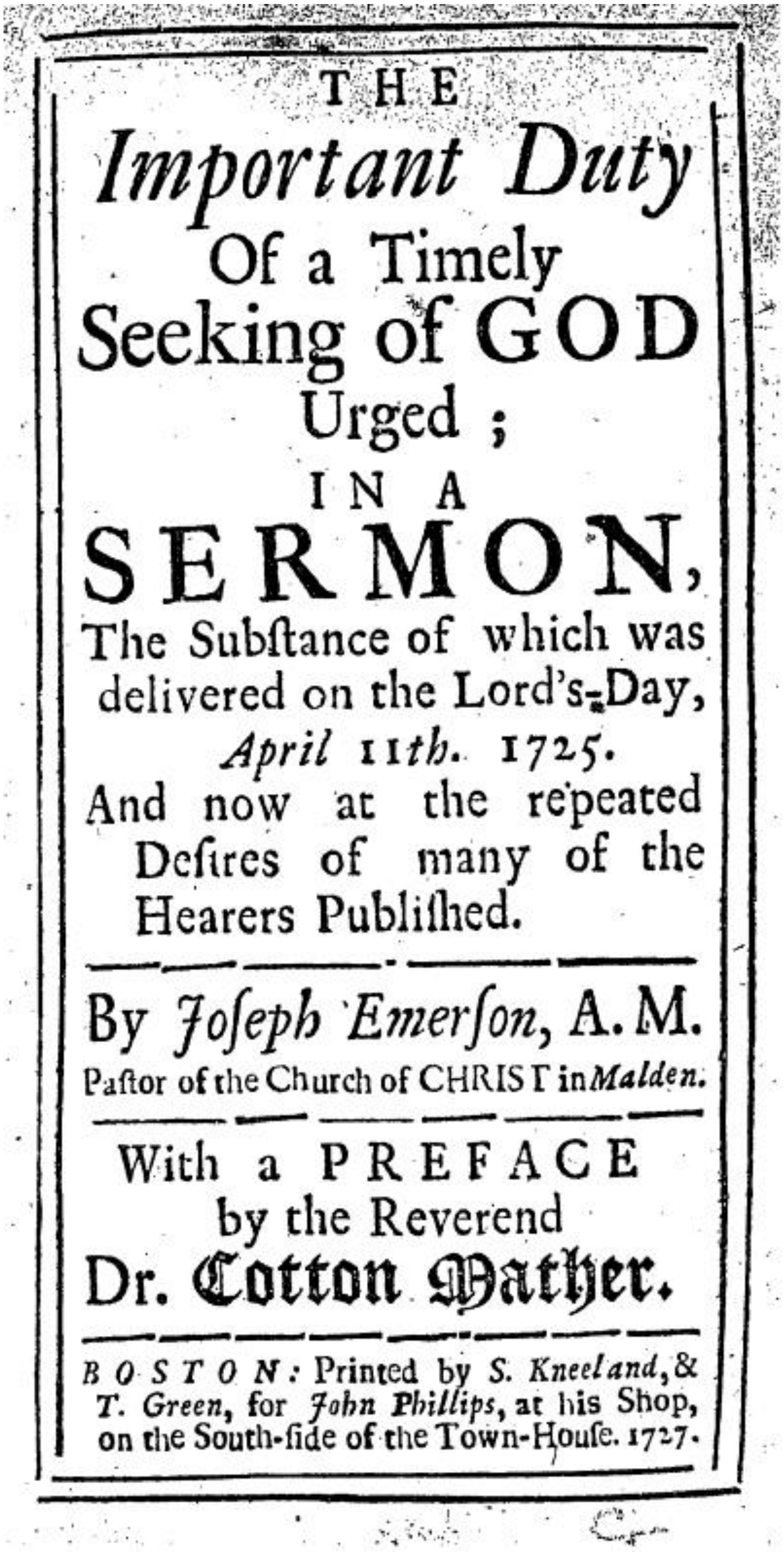
Of the Higheſt Importance. 19

ſhould be purify'd ; we ſhould abandon every evil and falſe way,and become *holy in all manner of converſation* civil and religious ; *walking in all the Ordinances and Commandments of the Lord*, in all duties Perſonal & Relative, *blameleſs as the Children of Light.*

AND *above all*, We ſhou'd ſee to it that the *Spring* of all be Cleanſed, that we get a *clean heart* and a *right ſpirit* renewed within us. Pure Religion is founded in a pure Heart. We muſt *purify our Souls* in obeying the Truth——(1 Pet. 1.22.) If the Fountain be muddy all the Streams muſt needs partake of the infection. The Rule is, (Mat.23.26.) *Cleanſe firſt that which is within, that the outſide may be clean alſo.* Unregenerate Morality is but *the Leaven of the Phariſees, which is* vile *Hypocriſy*. We are ſtill in the ſtate of carnal nature, and are but *painted Sepulchres*, unleſs all the powers of our Souls are waſhed in the Laver of ſpiritual Regeneration. We muſt not only caſt away our *Filthy rags*, and put off the *Garment ſpotted by the fleſh*, and cleanſe our ſelves from outward viſible pollutions, but muſt diſgorge all carnal Luſts (thoſe *ſweet morſels*) in our foul Stomachs, and muſt put on the *beauties* of true *holineſs*, and be moulded into the Image of Heavenly purity, elſe we are a loathſome ſtench, and abhorred ſpectacle to the *Holy One of Iſrael.* The *way of the Heart*, as well as the ways of the Lip and Life, is to be cleanſed. Thus the work of ſelf-purification muſt be Univerſal. The cleanſing muſt be proportionable to the defilement ; The Plaiſter as broad as the Sore. One filthy Luſt, remaining in it's power, will be as *a dead fly in the precious ointment*, and make all unſavory.

C 2 A

Figure 96. Page 19, Thomas Foxcroft, *Cleansing Our Way in Youth Press'd…*, Boston, 1719. American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts



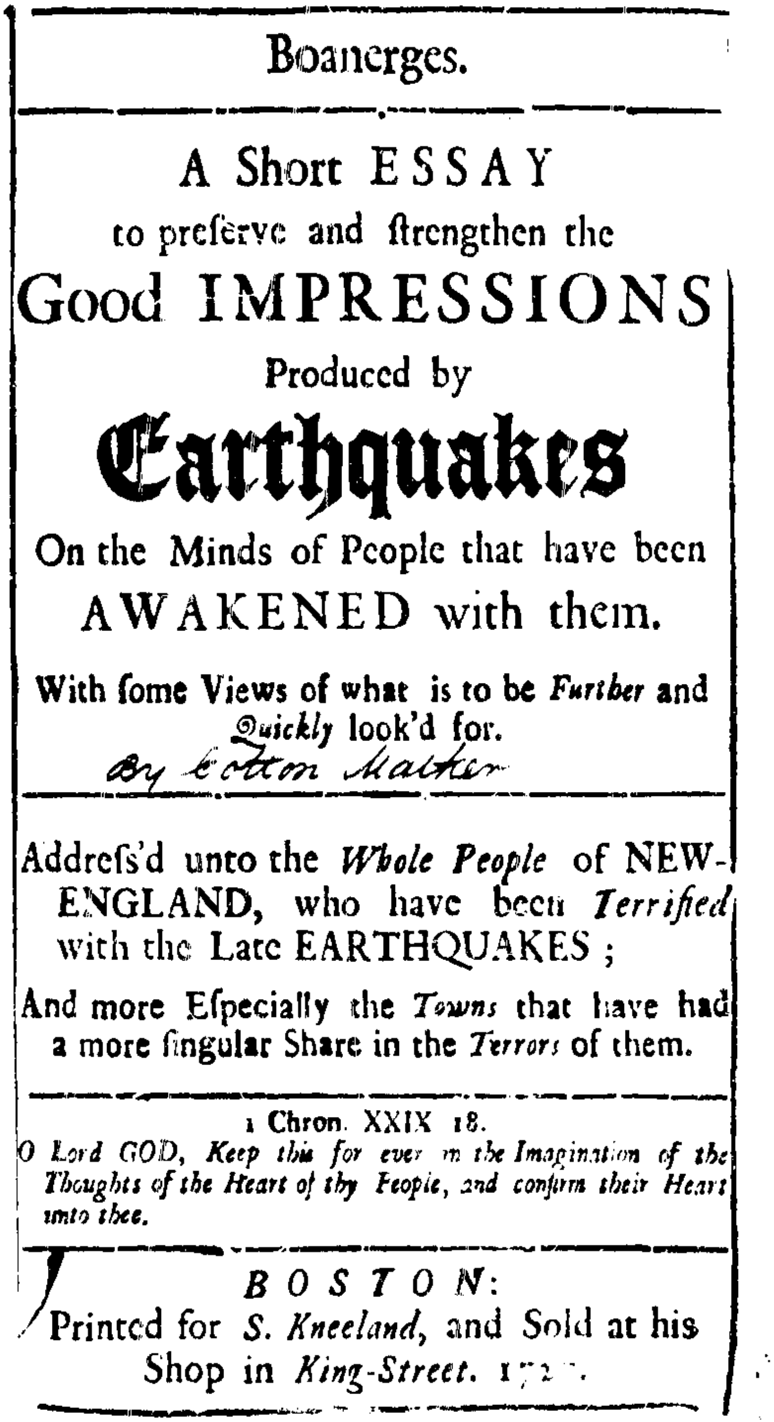
THE
Important Duty
Of a Timely
Seeking of GOD
Urged ;
IN A
SERMON,
The Subſtance of which was
delivered on the Lord's-Day,
April 11*th*. 1725.
And now at the repeated
Deſires of many of the
Hearers Publiſhed.

By *Joſeph Emerſon*, A.M.
Paſtor of the Church of CHRIST in *Malden*.

With a PREFACE
by the Reverend
Dr. Cotton Mather.

BOSTON: Printed by *S. Kneeland*, &
T. Green, for *John Phillips*, at his Shop,
on the South-ſide of the Town-Houſe. 1727.

Figure 97. Title page, Joseph Emerson, *The Important Duty of a Timely Seeking of God Urged*, Boston, 1727. Boston Public Library



Boanerges.

A Short ESSAY
to preſerve and ſtrengthen the
Good IMPRESSIONS
Produced by
Earthquakes
On the Minds of People that have been
AWAKENED with them.

With ſome Views of what is to be *Further* and
Quickly look'd for.

By Cotton Mather

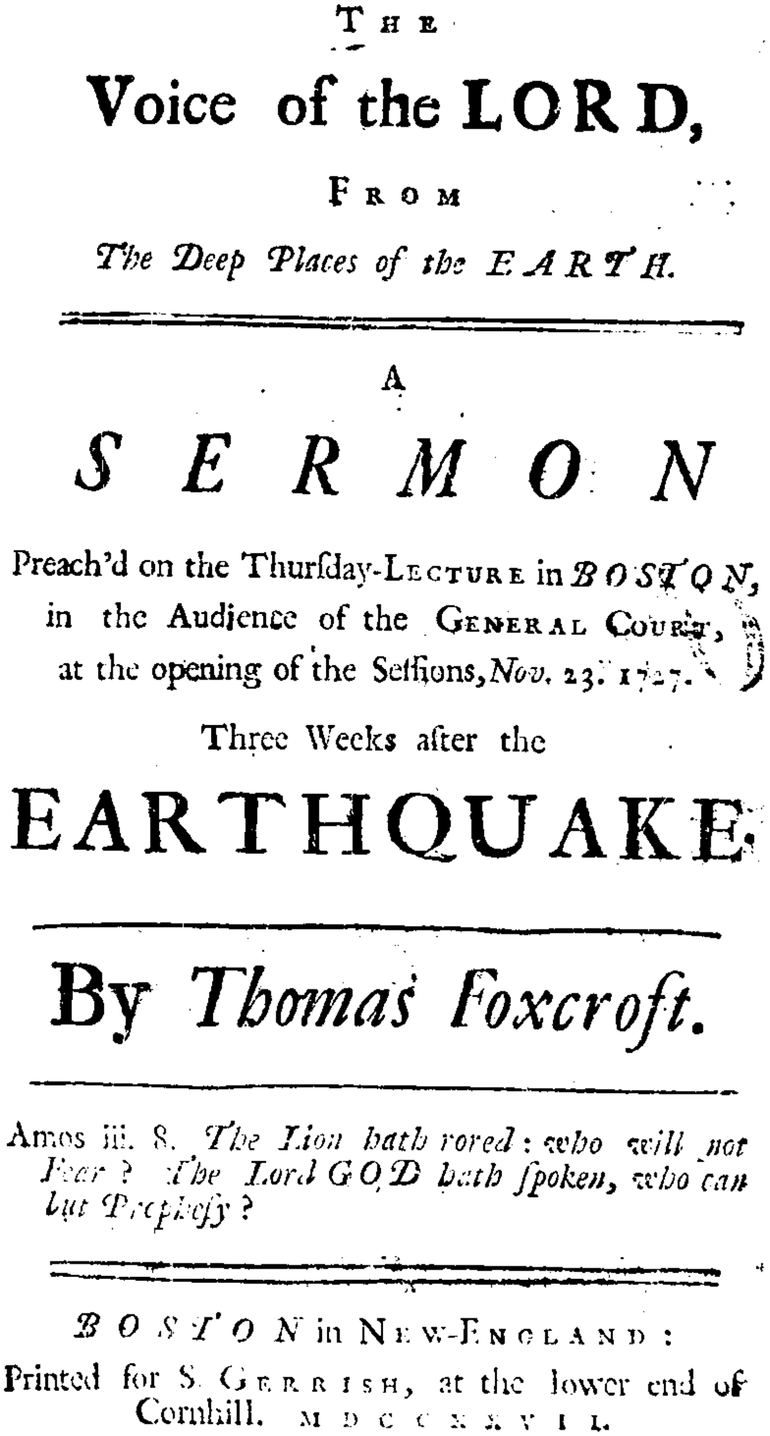
Addreſs'd unto the *Whole People* of NEW-
ENGLAND, who have been *Terrified*
with the Late EARTHQUAKES;

And more Eſpecially the *Towns* that have had
a more ſingular Share in the *Terrors* of them.

1 Chron. XXIX 18.
O Lord GOD, Keep this for ever in the Imagination of the Thoughts of the Heart of thy People, and confirm their Heart unto thee.

BOSTON:
Printed for *S. Kneeland*, and Sold at his
Shop in *King-Street*. 172[illegible].

Figure 98. Title page, Cotton Mather, *Boanerges*, Boston, 1727. American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts



THE

Voice of the LORD,

FROM

The Deep Places of the EARTH.

A

SERMON

Preach'd on the Thurſday-LECTURE in *BOSTON*,
in the Audience of the GENERAL COURT,
at the opening of the Seſſions, *Nov.* 23. 1727.
Three Weeks after the

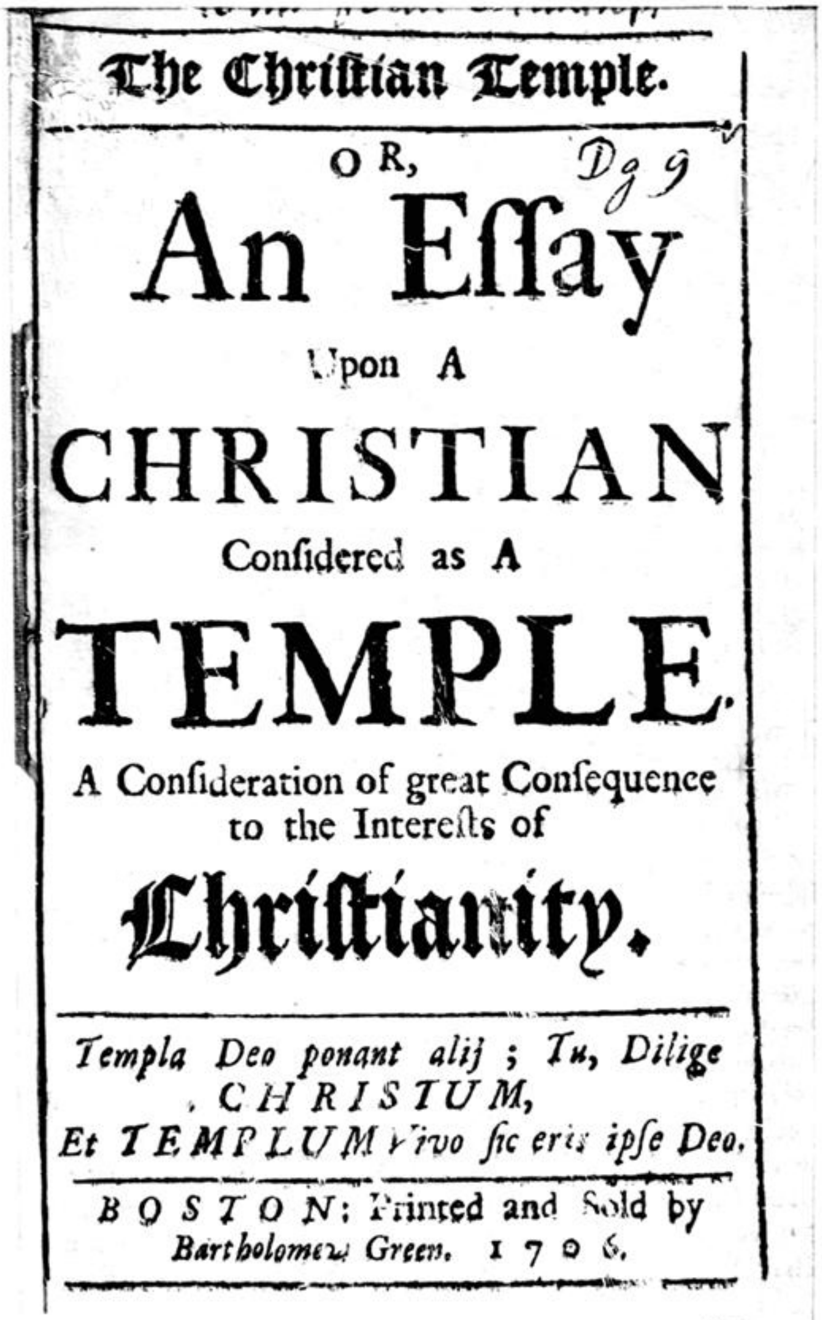
EARTHQUAKE.

By *Thomas Foxcroft.*

Amos iii. 8. *The Lion hath rored: who will not Fear? The Lord GOD hath ſpoken, who can but Prophecy?*

BOSTON in NEW-ENGLAND:
Printed for S. GERRISH, at the lower end of
Cornhill. MDCCXXVII.

Figure 99. Title page, Thomas Foxcroft, *The Voice of the Lord, from the Deep Places of the Earth*, Boston, 1727. American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts



The Chriſtian Temple.

OR,

An Eſſay

Upon A

CHRISTIAN

Conſidered as A

TEMPLE.

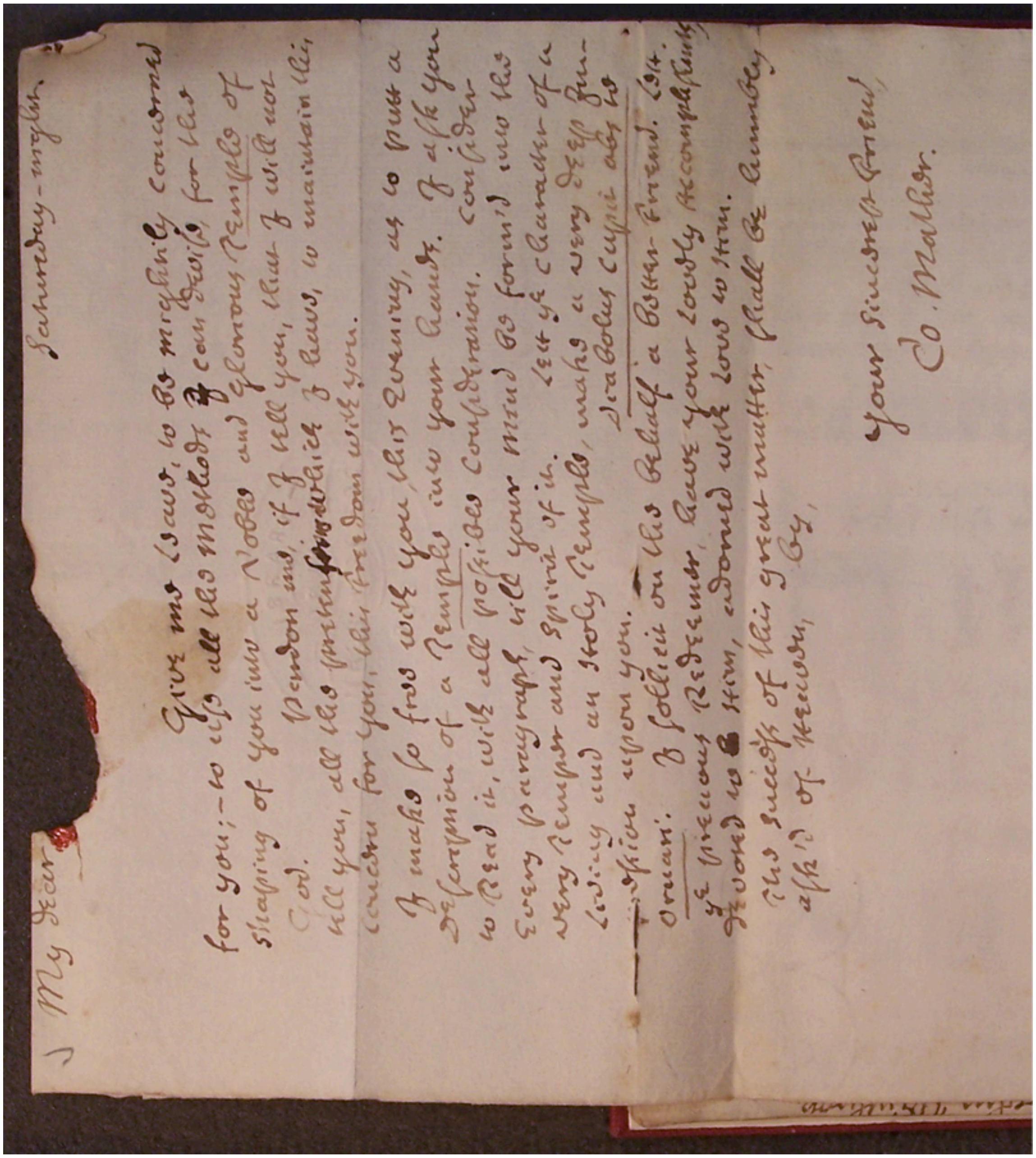
A Conſideration of great Conſequence
to the Intereſts of

Chriſtianity.

Templa Deo ponant alij ; Tu, Dilige
CHRISTUM,
Et TEMPLUM Vivo ſic eris ipſe Deo.

BOSTON: Printed and Sold by
Bartholomew Green. 1706.

Figure 100. Title page, Cotton Mather, *The Christian Temple*, Boston, 1706.
Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston



My dear

Saturday-night.

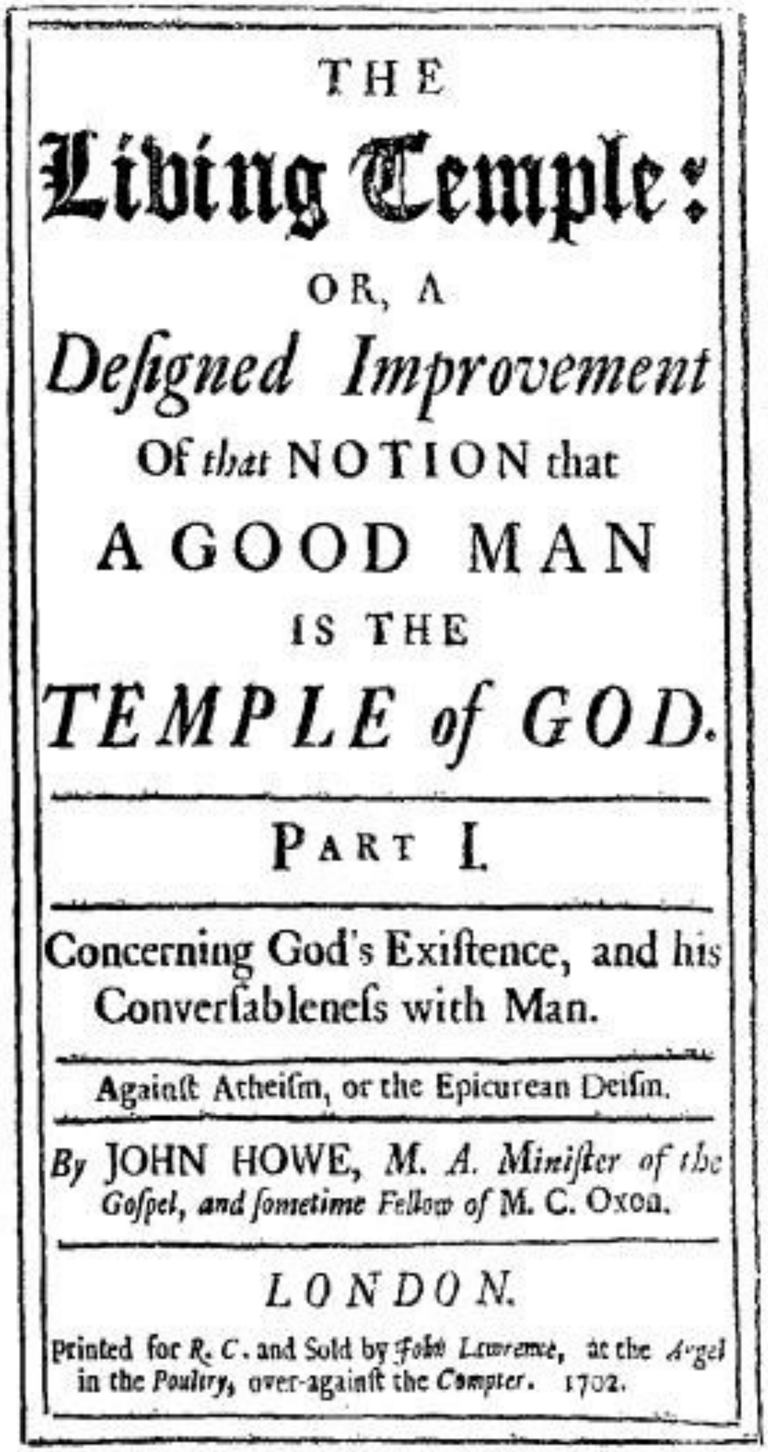
Give me leave, to be mightily concerned for you; – to use all the methods I can devise, for the shaping of you into a Noble and Glorious Temple of God. Pardon me, if I tell you, that I will not tell you, all the pretensions which I have, to maintain this concern for you, this freedom with you.

I make so free with you, this Evening, as to putt a Description of a Temple into your hands. I ask you to Read it, with all possible Consideration. Consider every paragraph, till your mind be form'd into the very Temper and Spirit of it. Lett ye Character of a Living and an Holy Temple, make a very deep Impression upon you. Diabolus cupit aedes ornari. I sollicit on the behalf a better Friend. Let ye precious Redeemer, have your Lovely Accomplishments, Devoted to Him, adorned with Love to Him.

The success of this great matter, shall be humbly ask'd of Heaven, by,

Your Sincerest Friend,
Co. Mather.

Figure 101. Letter, 1706/7, from Cotton Mather to “John Winthrop,” bound into a copy of *The Christian Temple*, Boston, 1706. Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston



THE
Living Temple:
OR, A
Deſigned Improvement
Of *that* NOTION that
A GOOD MAN
IS THE
TEMPLE of GOD.

PART I.

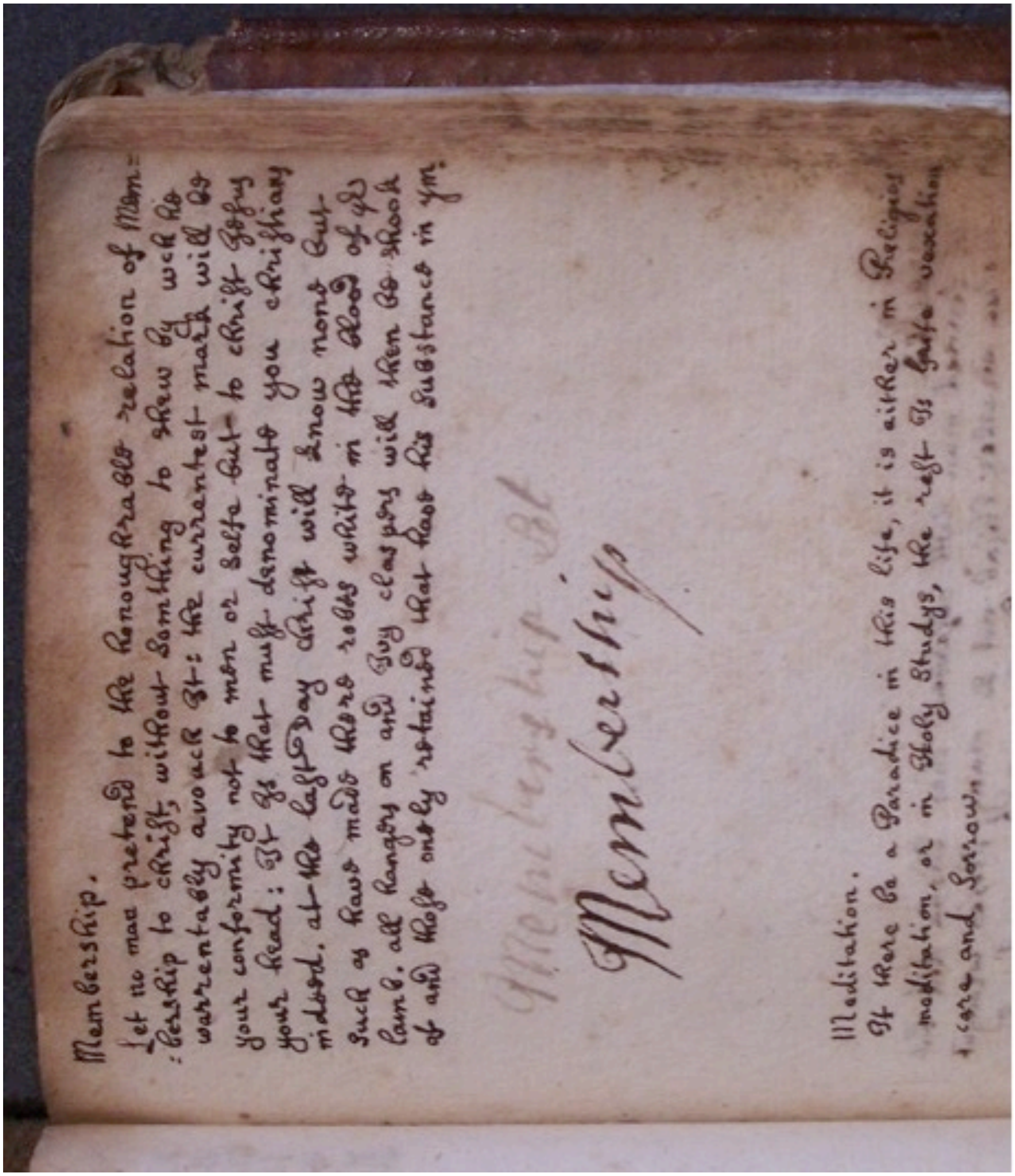
Concerning God's Exiſtence, and his
Converſableneſs with Man.

Againſt Atheiſm, or the Epicurean Deiſm.

By JOHN HOWE, *M. A. Miniſter of the
Goſpel, and ſometime Fellow of* M. C. Oxon.

LONDON.
Printed for *R. C.* and Sold by *John Lawrence*, at the *Angel*
in the *Poultry*, over-againſt the *Compter*. 1702.

Figure 102. Title page, John Howe, *The Living Temple: or, A Designed Improvement of that Notion that a Good Man Is the Temple of God*, Part 1, London, 1702. John Rylands University Library of Manchester, Manchester, UK



Membership.

Let no man pretend to the honourable relation of Membership to christ, without somthing to shew by wch he warrentably avouch It: the currentest mark will be your conformity not to men or selfe but to christ Jesus your head: It is that must denominate you christians indeed. at the last Day christ will know none but such as have made there robes white in the blood of ye lamb. all hangers on and Ivy claspers will then be shook of and those only retained that have his substance in ym.

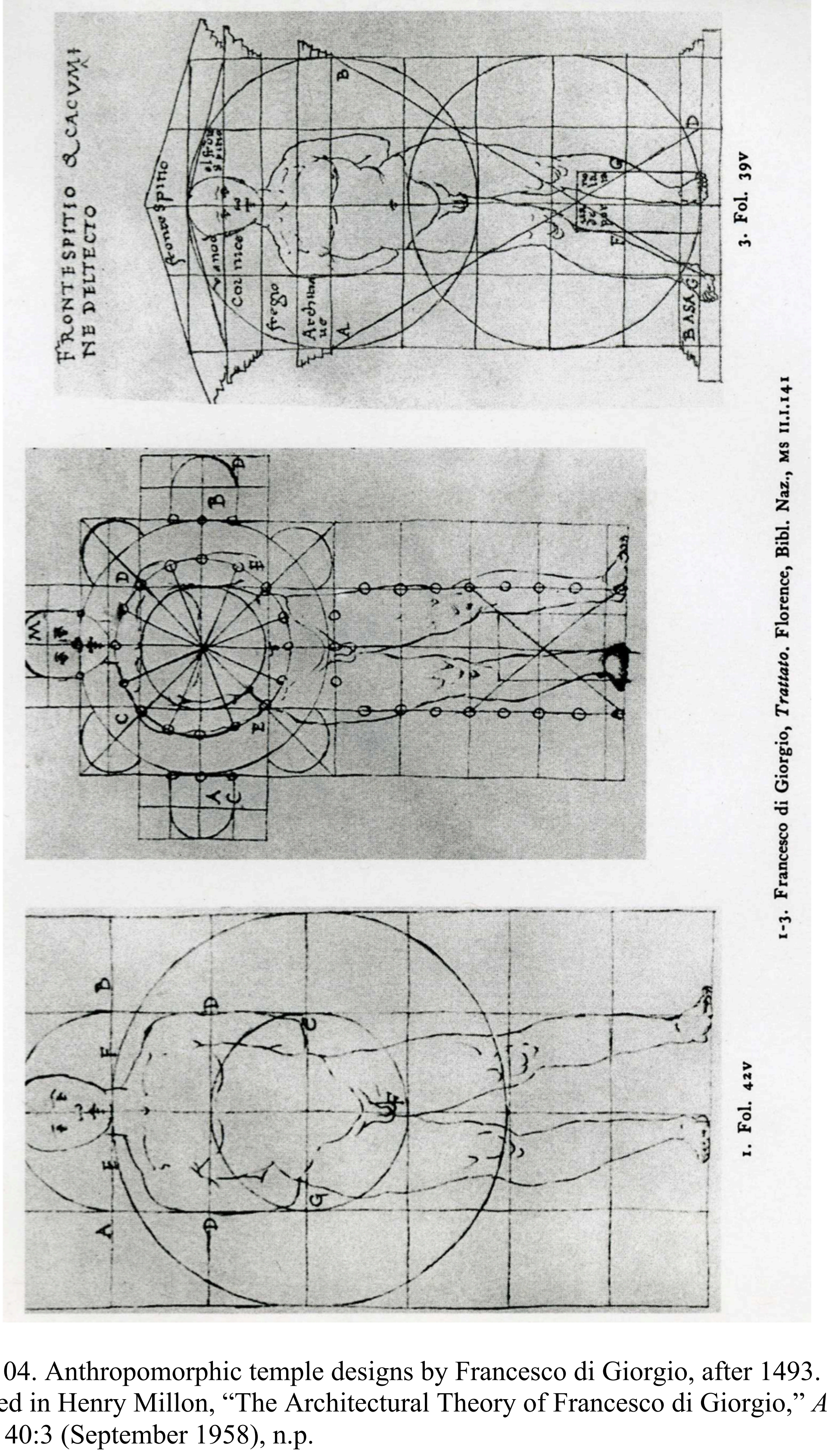
Membership It

Membership

Meditation.

If there be a Paradice in this life, it is either in Religious meditation, or in Holy Studys, the rest Is but vexation care and Sorrow.

Figure 103. "M" page (detail), Joseph Belcher commonplace-book, 1688-1723. Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston



1. Fol. 42v

3. Fol. 39v

1-3. Francesco di Giorgio, *Trattato*. Florence, Bibl. Naz., MS II.I.141

Figure 104. Anthropomorphic temple designs by Francesco di Giorgio, after 1493. Illustrated in Henry Millon, "The Architectural Theory of Francesco di Giorgio," *Art Bulletin* 40:3 (September 1958), n.p.

Figure 105. Francesco di Giorgio, Santa Maria del Calcinaio, 1485. Near Cortona, Italy; view looking south

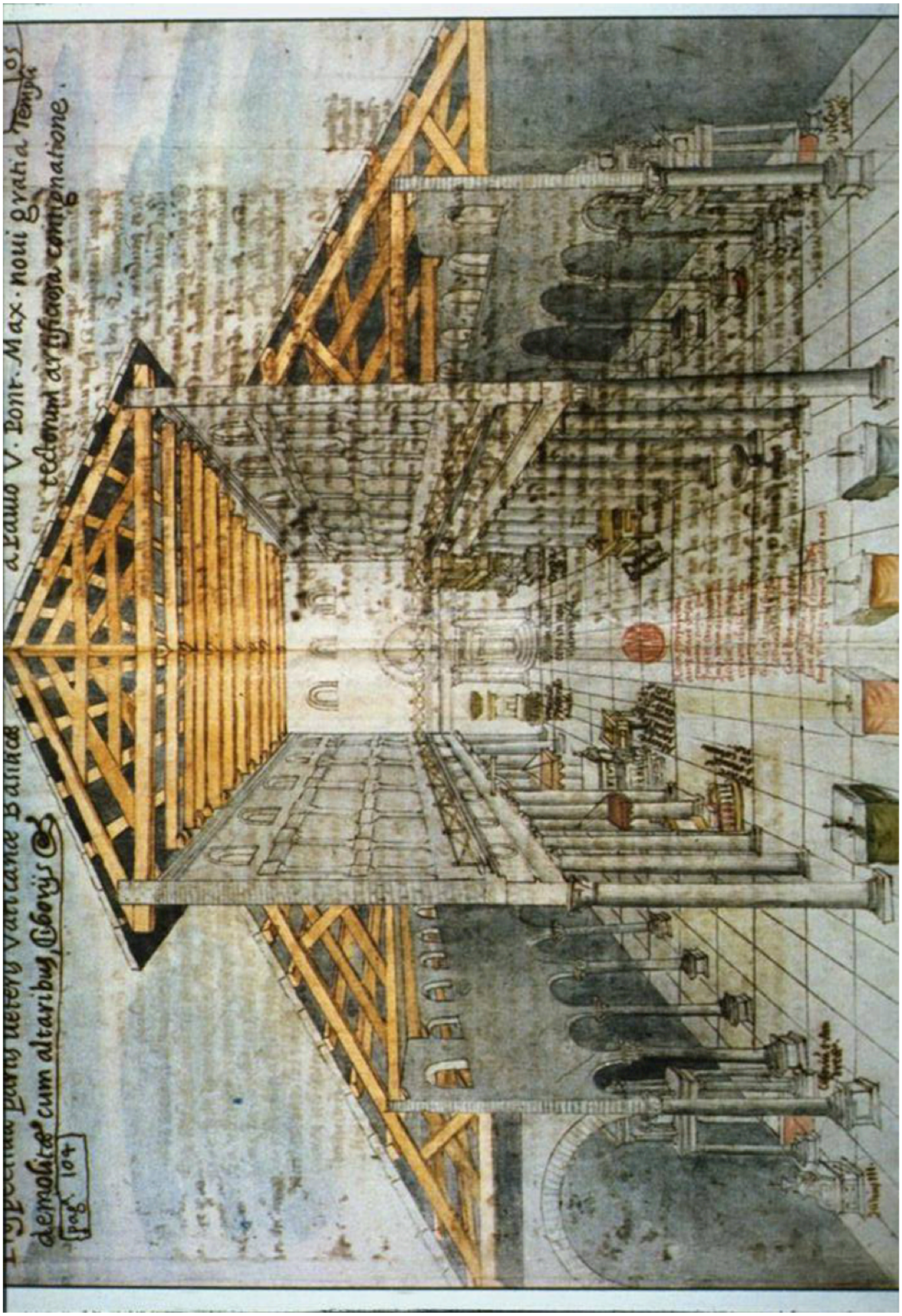
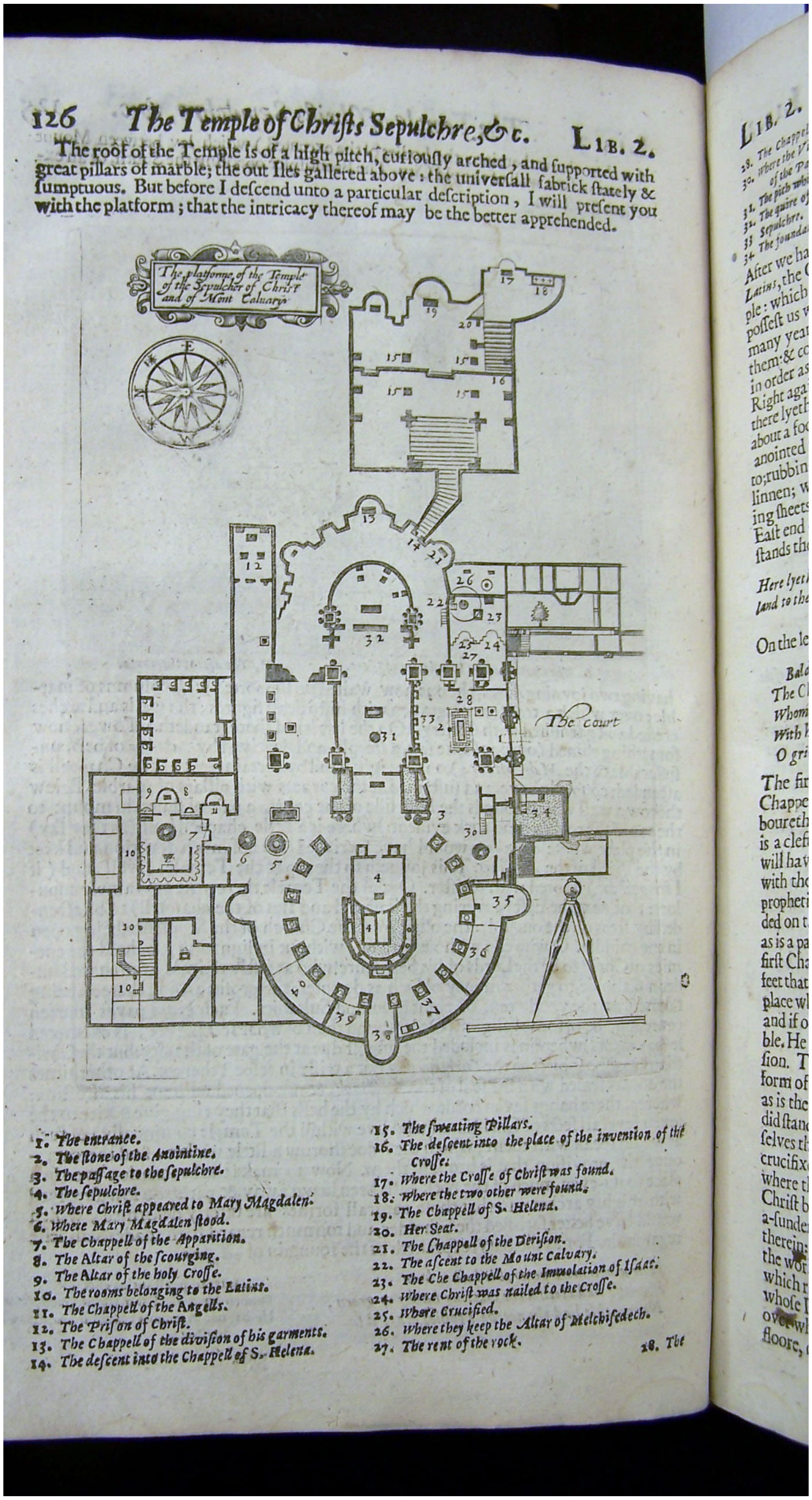


Figure 106. Domenico Tasselli, View of Old Saint Peter’s Basilica, Rome, ca. 1605; building started ca. 326-333. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome



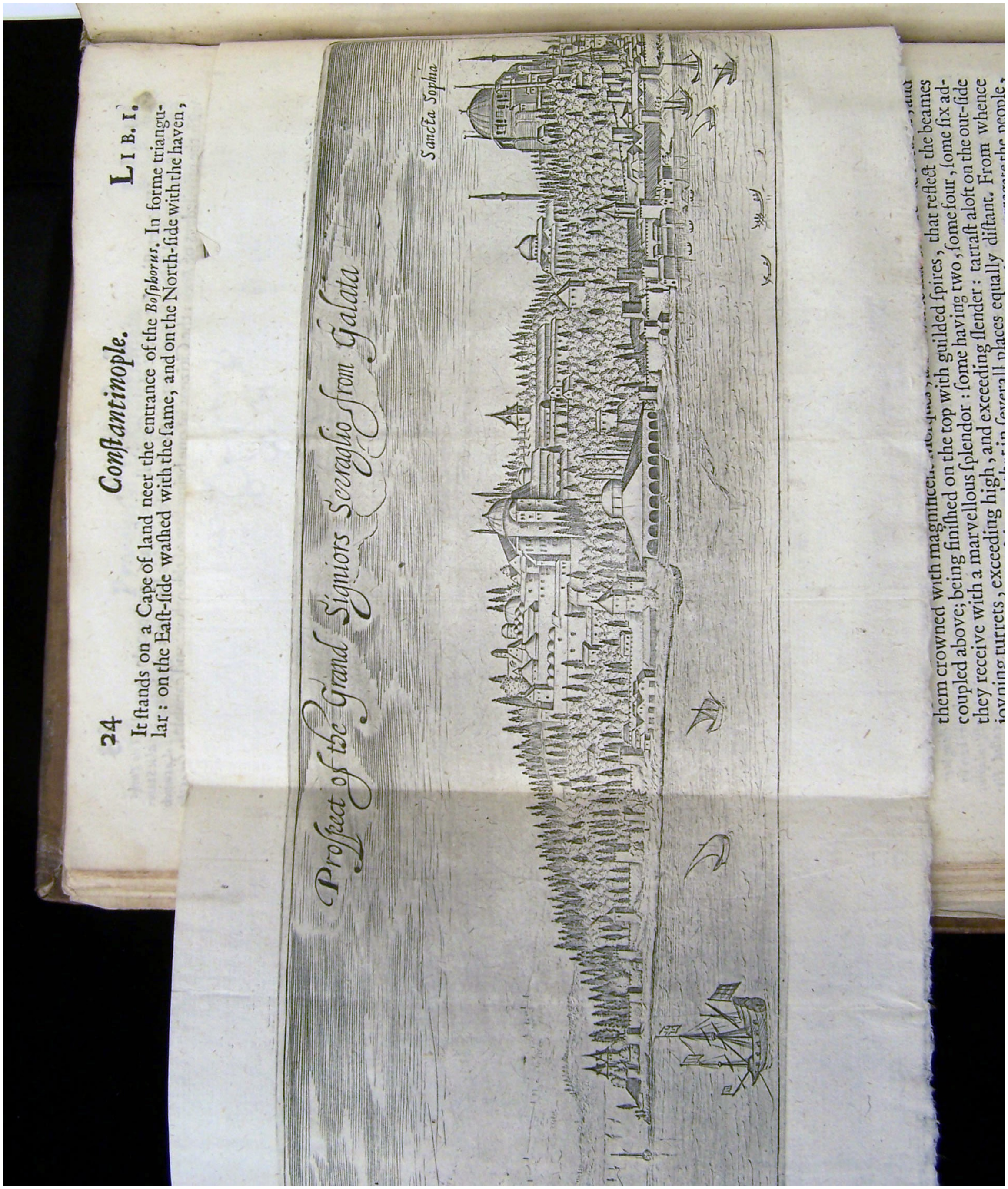
126 *The Temple of Chriſts Sepulchre, &c.* LIB. 2.

The roof of the Temple is of a high pitch, curiouſly arched, and ſupported with great pillars of marble; the out Iles gallered above: the univerſall fabrick ſtately & ſumptuous. But before I deſcend unto a particular deſcription, I will preſent you with the platform; that the intricacy thereof may be the better apprehended.

1. *The entrance.*
2. *The ſtone of the Anointine.*
3. *The paſſage to the ſepulchre.*
4. *The ſepulchre.*
5. *Where Chriſt appeared to Mary Magdalen.*
6. *Where Mary Magdalen ſtood.*
7. *The Chappell of the Apparition.*
8. *The Altar of the ſcourging.*
9. *The Altar of the holy Croſſe.*
10. *The rooms belonging to the Latins.*
11. *The Chappell of the Angells.*
12. *The Priſon of Chriſt.*
13. *The Chappell of the diviſion of his garments.*
14. *The deſcent into the Chappell of S. Helena.*
15. *The ſweating Pillars.*
16. *The deſcent into the place of the invention of the Croſſe.*
17. *Where the Croſſe of Chriſt was found.*
18. *Where the two other were found.*
19. *The Chappell of S. Helena.*
20. *Her Seat.*
21. *The Chappell of the Deriſion.*
22. *The aſcent to the Mount Calvary.*
23. *The Che Chappell of the Immolation of Iſaac.*
24. *Where Chriſt was nailed to the Croſſe.*
25. *Where Crucified.*
26. *Where they keep the Altar of Melchiſedech.*
27. *The rent of the rock.*

28. *The*

Figure 107. “The Temple of Christs Sepulchre, &c.,” Book 2, page 126, George Sandys, *Sandys Travailes*, 6th edition, London, 1658. Huntington Library, San Marino, California

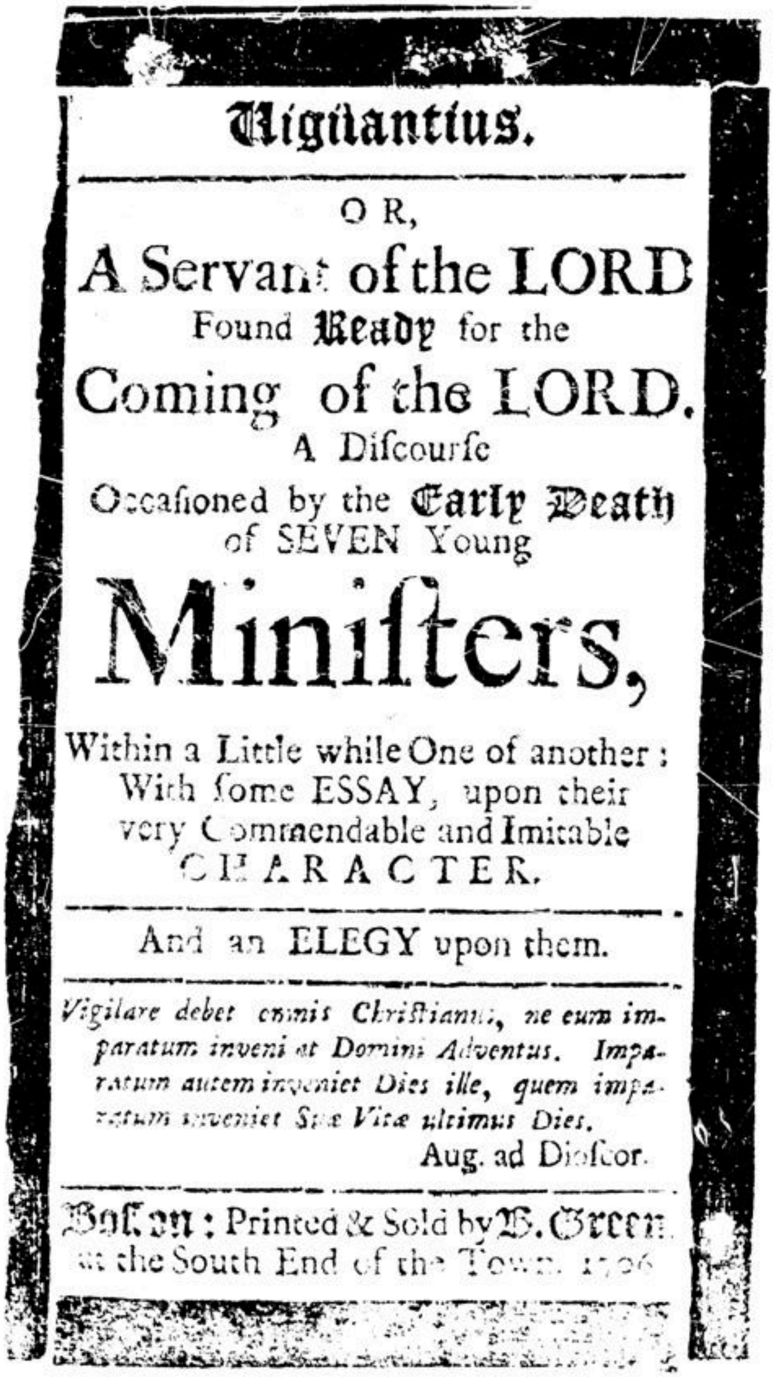


24 *Conſtantinople.* LIB. I.

It ſtands on a Cape of land neer the entrance of the *Boſphorus*. In forme triangular: on the Eaſt-ſide waſhed with the ſame, and on the North-ſide with the haven,

them crowned with magnificent Moſques, … coupled above; being finiſhed on the top with guilded ſpires, that reflect the beames they receive with a marvellous ſplendor: ſome having two, ſome four, ſome ſix adjoyning turrets, exceeding high, and exceeding ſlender: tarraſt aloft on the out-ſide … in ſeverall places equally diſtant. From whence

Figure 108. "Prospect of the Grand Signiors Seraglio from Galata," Book 1, page 24, George Sandys, *Sandys Travailes*, 6th edition, London, 1658. Huntington Library, San Marino, California



Vigilantius.

OR,

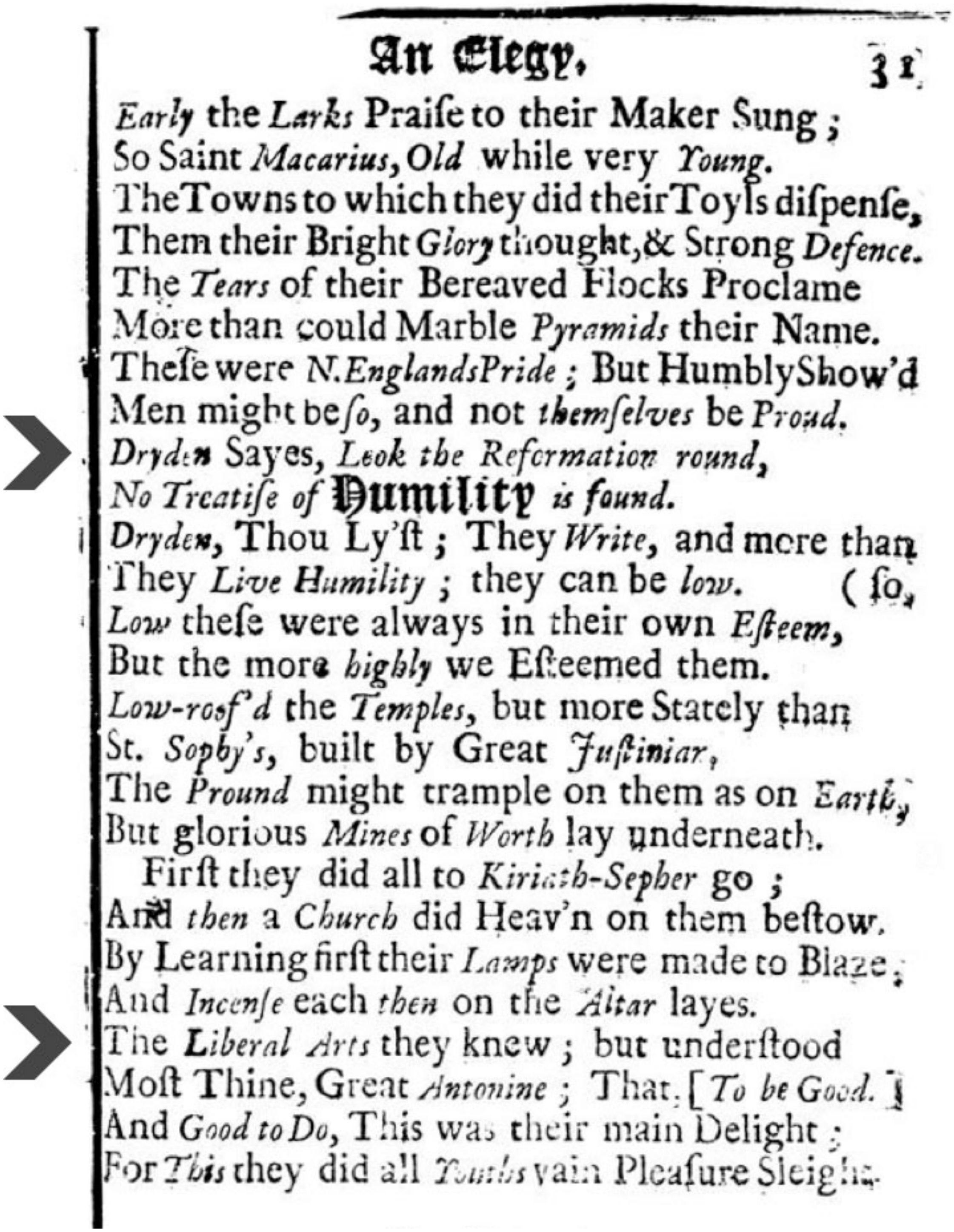
A Servant of the LORD
Found Ready for the
Coming of the LORD.
A Diſcourſe
Occaſioned by the Early Death
of SEVEN Young
Miniſters,
Within a Little while One of another:
With ſome ESSAY, upon their
very Commendable and Imitable
CHARACTER.

And an ELEGY upon them.

Vigilare debet omnis Chriſtianus, ne eum imparatum inveniat Domini Adventus. Imparatum autem inveniet Dies ille, quem imparatum inveniet Suæ Vitæ ultimus Dies.
Aug. ad Dioſcor.

Boſton: Printed & Sold by B. Green,
at the South End of the Town. 1706

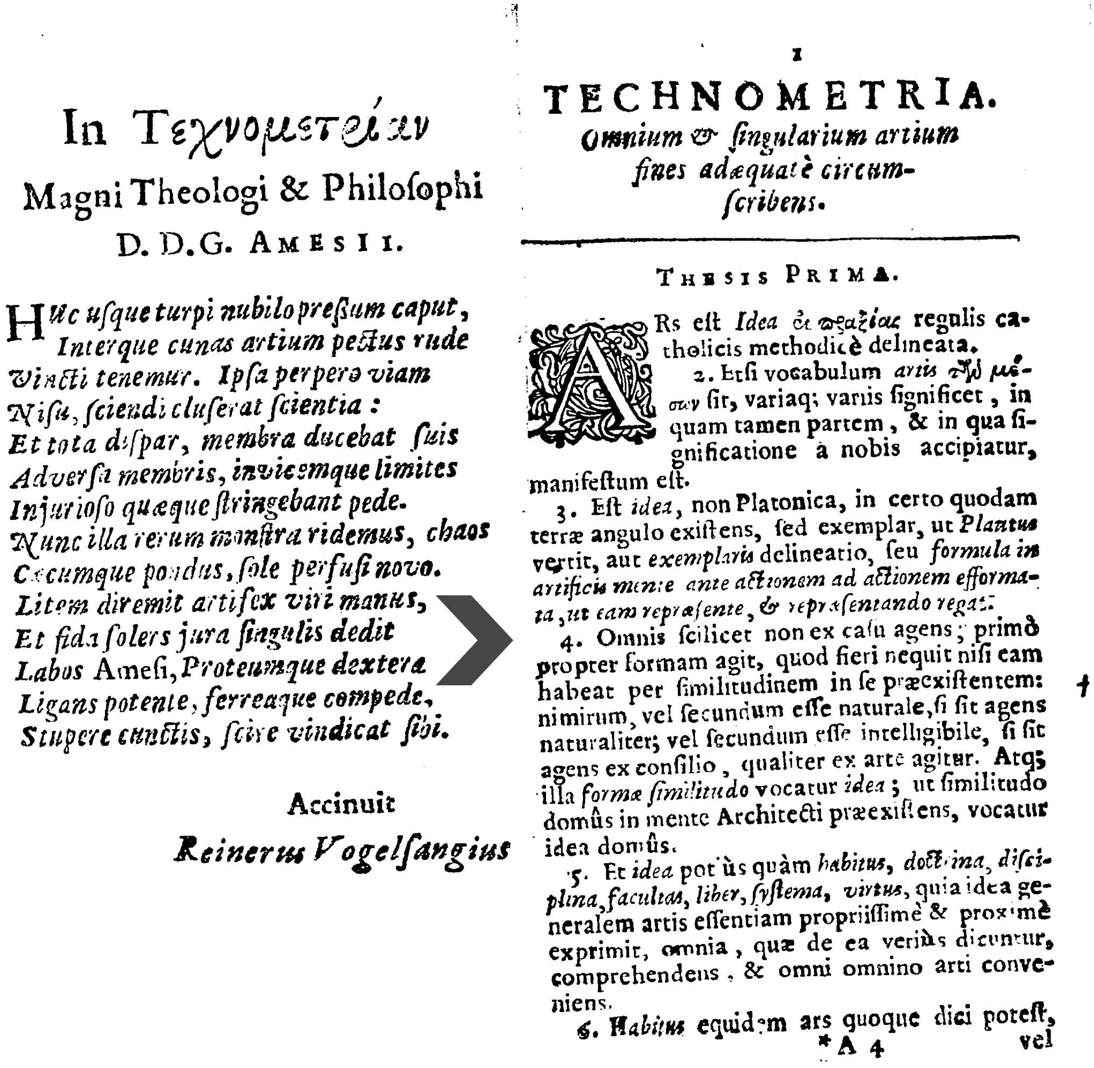
Figure 109. Title page, Cotton Mather, *Vigilantius*, Boston, 1706. Tracy W. McGregor Library of American History, University of Virginia, Charlottesville



An Elegy. 31

Early the *Larks* Praiſe to their Maker Sung;
So Saint *Macarius*, *Old* while very *Young*.
The Towns to which they did their Toyls diſpenſe,
Them their Bright *Glory* thought, & Strong *Defence*.
The *Tears* of their Bereaved Flocks Proclame
More than could Marble *Pyramids* their Name.
Theſe were *N.Englands Pride*; But Humbly Show'd
Men might be *ſo*, and not *themſelves* be *Proud*.
Dryden Sayes, *Look the Reformation round*,
No Treatiſe of **Humility** *is found*.
Dryden, Thou Ly'ſt; They *Write*, and more than
They *Live Humility*; they can be *low*. (ſo,
Low theſe were always in their own *Eſteem*,
But the more *highly* we Eſteemed them.
Low-roof'd the *Temples*, but more Stately than
St. *Sophy's*, built by Great *Juſtinian*,
The *Pround* might trample on them as on *Earth*,
But glorious *Mines* of *Worth* lay underneath.
Firſt they did all to *Kiriath-Sepher* go;
And *then* a *Church* did Heav'n on them beſtow.
By Learning firſt their *Lamps* were made to Blaze;
And *Incenſe* each *then* on the *Altar* layes.
The *Liberal Arts* they knew; but underſtood
Moſt Thine, Great *Antonine*; That, [*To be Good.*]
And *Good to Do*, This was their main Delight;
For *This* they did all *Youths* vain Pleaſure Sleight.

Figure 110. Page 31, Cotton Mather, *Vigilantius*, Boston, 1706. Tracy W. McGregor Library of American History, University of Virginia, Charlottesville



In Τεχνομετρίαν
Magni Theologi & Philoſophi
D. D.G. AMESII.

Huc uſque turpi nubilo preſſum caput,
Interque cunas artium pectus rude
Vincti tenemur. Ipſa perpera viam
Niſu, ſciendi cluſerat ſcientia:
Et tota diſpar, membra ducebat ſuis
Adverſa membris, invicemque limites
Injurioſo quæque ſtringebant pede.
Nunc illa rerum monſtra ridemus, chaos
Cæcumque pondus, ſole perfuſi novo.
Litem diremit artifex viri manus,
Et fida ſolers jura ſingulis dedit
Labos Ameſi, Proteumque dextera
Ligans potente, ferreaque compede,
Stupere cunctis, ſcire vindicat ſibi.

Accinuit
Reinerus Vogelſangius

1

TECHNOMETRIA.

Omnium & ſingularium artium fines adæquatè circumſcribens.

THESIS PRIMA.

ARs eſt *Idea* εὐπραξίας regulis catholicis methodicè delineata.

2. Etſi vocabulum *artis* τῶν μέσων ſit, variaq; variis ſignificet, in quam tamen partem, & in qua ſignificatione à nobis accipiatur, manifeſtum eſt.

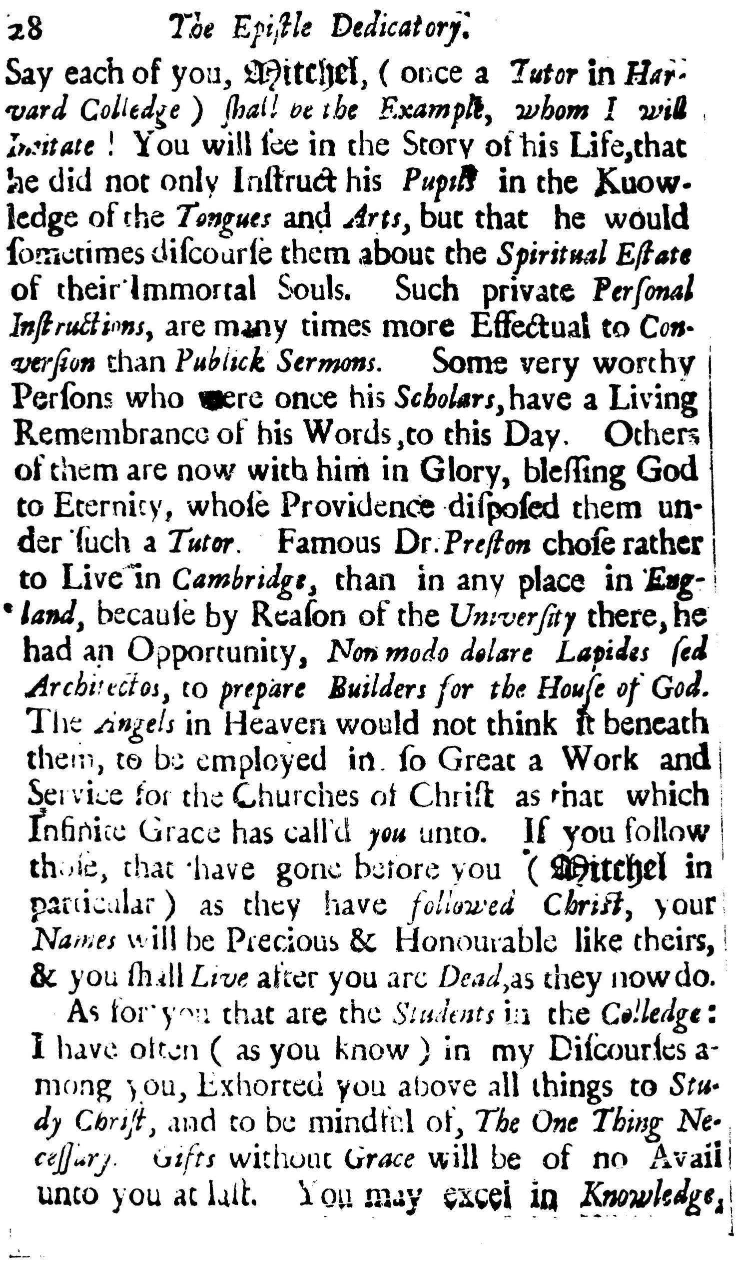
3. Eſt *idea*, non Platonica, in certo quodam terræ angulo exiſtens, ſed exemplar, ut *Plautus* vertit, aut *exemplaris* delineatio, ſeu *formula in artificis mente ante actionem ad actionem efformata, ut eam repræſente, & repræſentando regat.*

4. Omnis ſcilicet non ex caſu agens; primò propter formam agit, quod fieri nequit niſi eam habeat per ſimilitudinem in ſe præexiſtentem: nimirum, vel ſecundum eſſe naturale, ſi ſit agens naturaliter; vel ſecundum eſſe intelligibile, ſi ſit agens ex conſilio, qualiter ex arte agitur. Atq; illa *formæ ſimilitudo* vocatur *idea*; ut ſimilitudo domûs in mente Architecti præexiſtens, vocatur idea domûs.

5. Et *idea* potiùs quàm *habitus*, *doctrina*, *diſciplina*, *facultas*, *liber*, *ſyſtema*, *virtus*, quia idea generalem artis eſſentiam propriiſſimè & proximè exprimit, omnia, quæ de ea veriùs dicuntur, comprehendens, & omni omnino arti conveniens.

6. *Habitus* equidem ars quoque dici poteſt,
*A 4 vel

Figure 111. Opening with page 1, William Ames, *Guilielmi Amesii Magni Theologi ac Philosophi Acutissimi Philosophemata*, Cambridge, 1646. Cambridge University Library

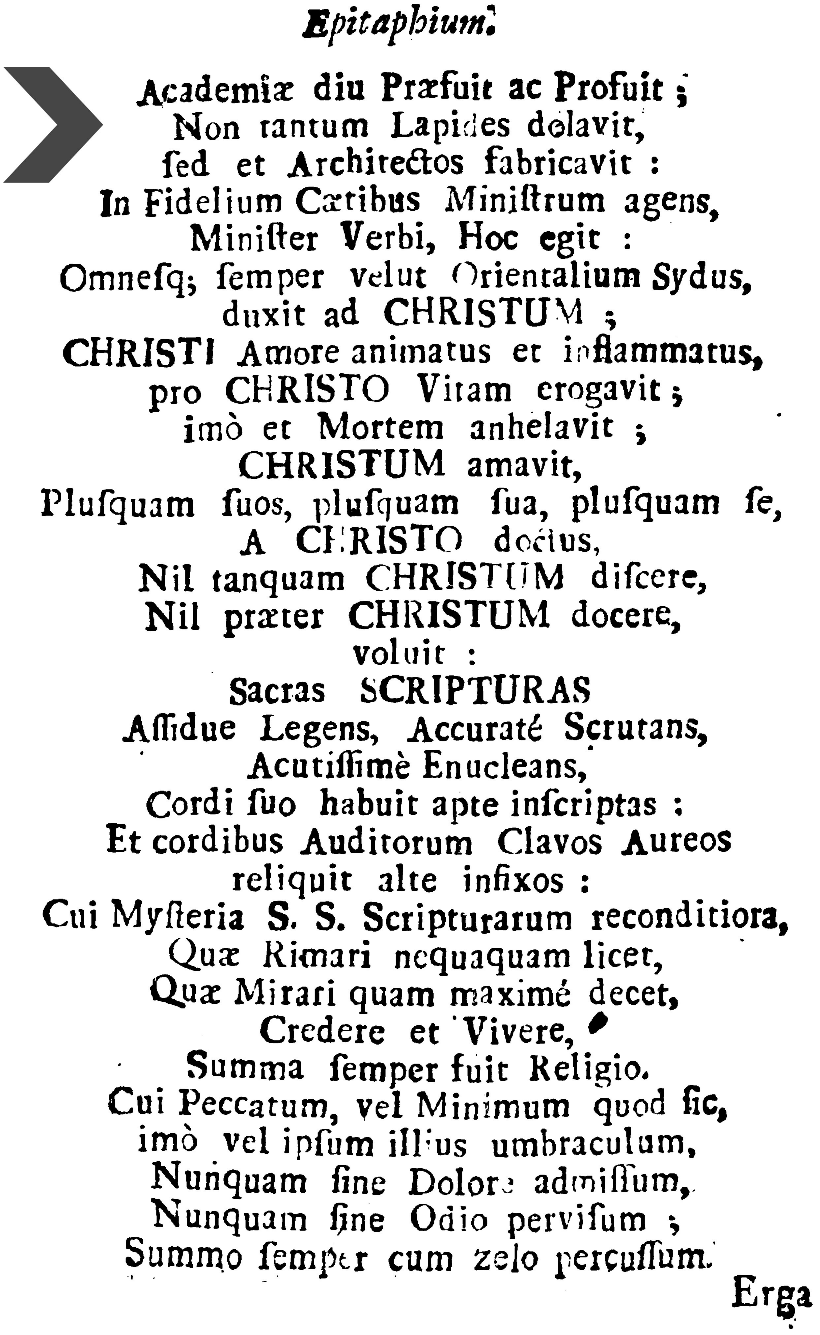


28 *The Epiſtle Dedicatory.*

Say each of you, Mitchel, (once a *Tutor* in *Harvard Colledge*) *ſhall be the Example, whom I will Imitate* ! You will ſee in the Story of his Life, that he did not only Inſtruct his *Pupils* in the Kuowledge of the *Tongues* and *Arts*, but that he would ſometimes diſcourſe them about the *Spiritual Eſtate* of their Immortal Souls. Such private *Perſonal Inſtructions*, are many times more Effectual to *Converſion* than *Publick Sermons.* Some very worthy Perſons who were once his *Scholars*, have a Living Remembrance of his Words, to this Day. Others of them are now with him in Glory, bleſſing God to Eternity, whoſe Providence diſpoſed them under ſuch a *Tutor.* Famous Dr. *Preſton* choſe rather to Live in *Cambridge*, than in any place in *England*, becauſe by Reaſon of the *Univerſity* there, he had an Opportunity, *Non modo dolare Lapides ſed Architectos*, to *prepare Builders for the Houſe of God.* The *Angels* in Heaven would not think it beneath them, to be employed in ſo Great a Work and Service for the Churches of Chriſt as that which Infinite Grace has call'd *you* unto. If you follow thoſe, that have gone before you (Mitchel in particular) as they have *followed Chriſt*, your *Names* will be Precious & Honourable like theirs, & you ſhall *Live* after you are *Dead*, as they now do.

As for you that are the *Students* in the *Colledge*: I have often (as you know) in my Diſcourſes among you, Exhorted you above all things to *Study Chriſt*, and to be mindful of, *The One Thing Neceſſary.* *Gifts* without *Grace* will be of no Avail unto you at laſt. You may excel in *Knowledge*,

Figure 112. Page 28, Increase Mather, "The Epistle Dedicatory," in Cotton Mather, *Ecclesiastes. The Life of the Reverend & Excellent, Jonathan Mitchel*, Boston, 1697. American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts

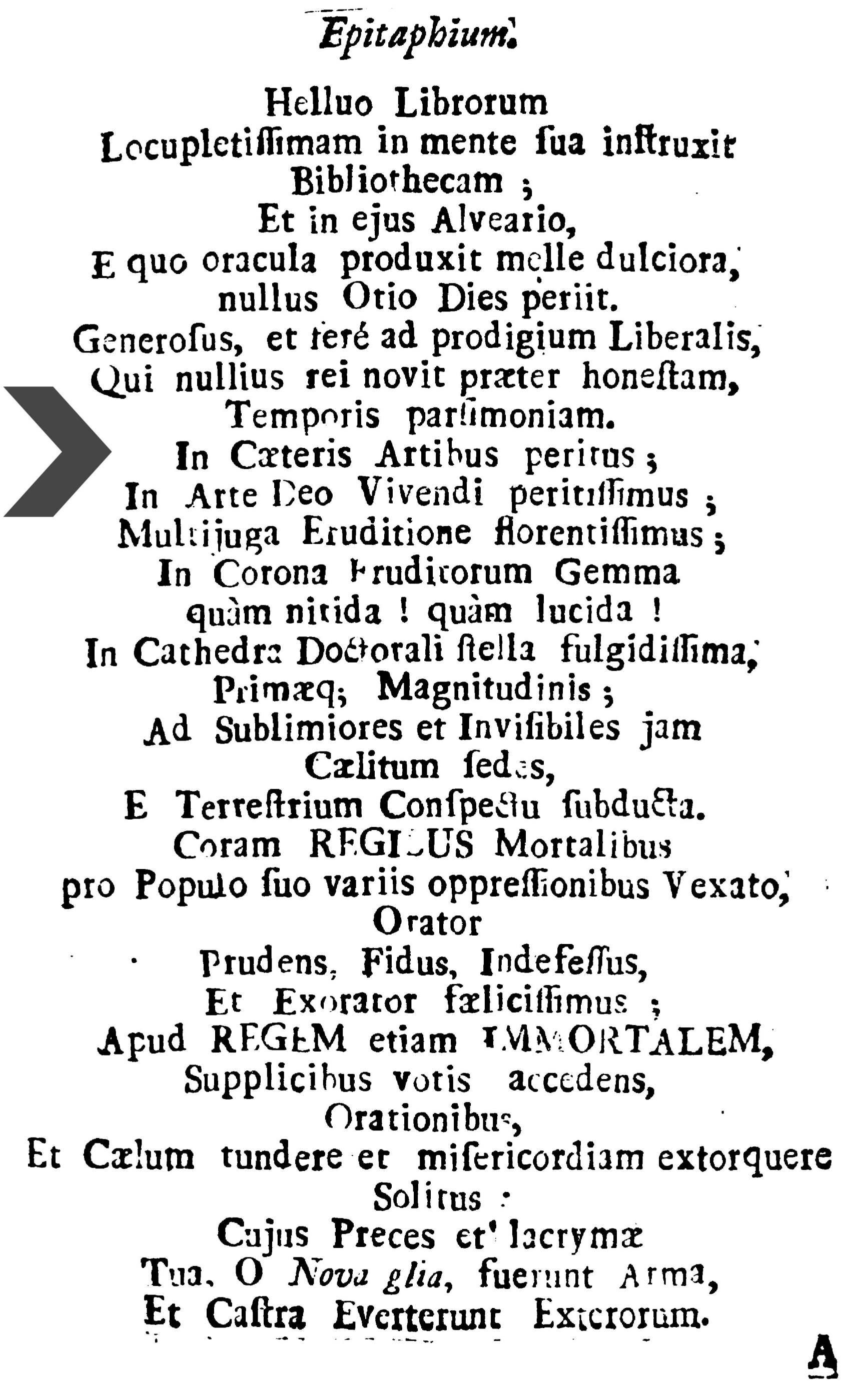


Epitaphium.

Academiæ diu Præfuit ac Profuit ;
Non tantum Lapides dolavit,
ſed et Architectos fabricavit :
In Fidelium Cœtibus Miniſtrum agens,
Miniſter Verbi, Hoc egit :
Omneſq; ſemper velut Orientalium Sydus,
duxit ad CHRISTUM ;
CHRISTI Amore animatus et inflammatus,
pro CHRISTO Vitam erogavit ;
imò et Mortem anhelavit ;
CHRISTUM amavit,
Pluſquam ſuos, pluſquam ſua, pluſquam ſe,
A CHRISTO doctus,
Nil tanquam CHRISTUM diſcere,
Nil præter CHRISTUM docere,
voluit :
Sacras SCRIPTURAS
Aſſidue Legens, Accuraté Scrutans,
Acutiſſimè Enucleans,
Cordi ſuo habuit apte inſcriptas :
Et cordibus Auditorum Clavos Aureos
reliquit alte infixos :
Cui Myſteria S. S. Scripturarum reconditiora,
Quæ Rimari nequaquam licet,
Quæ Mirari quam maximé decet,
Credere et Vivere,
Summa ſemper fuit Religio.
Cui Peccatum, vel Minimum quod ſic,
imò vel ipſum illius umbraculum,
Nunquam ſine Dolore admiſſum,
Nunquam ſine Odio perviſum ;
Summo ſemper cum zelo percuſſum.

Erga

Figure 113. Page from Samuel Mather's "*Epitaphium*," n.p., in Cotton Mather, *Parentator*, Boston, 1724. American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts

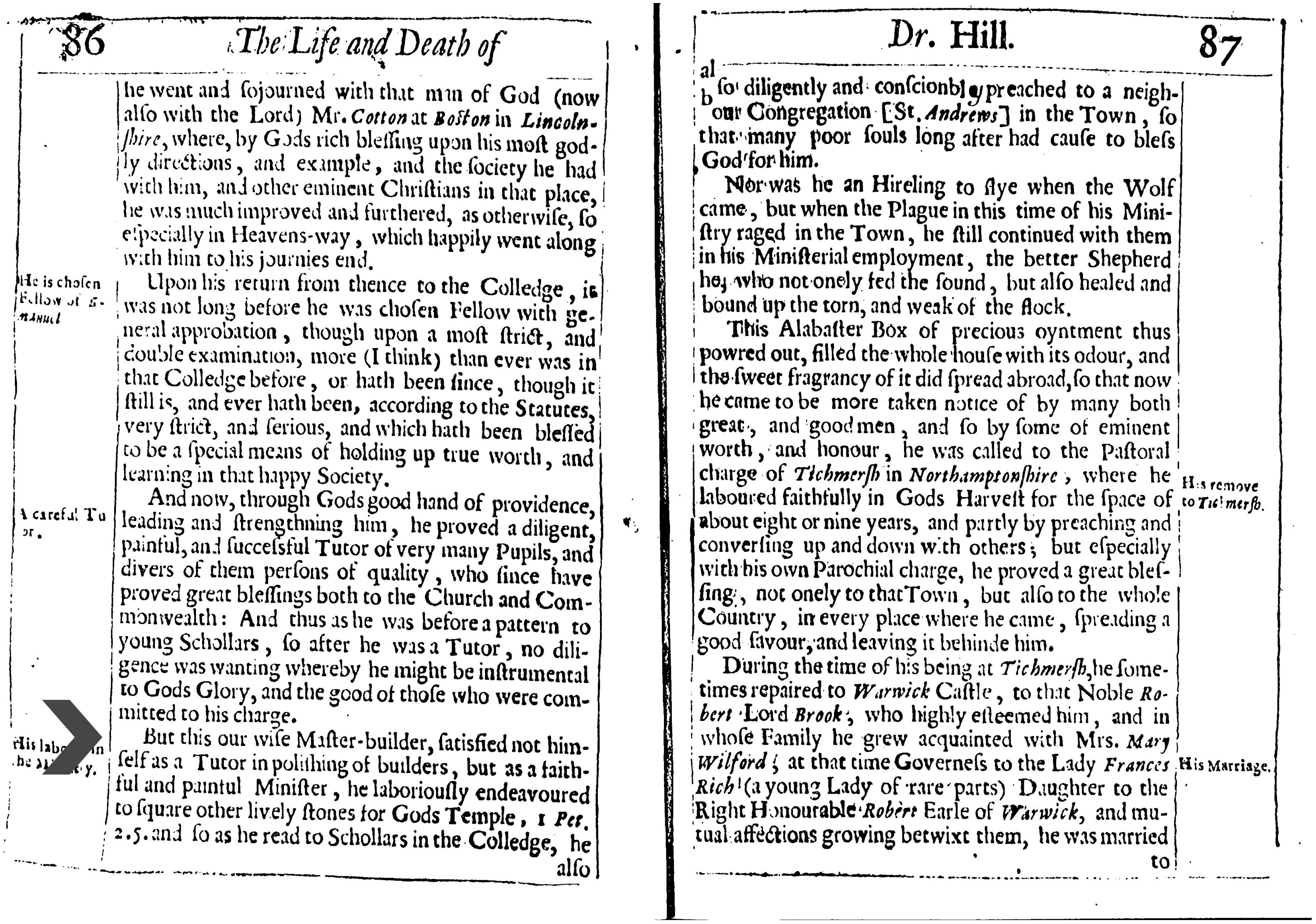


Epitaphium.

Helluo Librorum
Locupletiſſimam in mente ſua inſtruxit
Bibliothecam ;
Et in ejus Alveario,
E quo oracula produxit melle dulciora,
nullus Otio Dies periit.
Generoſus, et feré ad prodigium Liberalis,
Qui nullius rei novit præter honeſtam,
Temporis parſimoniam.
In Cæteris Artibus peritus ;
In Arte Deo Vivendi peritiſſimus ;
Multijuga Eruditione florentiſſimus ;
In Corona Eruditorum Gemma
quàm nitida ! quàm lucida !
In Cathedra Doctorali ſtella fulgidiſſima,
Primæq; Magnitudinis ;
Ad Sublimiores et Inviſibiles jam
Cælitum ſedes,
E Terreſtrium Conſpectu ſubducta.
Coram REGIBUS Mortalibus
pro Populo ſuo variis oppreſſionibus Vexato,
Orator
Prudens, Fidus, Indefeſſus,
Et Exorator fæliciſſimus ;
Apud REGEM etiam IMMORTALEM,
Supplicibus votis accedens,
Orationibus,
Et Cælum tundere et miſericordiam extorquere
Solitus :
Cujus Preces et lacrymæ
Tua, O *Nova glia,* fuerunt Arma,
Et Caſtra Everterunt Exterorum.

A

Figure 114. Page from Samuel Mather's "*Epitaphium*," n.p., in Cotton Mather, *Parentator*, Boston, 1724. American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts



86 *The Life and Death of*

he went and ſojourned with that man of God (now alſo with the Lord) Mr. *Cotton* at ***Boſton*** in ***Lincolnſhire***, where, by Gods rich bleſſing upon his moſt godly directions, and example, and the ſociety he had with him, and other eminent Chriſtians in that place, he was much improved and furthered, as otherwiſe, ſo eſpecially in Heavens-way, which happily went along with him to his journies end.

He is choſen Fellow of E-*manuel*

Upon his return from thence to the Colledge, it was not long before he was choſen Fellow with general approbation, though upon a moſt ſtrict, and double examination, more (I think) than ever was in that Colledge before, or hath been ſince, though it ſtill is, and ever hath been, according to the Statutes, very ſtrict, and ſerious, and which hath been bleſſed to be a ſpecial means of holding up true worth, and learning in that happy Society.

A careful Tutor.

And now, through Gods good hand of providence, leading and ſtrengthning him, he proved a diligent, painful, and ſucceſsful Tutor of very many Pupils, and divers of them perſons of quality, who ſince have proved great bleſſings both to the Church and Commonwealth: And thus as he was before a pattern to young Schollars, ſo after he was a Tutor, no diligence was wanting whereby he might be inſtrumental to Gods Glory, and the good of thoſe who were committed to his charge.

His lab[illegible] in the [illegible]y.

But this our wiſe Maſter-builder, ſatisfied not himſelf as a Tutor in poliſhing of builders, but as a faithful and paintul Miniſter, he laboriouſly endeavoured to ſquare other lively ſtones for Gods Temple, 1 *Pet.* 2.5. and ſo as he read to Schollars in the Colledge, he

alſo

Dr. Hill. 87

al

b ſo diligently and conſcionbly preached to a neighbour Congregation [St. *Andrews*] in the Town, ſo that many poor ſouls long after had cauſe to bleſs God for him.

Nor was he an Hireling to flye when the Wolf came, but when the Plague in this time of his Miniſtry raged in the Town, he ſtill continued with them in his Miniſterial employment, the better Shepherd he, who not onely fed the ſound, but alſo healed and bound up the torn, and weak of the flock.

His remove to *Tichmerſh.*

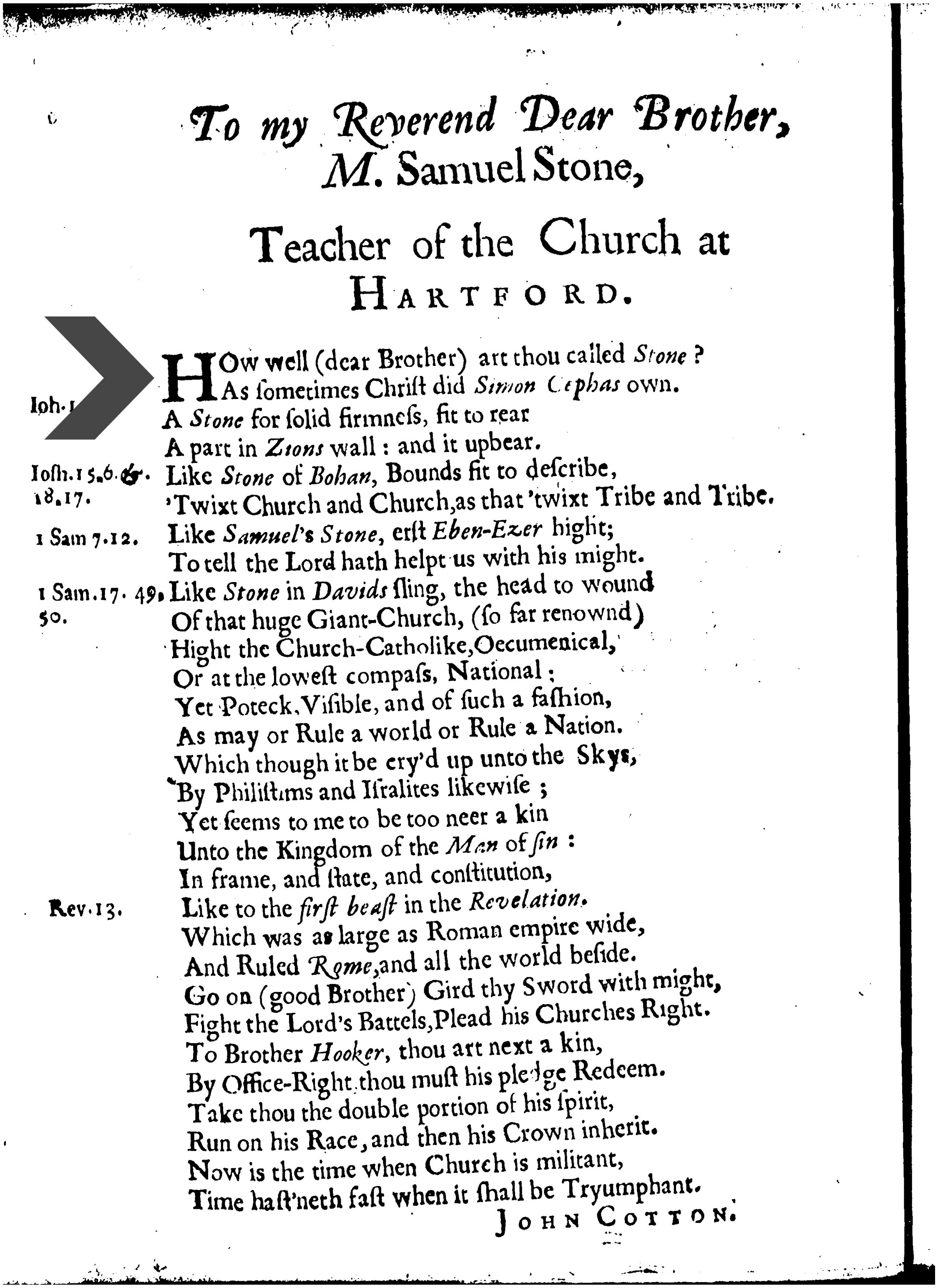
This Alabaſter Box of precious oyntment thus powred out, filled the whole houſe with its odour, and the ſweet fragrancy of it did ſpread abroad, ſo that now he came to be more taken notice of by many both great, and good men, and ſo by ſome of eminent worth, and honour, he was called to the Paſtoral charge of *Tichmerſh* in *Northamptonſhire*, where he laboured faithfully in Gods Harveſt for the ſpace of about eight or nine years, and partly by preaching and converſing up and down with others; but eſpecially with his own Parochial charge, he proved a great bleſſing, not onely to that Town, but alſo to the whole Country, in every place where he came, ſpreading a good ſavour, and leaving it behinde him.

His Marriage.

During the time of his being at *Tichmerſh*, he ſometimes repaired to *Warwick* Caſtle, to that Noble *Robert* Lord *Brook*, who highly eſteemed him, and in whoſe Family he grew acquainted with Mrs. *Mary Wilford*; at that time Governeſs to the Lady *Frances Rich* (a young Lady of rare parts) Daughter to the Right Honourable *Robert* Earle of *Warwick*, and mutual affections growing betwixt them, he was married

to

Figure 115. Pages 86-87, Samuel Clarke, "The Life and Death of Dr. Hill," *A Collection of the Lives of Ten Eminent Divines*, London, 1662. Harvard University Library, Cambridge, Massachusetts

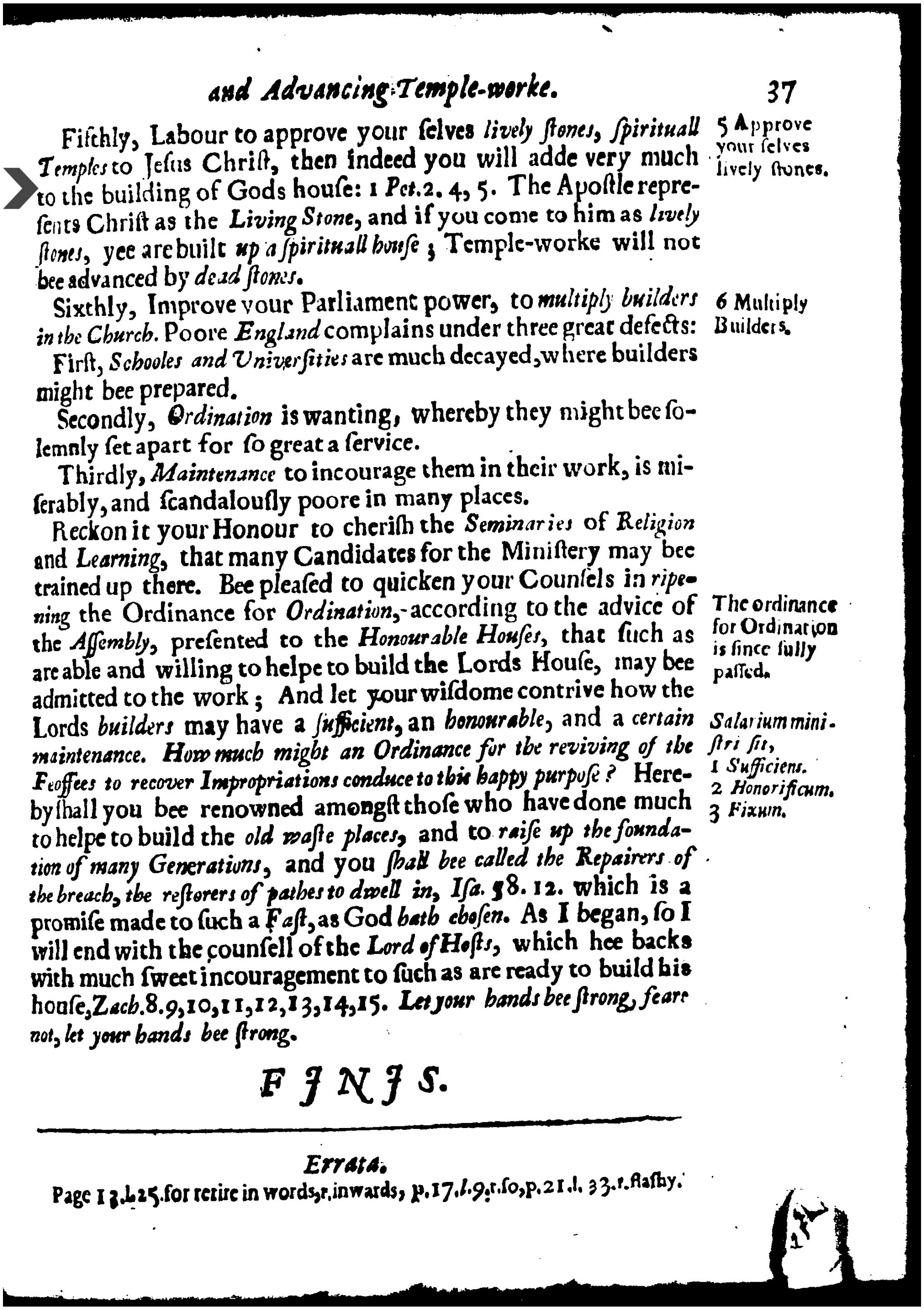


To my Reverend Dear Brother, *M.* Samuel Stone, Teacher of the Church at HARTFORD.

HOw well (dear Brother) art thou called *Stone*?
Ioh.1 As ſometimes Chriſt did *Simon Cephas* own.
A *Stone* for ſolid firmneſs, fit to rear
A part in *Zions* wall: and it upbear.
Ioſh.15.6.&. Like *Stone* of *Bohan*, Bounds fit to deſcribe,
18.17. 'Twixt Church and Church, as that 'twixt Tribe and Tribe.
1 Sam 7.12. Like *Samuel's Stone*, erſt *Eben-Ezer* hight;
To tell the Lord hath helpt us with his might.
1 Sam.17. 49. Like *Stone* in *Davids* ſling, the head to wound
50. Of that huge Giant-Church, (ſo far renownd)
Hight the Church-Catholike, Oecumenical,
Or at the loweſt compaſs, National:
Yet Poteck. Viſible, and of ſuch a faſhion,
As may or Rule a world or Rule a Nation.
Which though it be cry'd up unto the Skys,
By Philiſtims and Iſralites likewiſe;
Yet ſeems to me to be too neer a kin
Unto the Kingdom of the *Man* of *ſin*:
In frame, and ſtate, and conſtitution,
Rev.13. Like to the *firſt beaſt* in the *Revelation*.
Which was as large as Roman empire wide,
And Ruled *Rome*, and all the world beſide.
Go on (good Brother) Gird thy Sword with might,
Fight the Lord's Battels, Plead his Churches Right.
To Brother *Hooker*, thou art next a kin,
By Office-Right thou muſt his pledge Redeem.
Take thou the double portion of his ſpirit,
Run on his Race, and then his Crown inherit.
Now is the time when Church is militant,
Time haſt'neth faſt when it ſhall be Tryumphant.

JOHN COTTON.

Figure 116. John Cotton, "To my Reverend Dear Brother, M. Samuel Stone, Teacher of the Church at Hartford," n.p., in Samuel Stone, *A Congregational Church Is a Catholike Visible Church*, London, 1652. Harvard University Library, Cambridge, Massachusetts



and Advancing Temple-worke. 37

Fifthly, Labour to approve your ſelves *lively ſtones, ſpirituall Temples* to Jeſus Chriſt, then indeed you will adde very much to the building of Gods houſe: 1 *Pet.*2. 4, 5. The Apoſtle repreſents Chriſt as the *Living Stone*, and if you come to him as *lively ſtones*, yee are built *up a ſpirituall houſe*; Temple-worke will not bee advanced by *dead ſtones*.

5 Approve your ſelves lively ſtones.

Sixthly, Improve your Parliament power, to *multiply builders in the Church*. Poore *England* complains under three great defects:

6 Multiply Builders.

Firſt, *Schooles and Univerſities* are much decayed, where builders might bee prepared.

Secondly, *Ordination* is wanting, whereby they might bee ſolemnly ſet apart for ſo great a ſervice.

Thirdly, *Maintenance* to incourage them in their work, is miſerably, and ſcandalouſly poore in many places.

Reckon it your Honour to cheriſh the *Seminaries* of *Religion* and *Learning*, that many Candidates for the Miniſtery may bee trained up there. Bee pleaſed to quicken your Counſels in *ripening* the Ordinance for *Ordination*, according to the advice of the *Aſſembly*, preſented to the *Honourable Houſes*, that ſuch as are able and willing to helpe to build the Lords Houſe, may bee admitted to the work; And let your wiſdome contrive how the Lords *builders* may have a *ſufficient*, an *honourable*, and a *certain maintenance. How much might an Ordinance for the reviving of the Feoffees to recover Impropriations conduce to this happy purpoſe?* Hereby ſhall you bee renowned amongſt thoſe who have done much to helpe to build the *old waſte places*, and to *raiſe up the foundation of many Generations*, and you *ſhall bee called the Repairers of the breach, the reſtorers of pathes to dwell in, Iſa.* 58. 12. which is a promiſe made to ſuch a *Faſt*, as God *hath choſen*. As I began, ſo I will end with the counſell of the *Lord of Hoſts*, which hee backs with much ſweet incouragement to ſuch as are ready to build his houſe, *Zach.*8.9,10,11,12,13,14,15. *Let your hands bee ſtrong, feare not, let your hands bee ſtrong.*

The ordinance for Ordination is ſince fully paſſed.

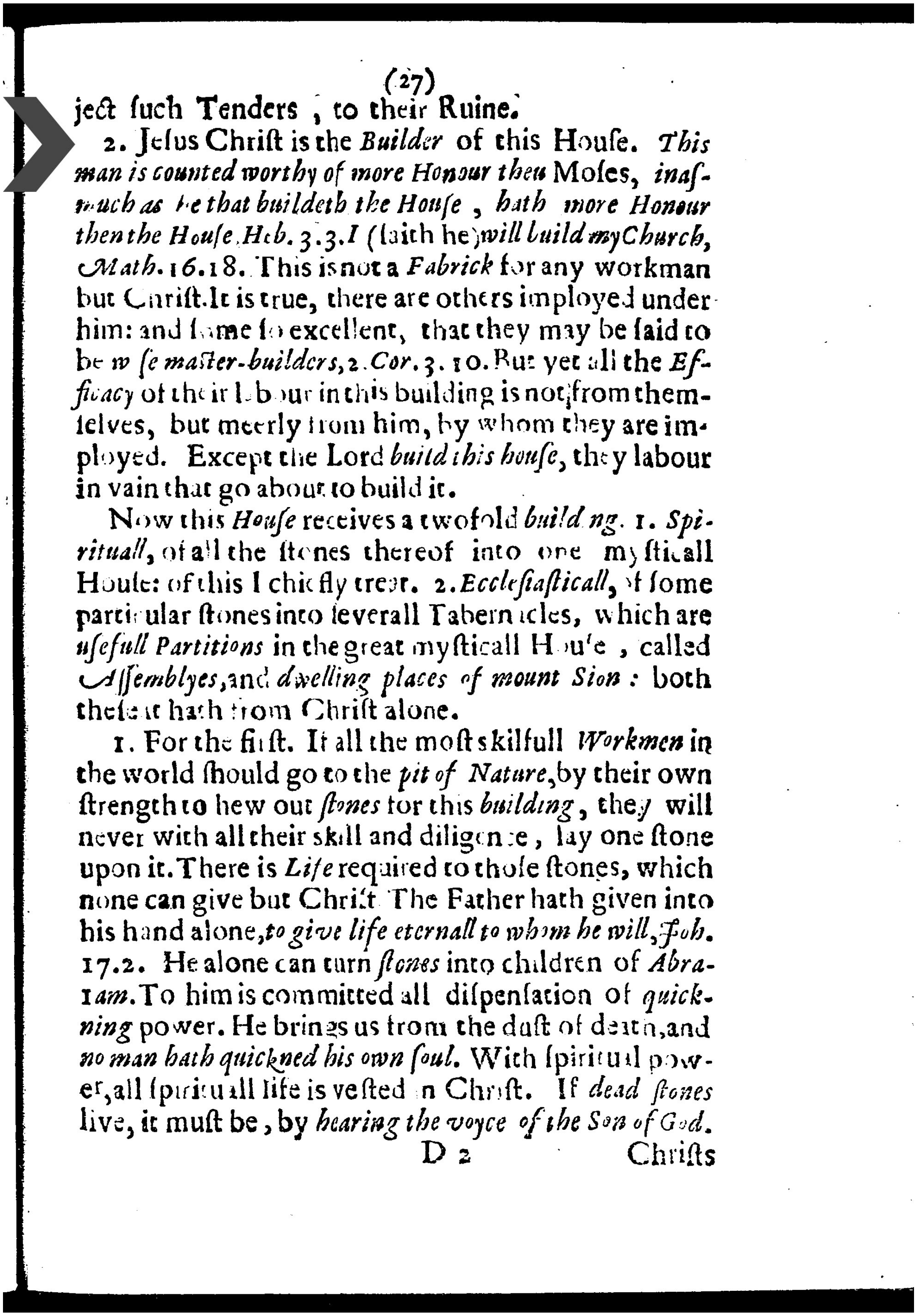
Salarium miniſtri ſit,
1 *Sufficiens.*
2 *Honorificum.*
3 *Fixum.*

FINIS.

Errata.

Page 13.l.25.for retire in words,r.inwards, p.17.l.9.r.ſo,p.21.l. 33.r.flaſhy.

Figure 117. Page 37, Thomas Hill, *The Season for Englands Selfe-Reflection, and Advancing Temple-Work*, London, 1644. British Library, London



(27)

ject ſuch Tenders , to their Ruine.

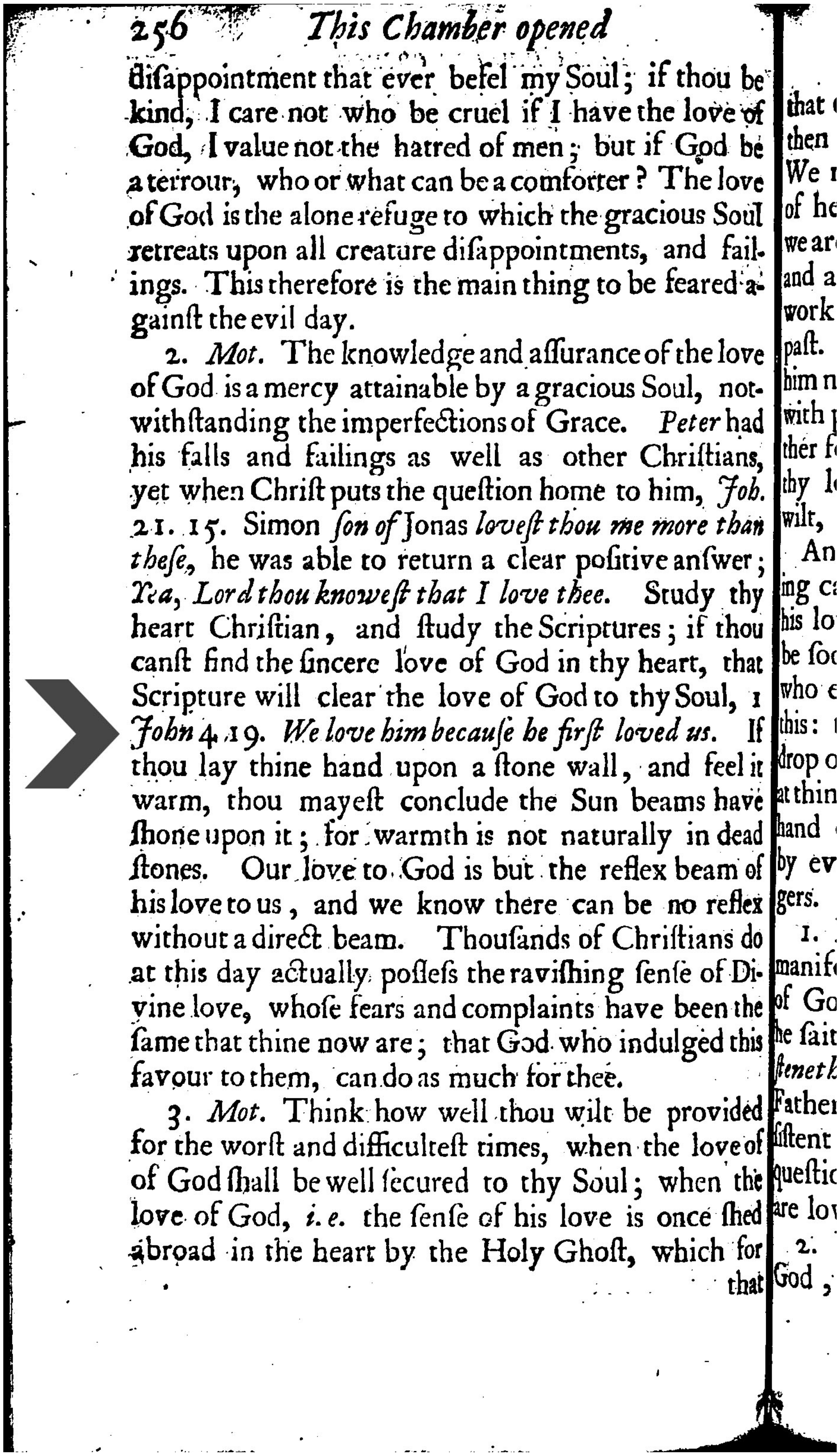
2. Jeſus Chriſt is the *Builder* of this Houſe. *This man is counted worthy of more Honour then* Moſes, *inaſmuch as he that buildeth the Houſe , hath more Honour then the Houſe.Heb.* 3.3. *I* (ſaith he) *will build my Church, Math.* 16.18. This is not a *Fabrick* for any workman but Chriſt. It is true, there are others imployed under him: and ſome ſo excellent, that they may be ſaid to be *wiſe maſter-builders*, 2. *Cor.* 3. 10. But yet all the *Efficacy* of their Labour in this building is not from themſelves, but meerly from him, by whom they are imployed. Except the Lord *build this houſe*, they labour in vain that go about to build it.

Now this *Houſe* receives a twofold *building*. 1. *Spirituall*, of all the ſtones thereof into one myſticall Houſe: of this I chiefly treat. 2. *Eccleſiaſticall*, of ſome particular ſtones into ſeverall Tabernacles, which are *uſefull Partitions* in the great myſticall Houſe , called *Aſſemblyes*, and *dwelling places of mount Sion :* both theſe it hath from Chriſt alone.

1. For the firſt. If all the moſt skilfull *Workmen* in the world ſhould go to the *pit of Nature*, by their own ſtrength to hew out *ſtones* for this *building*, they will never with all their skill and diligence, lay one ſtone upon it. There is *Life* required to thoſe ſtones, which none can give but Chriſt. The Father hath given into his hand alone, *to give life eternall to whom he will, Joh.* 17.2. He alone can turn *ſtones* into children of *Abraham*. To him is committed all diſpenſation of *quickning* power. He brings us from the duſt of death, and *no man hath quickned his own ſoul.* With ſpirituall power, all ſpirituall life is veſted in Chriſt. If *dead ſtones* live, it muſt be , by *hearing the voyce of the Son of God.*

D 2 Chriſts

Figure 118. Page 27, John Owen, *The Branch of the Lord, The Beauty of Sion*, Edinburgh, 1650. British Library, London



256 *This Chamber opened*

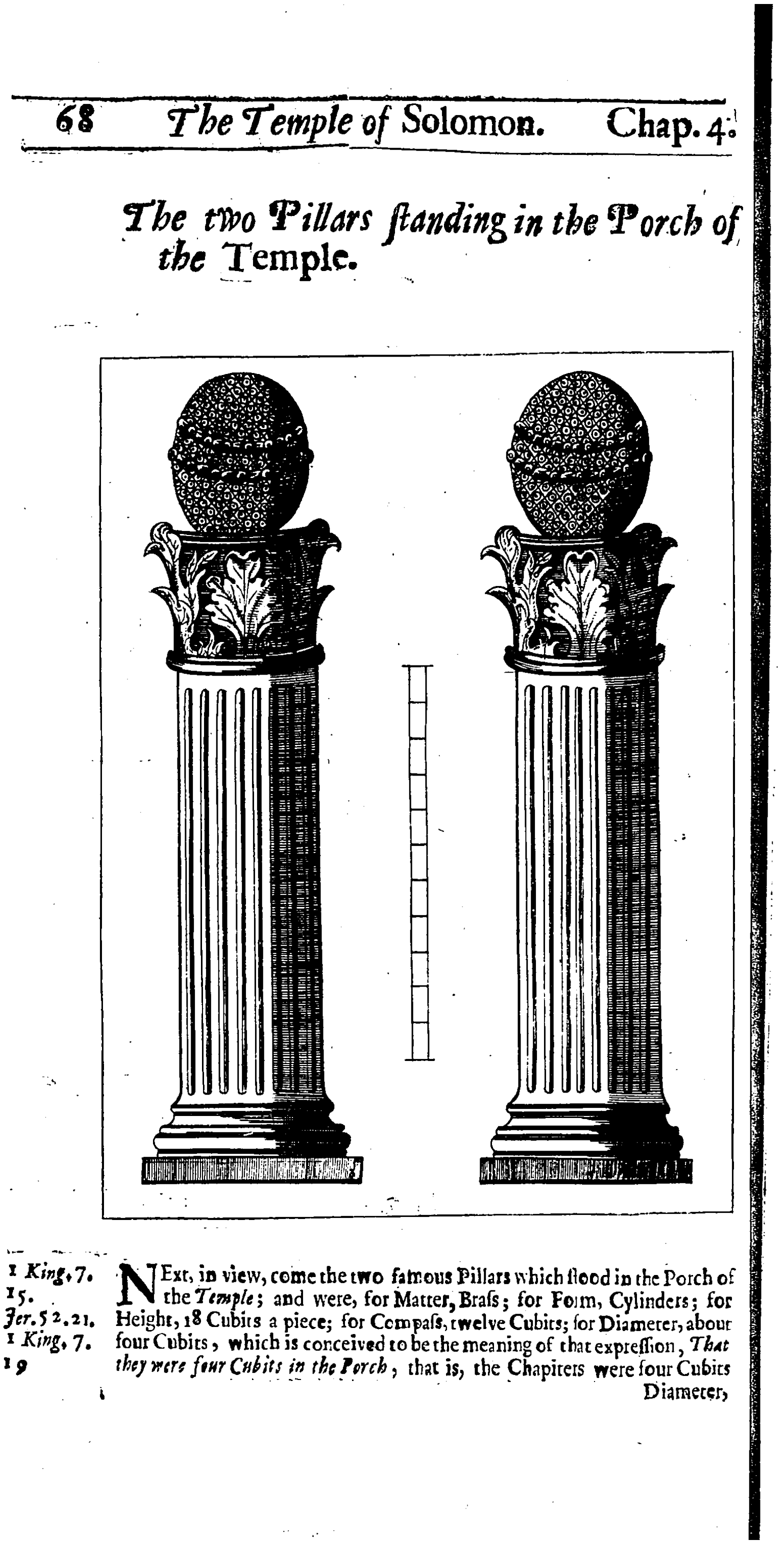
diſappointment that ever befel my Soul; if thou be kind, I care not who be cruel if I have the love of God, I value not the hatred of men; but if God be a terrour, who or what can be a comforter? The love of God is the alone refuge to which the gracious Soul retreats upon all creature diſappointments, and failings. This therefore is the main thing to be feared againſt the evil day.

2. *Mot.* The knowledge and aſſurance of the love of God is a mercy attainable by a gracious Soul, notwithſtanding the imperfections of Grace. *Peter* had his falls and failings as well as other Chriſtians, yet when Chriſt puts the queſtion home to him, *Joh.* 21. 15. Simon *ſon of* Jonas *loveſt thou me more than theſe*, he was able to return a clear poſitive anſwer; *Yea, Lord thou knoweſt that I love thee.* Study thy heart Chriſtian, and ſtudy the Scriptures; if thou canſt find the ſincere love of God in thy heart, that Scripture will clear the love of God to thy Soul, 1 *John* 4. 19. *We love him becauſe he firſt loved us.* If thou lay thine hand upon a ſtone wall, and feel it warm, thou mayeſt conclude the Sun beams have ſhone upon it; for warmth is not naturally in dead ſtones. Our love to God is but the reflex beam of his love to us, and we know there can be no reflex without a direct beam. Thouſands of Chriſtians do at this day actually poſſeſs the raviſhing ſenſe of Divine love, whoſe fears and complaints have been the ſame that thine now are; that God who indulged this favour to them, can do as much for thee.

3. *Mot.* Think how well thou wilt be provided for the worſt and difficulteſt times, when the love of of God ſhall be well ſecured to thy Soul; when the love of God, *i. e.* the ſenſe of his love is once ſhed abroad in the heart by the Holy Ghoſt, which for

that

Figure 119. Page 256, John Flavel, *Two Treatises: The First, Of Fear…The Second, The Righteous Mans Refuge in the Evil Day*, London, 1682. University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Library



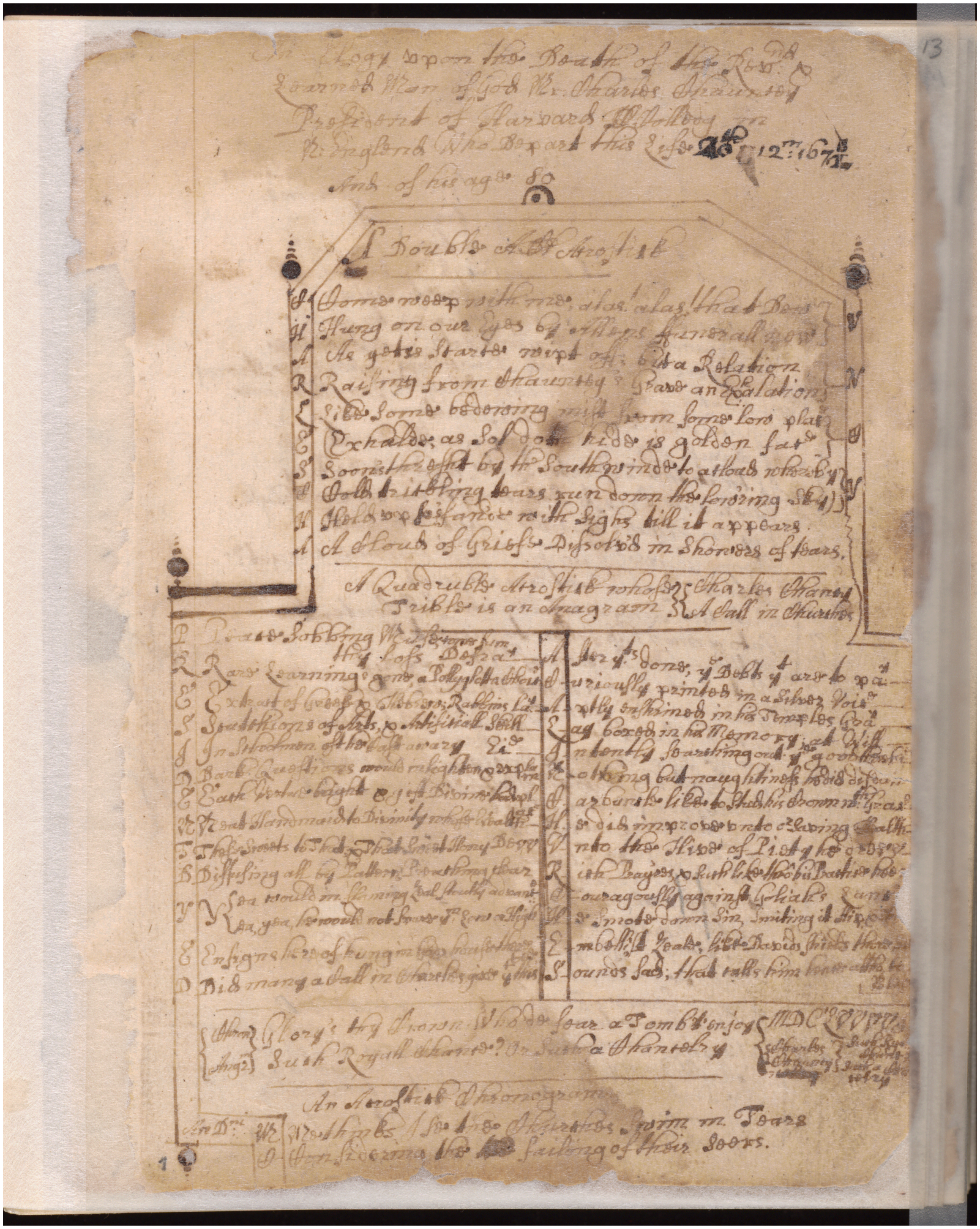
68 *The Temple of* Solomon. Chap. 4.

The two Pillars ſtanding in the Porch of the Temple.

1 *King*. 7. 15. *Jer*. 52. 21. 1 *King*. 7. 19

NExt, in view, come the two famous Pillars which ſtood in the Porch of the *Temple*; and were, for Matter, Braſs; for Form, Cylinders; for Height, 18 Cubits a piece; for Compaſs, twelve Cubits; for Diameter, about four Cubits, which is conceived to be the meaning of that expreſſion, *That they were four Cubits in the Porch*, that is, the Chapiters were four Cubits Diameter,

Figure 120. “The two Pillars standing in the Porch of the Temple,” page 68, Samuel Lee, *Orbis Miraculum, or the Temple of Solomon*, London, 1659. British Library, London



An Elegy upon the Death of the Revd &
Learned Man of God Mr. Charles Chauncey
President of Harvard Colledge in
N: England Who Depart this Life 19 12m: 1671/2
And of his age 80

A Double Acrostick

C Come weep with me, alas! alas! that Dew
H Hung on our Eyes by others funerall now U
A As yet is starte wipt off: but a Relation
R Raising from Chauncey's Grave an Exhalation N
L Like some bedewing mist from some low plat
E Exhaled, as Sol doth ride in golden state C
S Soon's then sent by the South winde to a Cloud whereby
C Cold dribbling tears run down the lowring sky Y
H Hold up thy Face with sighs till it appears.
A A Cloud of Griefe Dissolv'd in Showers of tears.

A Quadruble Acrostick whose { Charles Chauncy
Trible is an Anagram } A Call in Churches

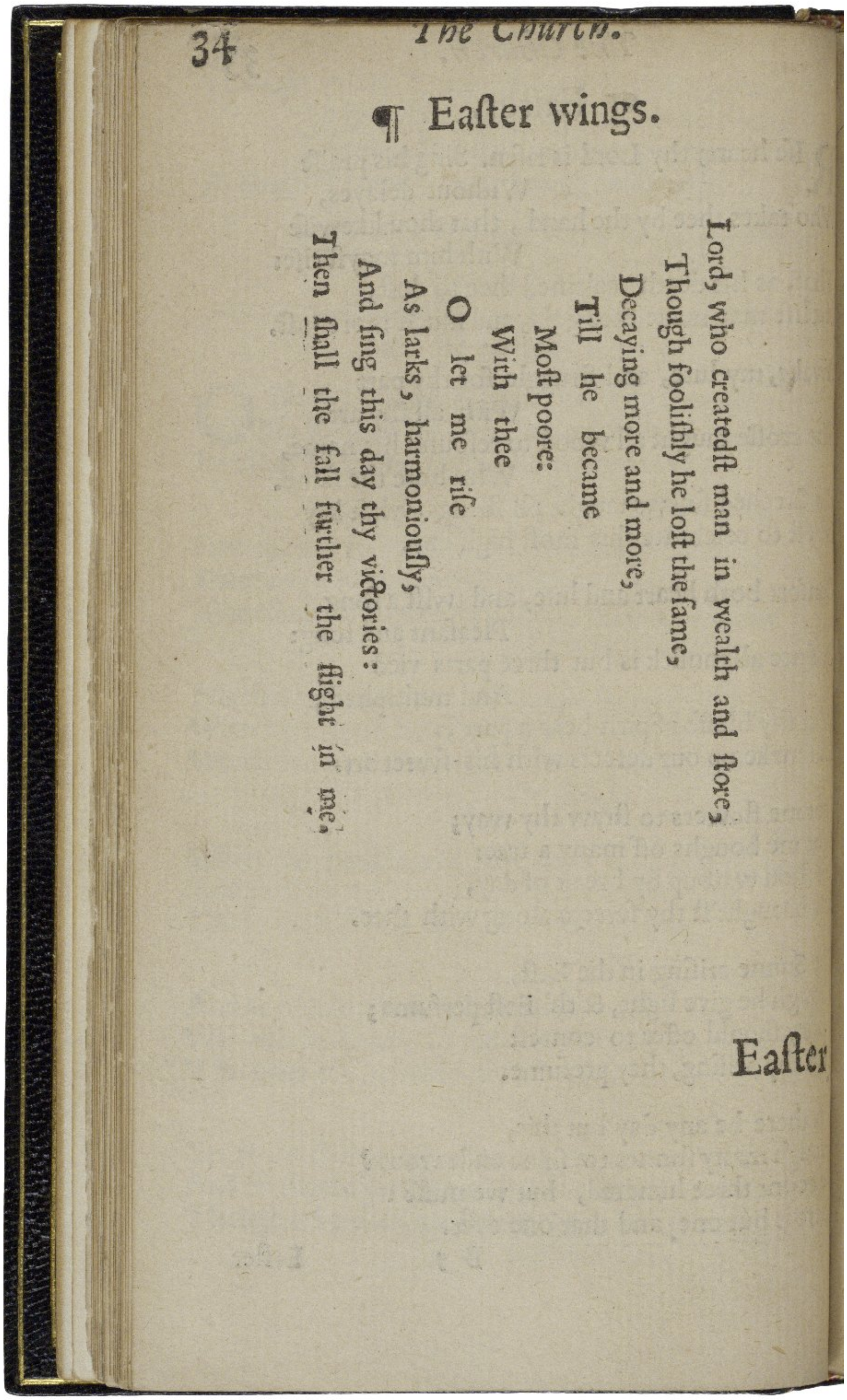
P Peace sobbing Muses [illegible] thy Loss Defeat
R Rare Learning's gone, a Polyglotta tho it
E Extract of Greeks, Hebrews, Rabbins La[illegible]
S Spetchions of Arts, & Artificiall Skill
I In [illegible] of the Castle aray [illegible]
D Dark Questions would enlighten explain
E Each Vertue bright & of Divine Exampl[e]
N Next Handmaid to Divinity whose [illegible]
T Those Streets to tread That Saint Many [illegible]
D Diffusing all by Pattern Breathing clear
Y Yea would in flaming Zeal stoutly advance
Yea, yea, he would not leave the [illegible] a Hight
E Ensignes here of hung in thy house [illegible]
D Did many a Call in Charles's [illegible] this

A After [illegible] done, the Debt they are to pa[y]
C Curiously printed in a Silver Voice
A Aptly enshrined in his Temples God
L Lay boxed in his Memory yet Dili[gently]
I Intently searching out the good [illegible]
N Nothing but naughtiness would disdain
C Carbuncle like to Stud his Crown with Grace
H He did improve unto Cleaving Faith
U Unto the Hive of Piety he gathered
R Rich Prayers & such like [illegible] his Battle he
C Couragiously against Goliah's Rams
H He smote down Sin, smiting it [illegible]
E Embellisht Zeale, like Davids shields there
S Sounds sad, that calls him hence [illegible]

{Chron / Angr} Glory's thy Crown Who here a Tomb't enjoy { MDCLVVVIII
Such Royall Charge? Or Such a Chancelry { Charles Chauncey } Such Royall Charge? Or Such a Chancelry

An Acrostick Chronogram
Ano Dni W Methinks I see the Churches swim in Tears
C Considering the [illegible] failing of their Seers.

Figure 121. Building-shaped elegy on Charles Chauncy (1672), page 13, Edward Taylor, “Poetical Works” manuscript, n.d. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University



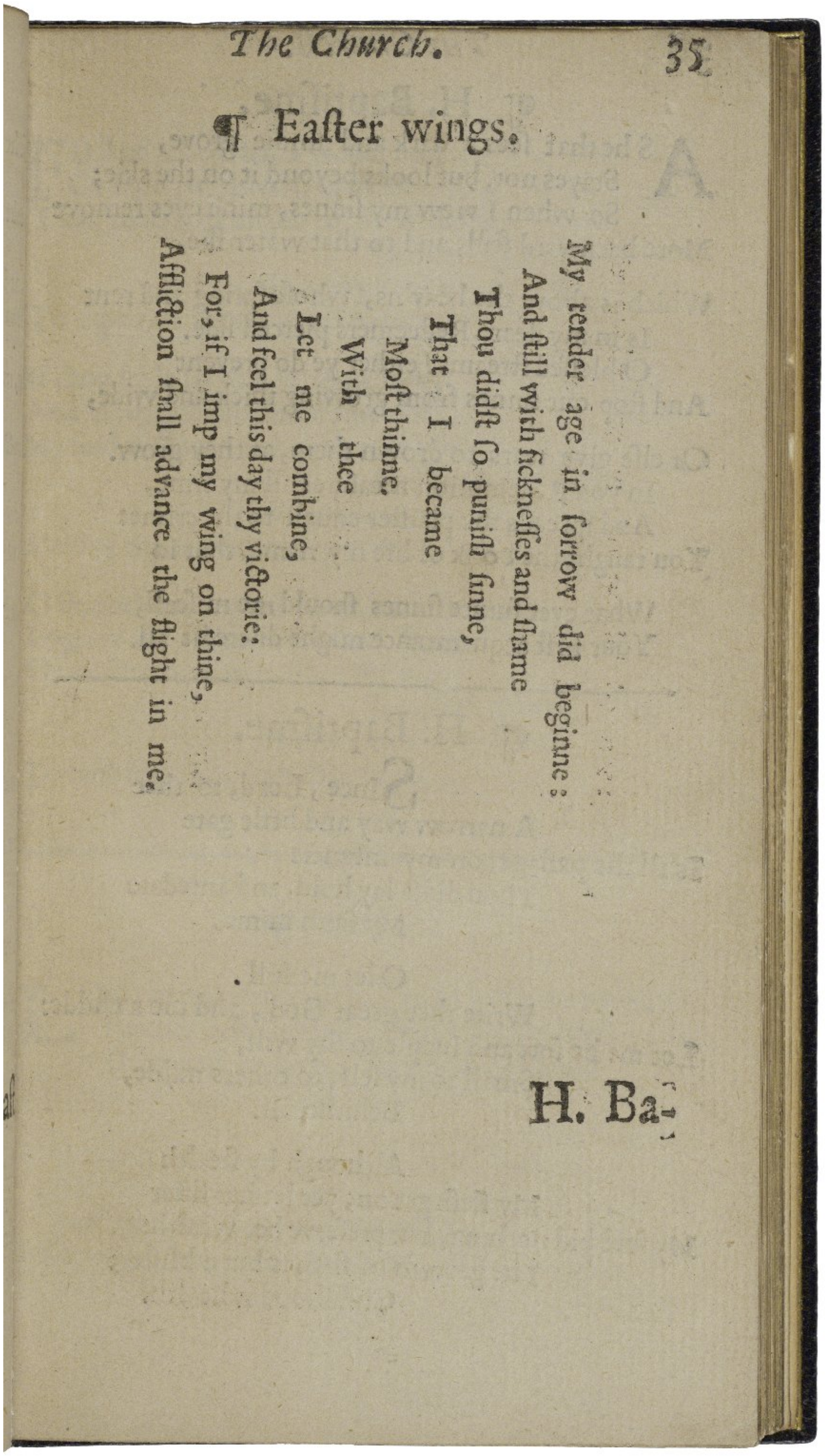
34 The Church.

¶ Eaſter wings.

Lord, who createdſt man in wealth and ſtore,
Though fooliſhly he loſt the ſame,
Decaying more and more,
Till he became
Moſt poore:
With thee
O let me riſe
As larks, harmoniouſly,
And ſing this day thy victories:
Then ſhall the fall further the flight in me.

Eaſter

Figure 122. “Easter Wings,” page 34, George Herbert, *The Temple*, Cambridge, England, 1633. Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D.C.



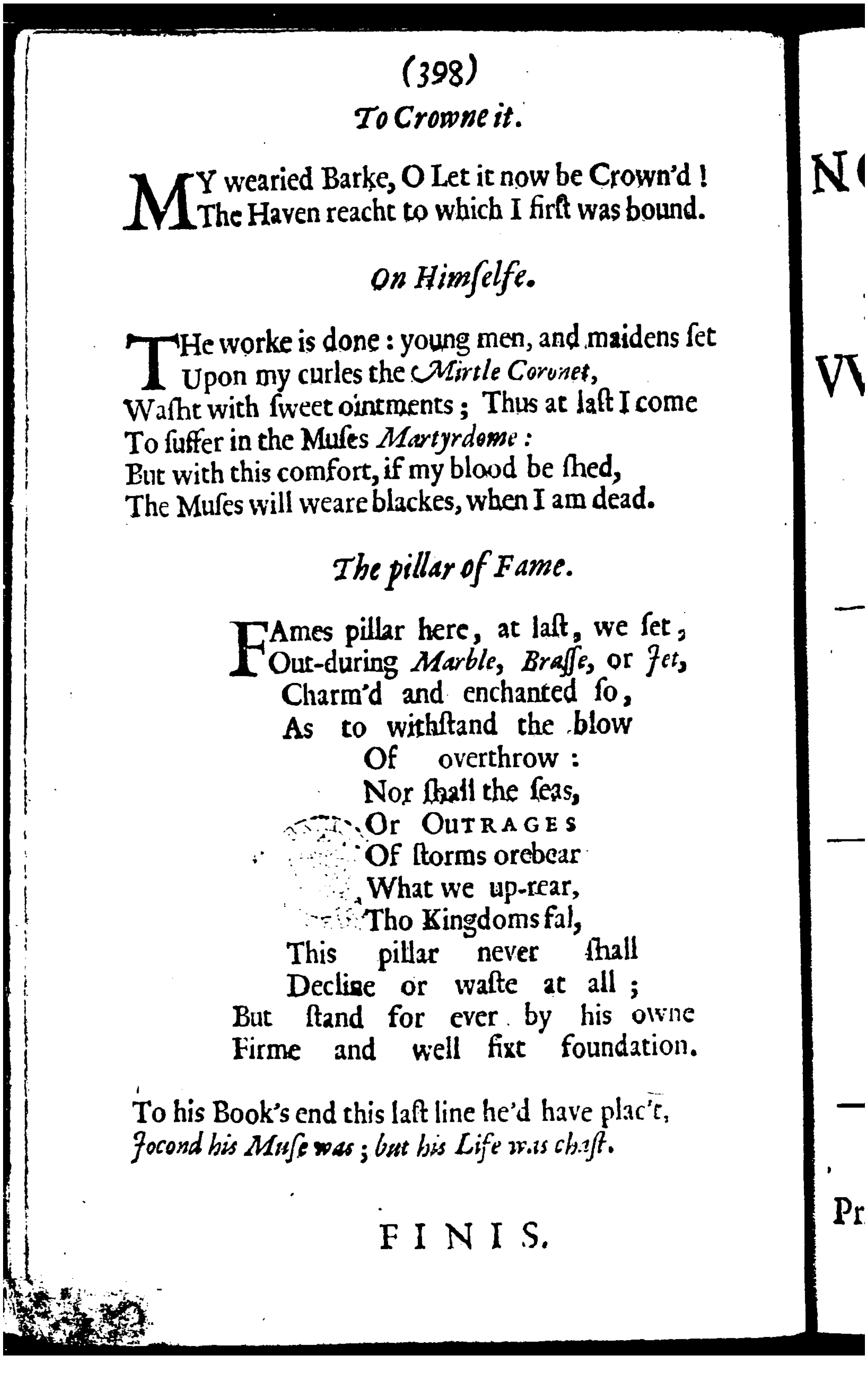
The Church. 35

¶ Easter wings.

My tender age in ſorrow did beginne:
And ſtill with ſickneſſes and ſhame
Thou didſt ſo puniſh ſinne,
That I became
Moſt thinne.
With thee
Let me combine,
And feel this day thy victorie:
For, if I imp my wing on thine,
Affliction ſhall advance the flight in me.

H. Ba-

Figure 123. “Easter Wings,” page 35, George Herbert, *The Temple*, Cambridge, England, 1633. Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D.C.



(398)

To Crowne it.

MY wearied Barke, O Let it now be Crown'd!
The Haven reacht to which I firſt was bound.

On Himſelfe.

THe worke is done: young men, and maidens ſet
Upon my curles the *Mirtle Coronet*,
Waſht with ſweet ointments; Thus at laſt I come
To ſuffer in the Muſes *Martyrdome*:
But with this comfort, if my blood be ſhed,
The Muſes will weare blackes, when I am dead.

The pillar of Fame.

FAmes pillar here, at laſt, we ſet,
Out-during *Marble*, *Braſſe*, or *Jet*,
Charm'd and enchanted ſo,
As to withſtand the blow
Of overthrow:
Nor ſhall the ſeas,
Or OUTRAGES
Of ſtorms orebear
What we up-rear,
Tho Kingdoms fal,
This pillar never ſhall
Decline or waſte at all;
But ſtand for ever by his owne
Firme and well fixt foundation.

To his Book's end this laſt line he'd have plac't,
Jocond his Muſe was; but his Life was chaſt.

FINIS.

Figure 124. "The Pillar of Fame," page 398, Robert Herrick, *Hesperides*, London, 1648. British Library, London

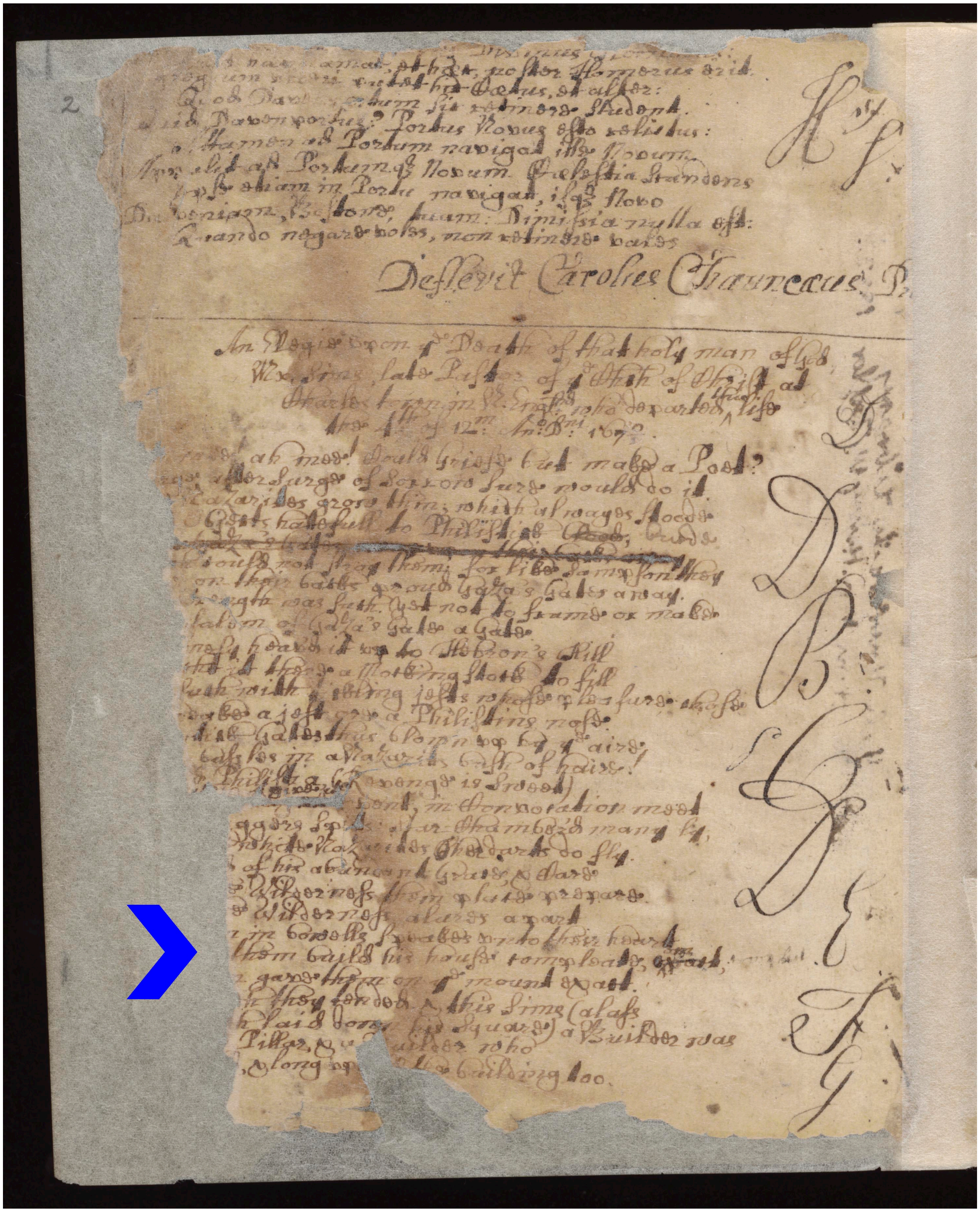


Figure 125. Elegy on Zechariah Simmes (1670/71), page 2, Edward Taylor, "Poetical Works" manuscript, n.d. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University

What can a deade man feede and cloth and holy precepts giue :
It can not be, tuſh tel not me, I know he ſtil dooth liue :
Liue then ſweete Soule in ample reſt example to the reſt
Like thine his grownd muſt low be laid that high wil build his neſt
If none think now on thank, if out of ſight be out of minde
Although tis wrong, yit light's thy los, that heuenly thank dooſt finde:
May neuer yet faire Ipswich ſeye be foully ſo vnkinde .

Schooles, Churches, Orphanarye roomes ſhâl keepe yͤ ſtil in ſight,
Men, Weemē, Children, ould, and yung, ſhâl weere the day and night,
Alas then not for yͤ wee cri but for our ſelues alas
Ruing the want of ſuch a wight as ât thine âdge did pas·
Thus I·le poore Man one did moorne thus gras bewayled gras

Figure 126. Painted acrostic epitaph on William Smart, 1599. Saint-Mary-le-Tower, Ipswich, Suffolk

Upon the DEATH of the Virtuous and Religious

Mrs. Lydia Minot,

(The wife of Mr. *John Minot* of *Dorcheſter*;)

The Mother of Five Children, who Died in CHILD-BED of the Sixth; and together therewith was Interred *January* 27. 1 6 6 7.

HEre lyes the Mother, & the Child, Interr'd in one;
Both waiting for the ſame Bleſs'd Reſurrection.
She firſt to it was Life; Then to't became a Grave,
Dead in her Womb: To fetch it thence, Death to her gave.
The Life and Death of both, his Sov'raignty Makes known,
Who gives and takes at will, and no Controll can own.
The Fruit and Tree together here lyes pluck't, yet ſure
That Root whence a Saint's All doth ſpring, muſt firm endure,
Eternal Love, *in which the Sap's the ſame, that feeds*
Each Branch, be't Merc[illegible] the Rod when ſo it needs.

ANAGRAMS.

LYDIA MINOT.

1. *I di to Al myn'.*

TO *All mine* Earthly Joys and Friends *I dy,*
To whatſoe're below the Sun doth ly;
To *All* that ſhadow caſt, and haſtes to change;
To *All* that is purſu'd within the Range
Of Sublunary Vain's, toſs'd to and fro
Of ſons of men that ſeek to th'Pit to go.
I dy to Husband, Children, Parents dear:
Mine they were once, I theirs; ('twixt hope and fear
No unmix'd Sweet I found) But now no more
Theſe mine can be, as they were heretofore.
My Intereſt's tranſlated up on High,
To things now mine, to which I ne're can dy.
Then happy Death, my welcome I'le thee give,
'Cauſe now to God and Chriſt I ever live.

2. *I di, not my Al.*

I *Dy*, 'tis true, but yet it's *not* my *All*,
That with this duſt into the Grave doth fall.
Life hath my Better part; which ſoon did poſt
By Angels Conduct, to the Heav'nly Hoſt.
Life unto Life is gone, through th'Living way;
But that which Mortal was, makes yet ſome ſtay.
When Breath expir'd, my Life came flowing in;
My Soul reviv'd, made free from th'death of Sin.
New Light, new Love, new Joy me now do fill,
New Robes I have, new Company, new Skill
To ſing th'new Song: Sure this is Life indeed;
My All's alive in dying thus to ſpeed.
Naked o'th'Body, my Soul in Bliſs is ſheath'd
My Garland of ne're-dying Flow'rs is wreath'd.
Then nought but Duſt is dead; at Life's Return
This alſo ſhall be quickned from its Urn:
My Death, my Grave, ſhall then for ever dy,
And Life ſhall Triumph in the Victory.

3. *Dai in my Lot.*

L ight ſown is for the Righteous; its full Crop
Y ields Glory's Harveſt, Souls fill'd up to th'top
D *ay in my Lot* is now, ſtill calm, ſtill bright.
I n leaving your dark World, I left all Night;
A ſcended where, nor Sun, nor Moon, we crave:
M y God, & th'Lamb's the light that here we have.
I n his Light we ſee light, and light'ned ſtay;
N o light to that of th'Everlaſting Day!
O pleaſant Lines that thus are fall'n to me!
T o make that *Day my Lot* which aye ſhall be.

We'le wait (Bleſt Saint) till this Day break, and th'ſhadows flee:
So ſhall our wiſh be crown'd, to have One Lot with thee.

Figure 127. Broadside elegy on Lydia Minot, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1668. Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston

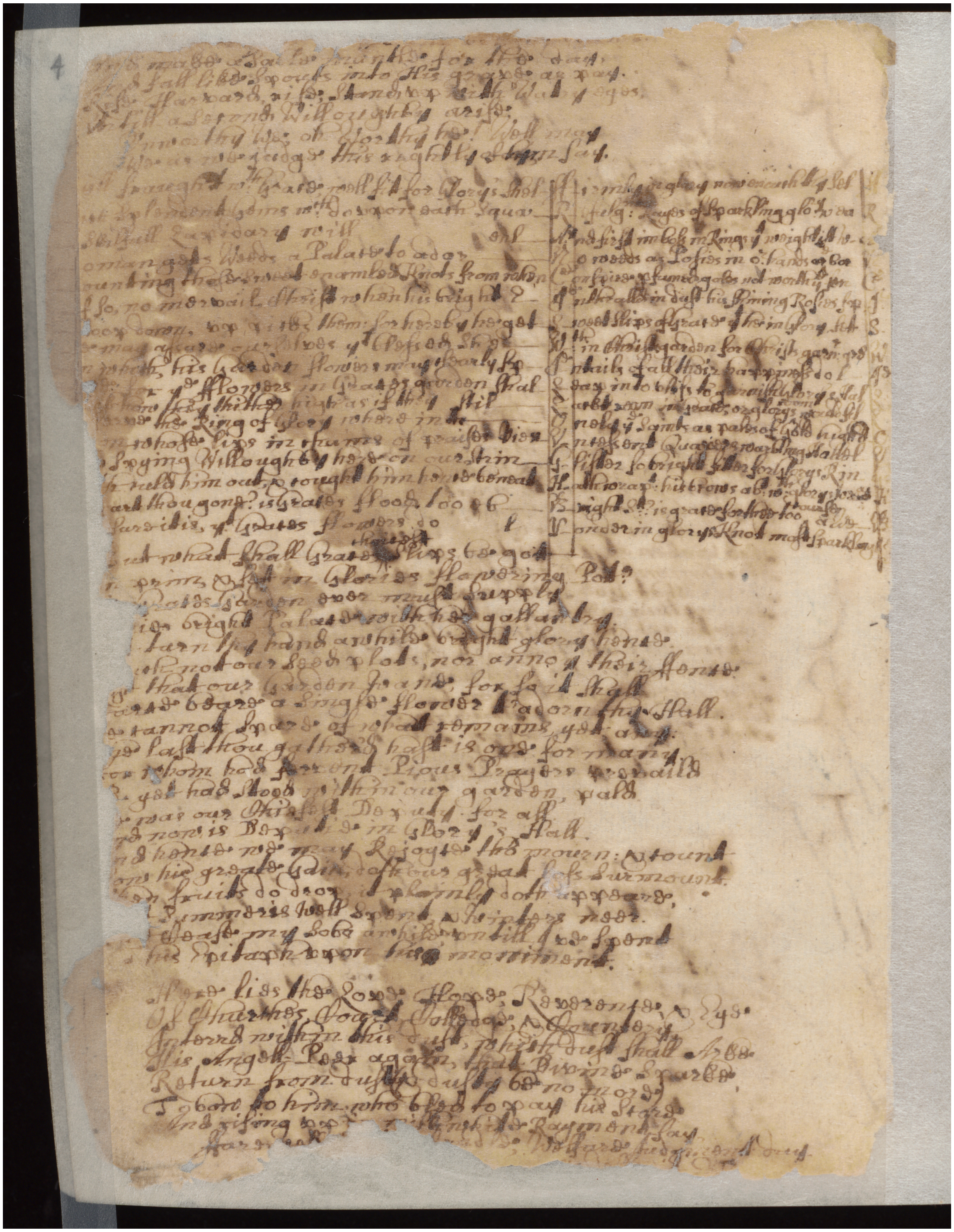
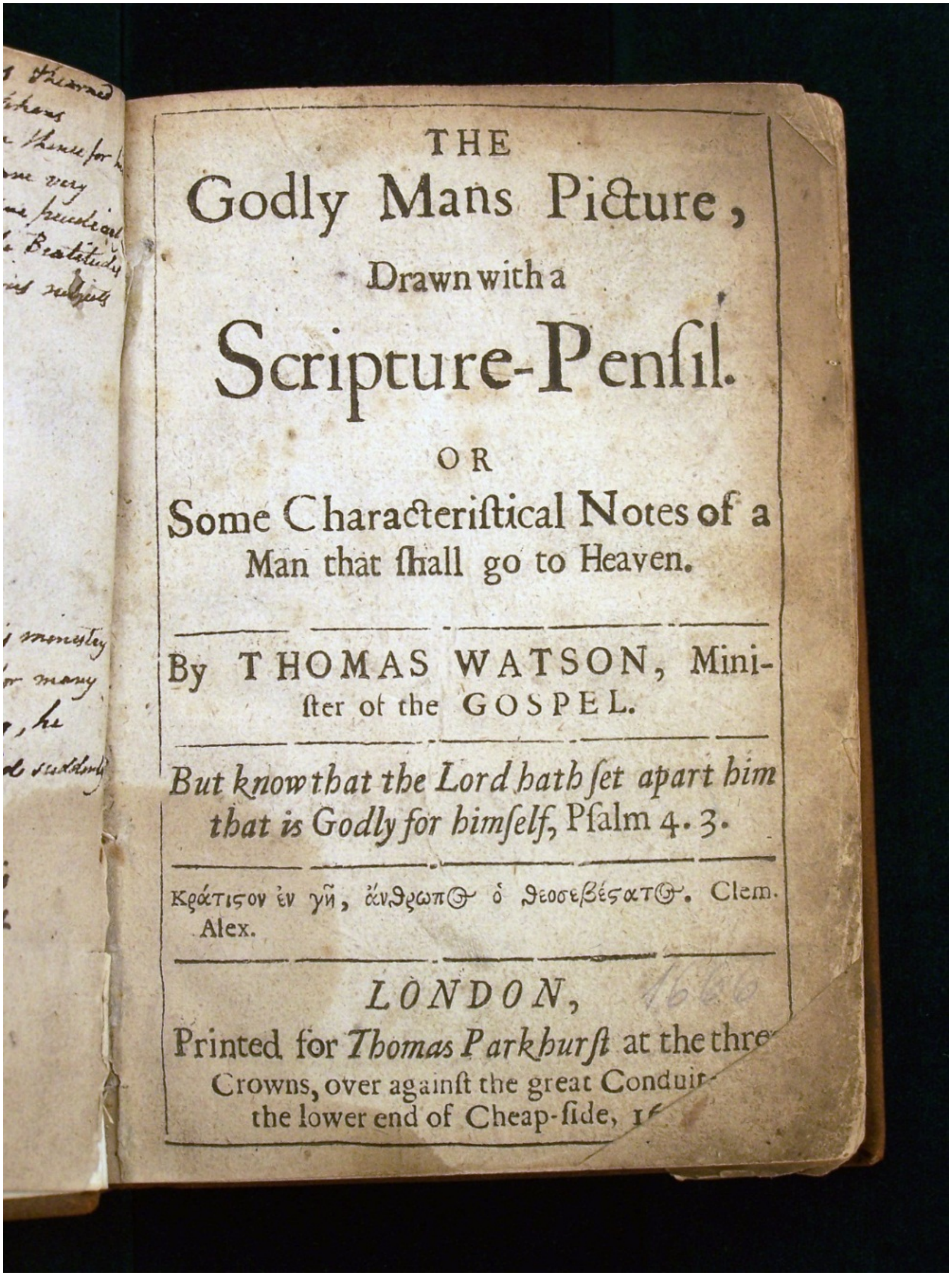


Figure 128. Triple elegiac acrostic on Francis Willoughby (1671), page 4, Edward Taylor, “Poetical Works” manuscript, n.d. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University

Figure 129. Side elevation, Massachusetts Hall, 1718-20. Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts



THE
Godly Mans Picture,
Drawn with a
Scripture-Penſil.
OR
Some Characteriſtical Notes of a
Man that ſhall go to Heaven.

By THOMAS WATSON, Miniſter of the GOSPEL.

But know that the Lord hath ſet apart him that is Godly for himſelf, Pſalm 4. 3.

Κράτιϛον ἐν γῆ, ἄνθρωπος ὁ θεοσεβέϛατος. Clem. Alex.

LONDON,
Printed for *Thomas Parkhurſt* at the thre
Crowns, over againſt the great Conduit
the lower end of Cheap-ſide, 1
1666

Figure 130. Title page, Thomas Watson, *The Godly Mans Picture, Drawn with a Scripture-Pensil*, London, 1666. Huntington Library, San Marino, California

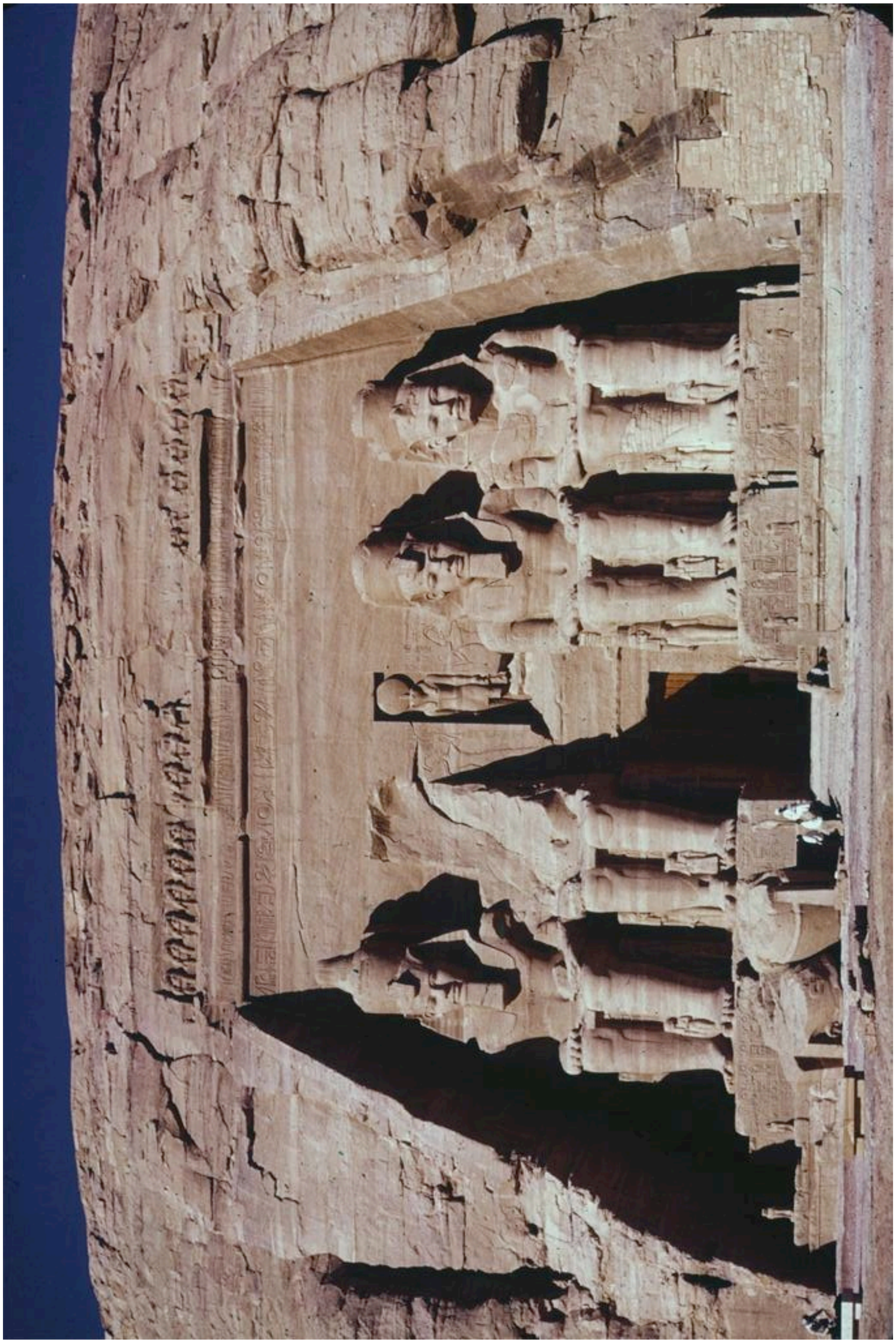
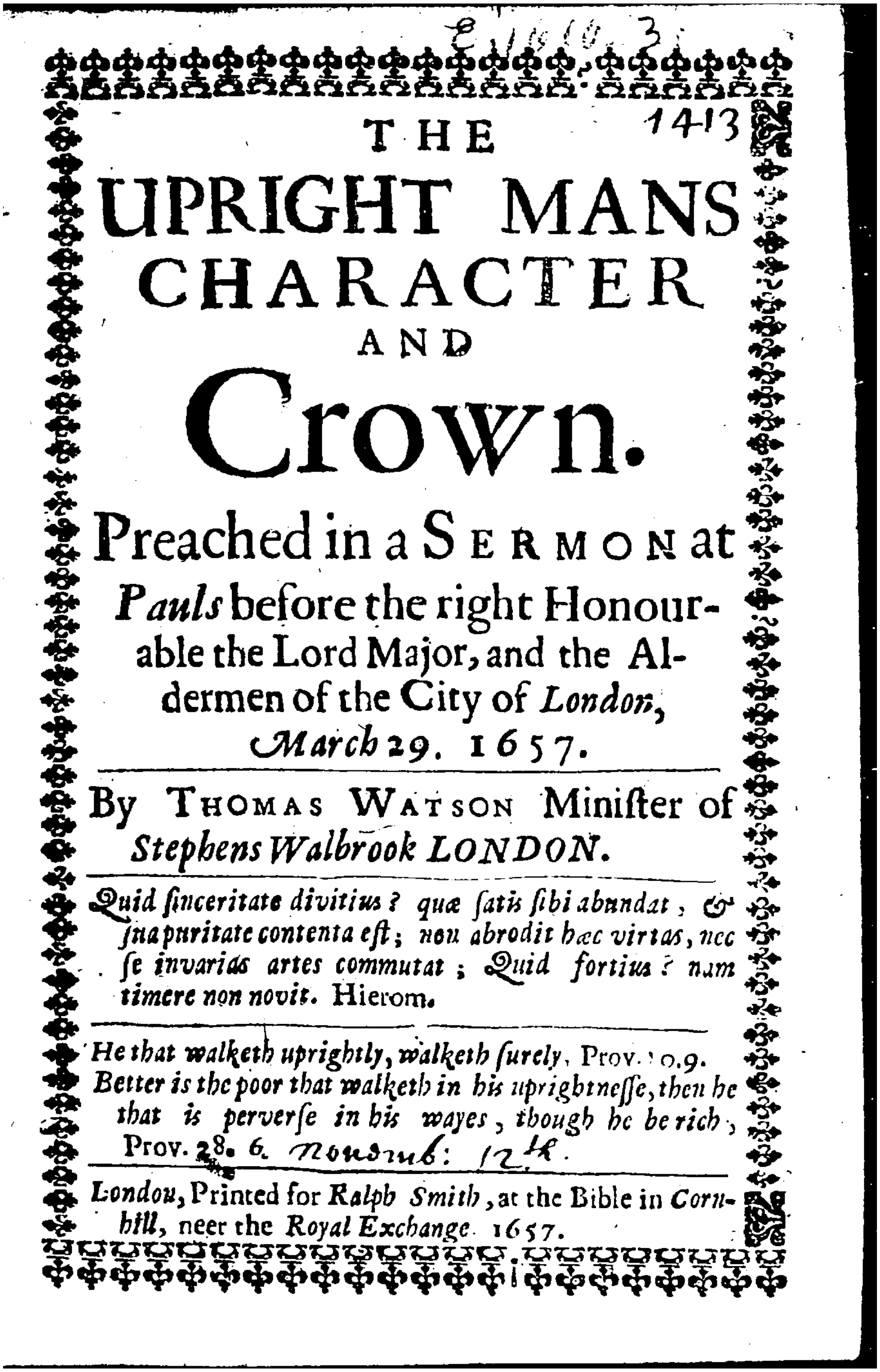


Figure 131. Frontispiece, Temple of Ramses II, 13th century BCE. Abu Simbel, Egypt



1413

THE
UPRIGHT MANS
CHARACTER
AND
Crown.
Preached in a SERMON at
Pauls before the right Honourable the Lord Major, and the Aldermen of the City of *London*,
March 29. 1657.

By THOMAS WATSON Miniſter of
Stephens Walbrook LONDON.

Quid ſinceritate divitius? quæ ſatis ſibi abundat, & ſua puritate contenta eſt; non abrodit hæc virtus, nec ſe in varias artes commutat; Quid fortius? nam timere non novit. Hierom.

He that walketh uprightly, walketh ſurely, Prov. 10.9.
Better is the poor that walketh in his uprightneſſe, then he that is perverſe in his wayes, though he be rich, Prov. 28. 6. Novemb: 12th.

London, Printed for *Ralph Smith*, at the Bible in *Cornhill*, neer the *Royal Exchange.* 1657.

Figure 132. Title page, Thomas Watson, *The Upright Mans Character and Crown*, London, 1657. British Library, London

Figure 133. Frontispiece, Canterbury Quadrangle, 1631-36. Saint John’s College, University of Oxford

Figure 134. Frontispiece, Front Quadrangle, 1620-42. Oriel College, University of Oxford

Figure 135. Exterior of the Clopton chantry chapel, late fifteenth century. Holy Trinity Church, Long Melford, Essex

Figure 136. Interior detail showing upper part of the wall and ceiling beams, Clopton chantry chapel, late fifteenth century. Holy Trinity Church, Long Melford, Essex

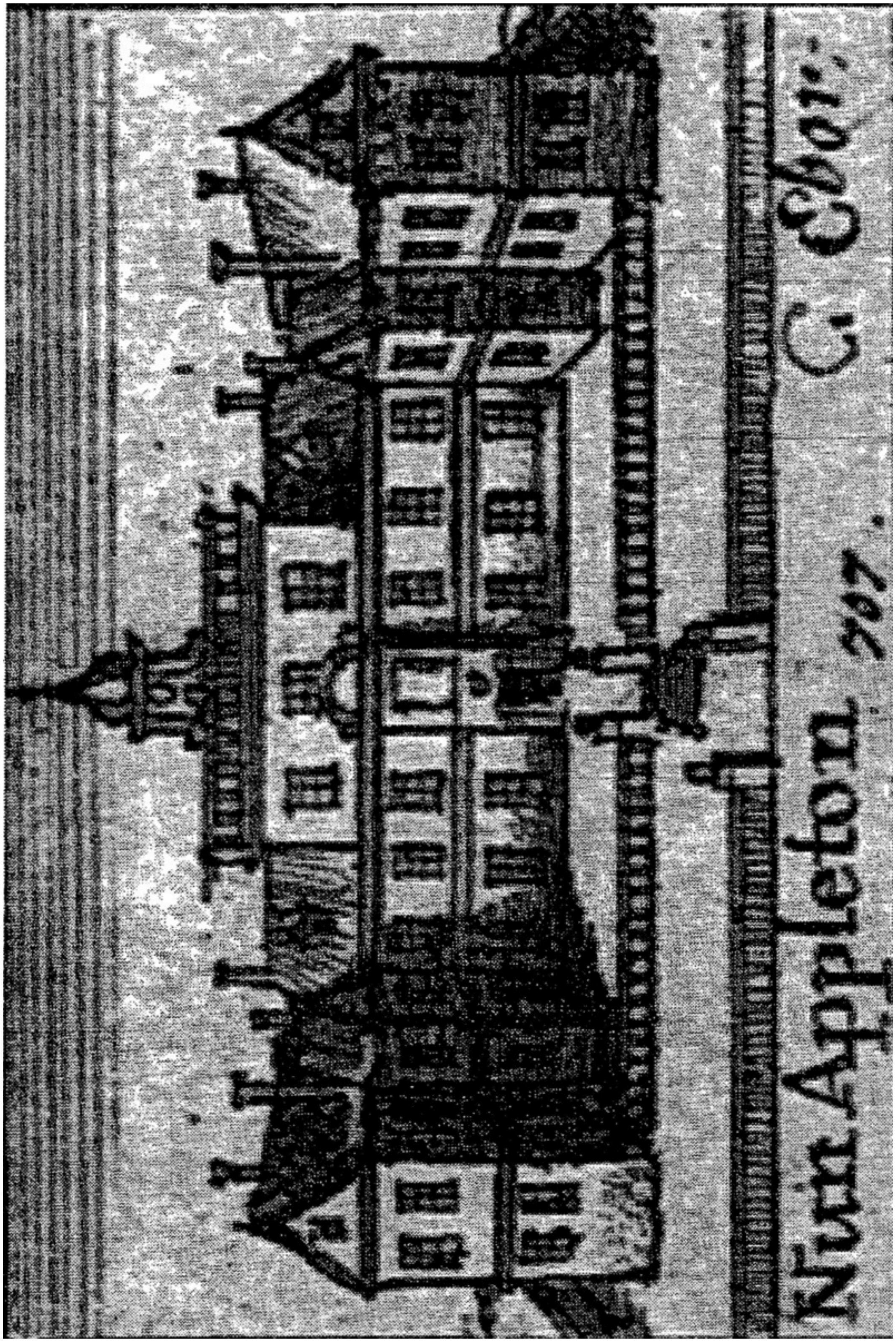
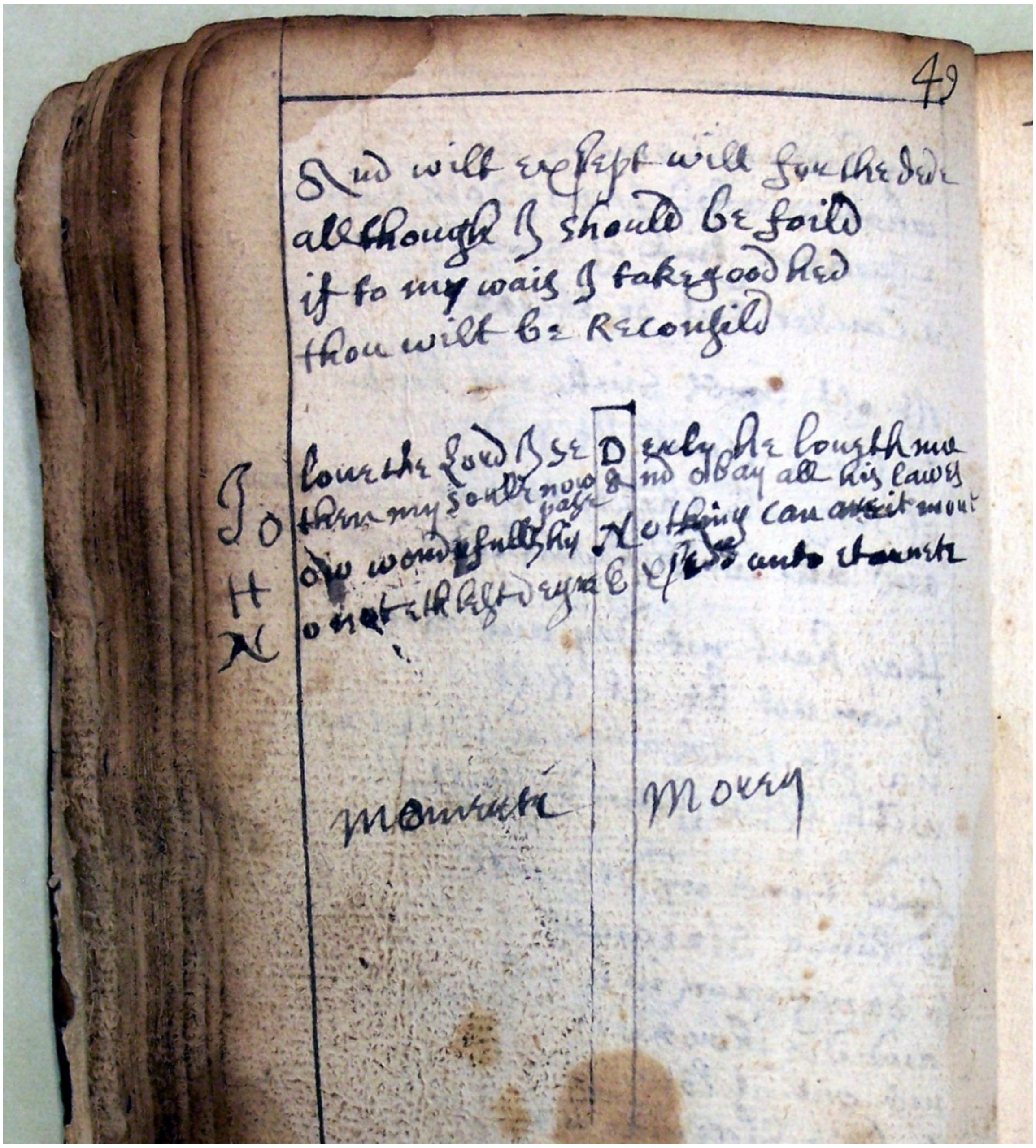


Figure 137. Appleton House, Yorkshire, as it appeared ca. 1656



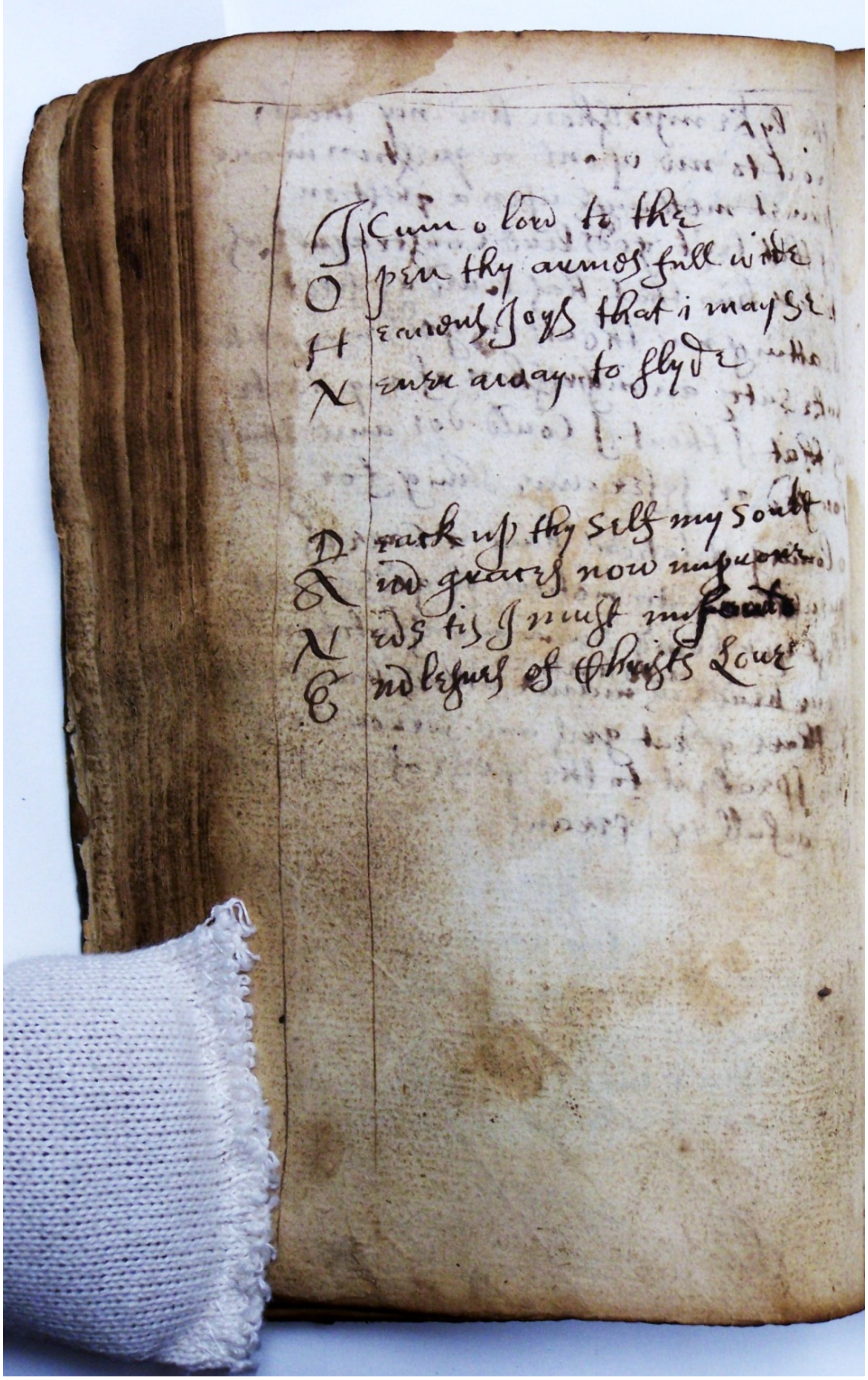
49

And wilt exsept will for the dede
allthough I should be foild
if to my wais I take good hed
thou wilt be Reconsild

J loue the Lord I se D erly he lougth me
O thou my soule now & nd obay all his lawes
H ow wonderfully thy N othing can [illegible] mout
N o [illegible] E [illegible] unto [illegible]

memento morry

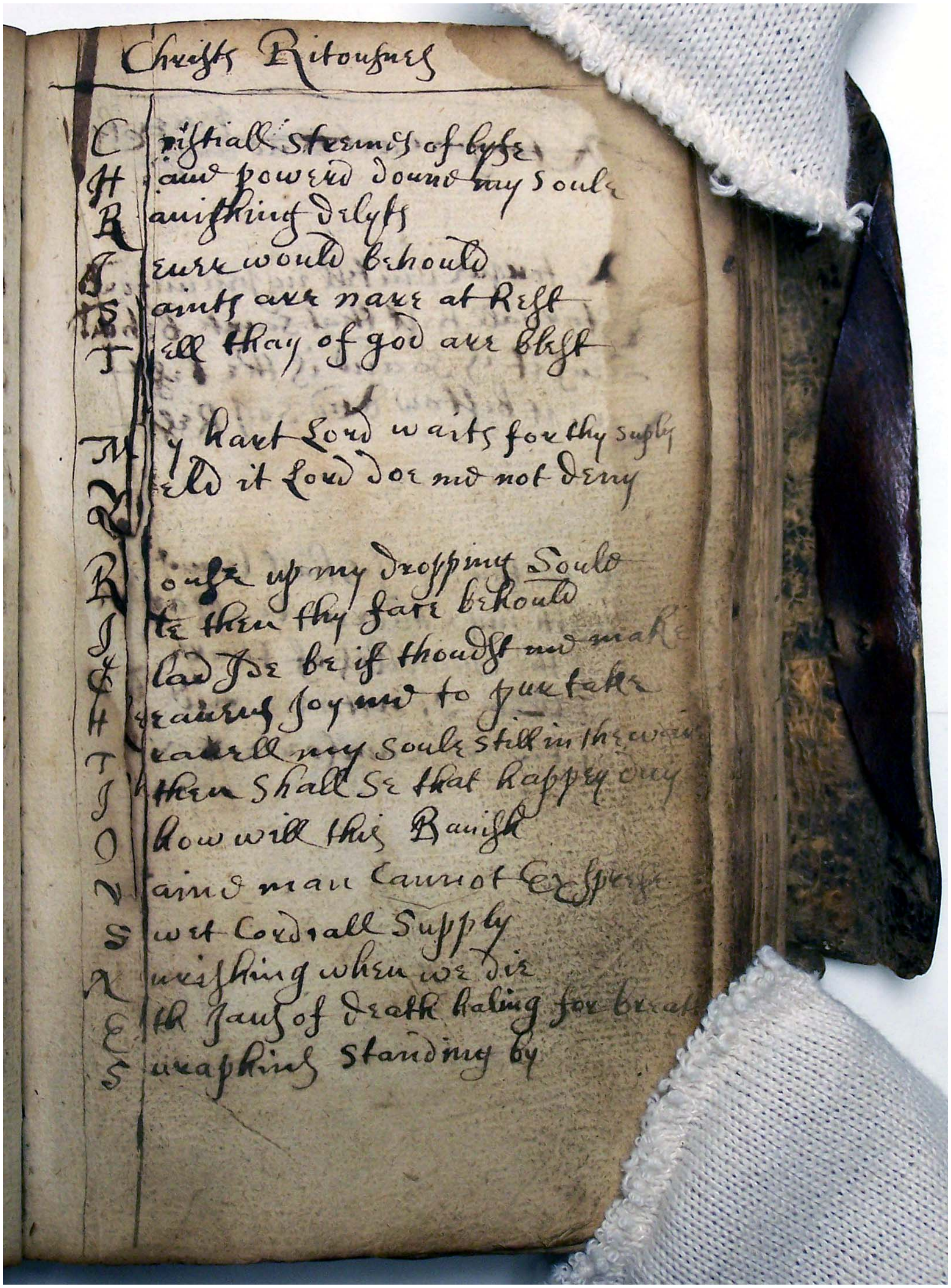
Figure 138. Acrostic on “JOHN DANE,” n.p., John Dane commonplace-book, 1682. New England Historic Genealogical Society, Boston



J Cum o lord to the
O pen thy armes full wide
H euenly Joys that i may se
N euer away to flyde

D rack up thy self my soull
A nd graces now implore
N eds tis I must im[illegible]
E nd lesurs of Christs Loue

Figure 139. Acrostic on “JOHN DANE,” n.p., John Dane commonplace-book, 1682. New England Historic Genealogical Society, Boston



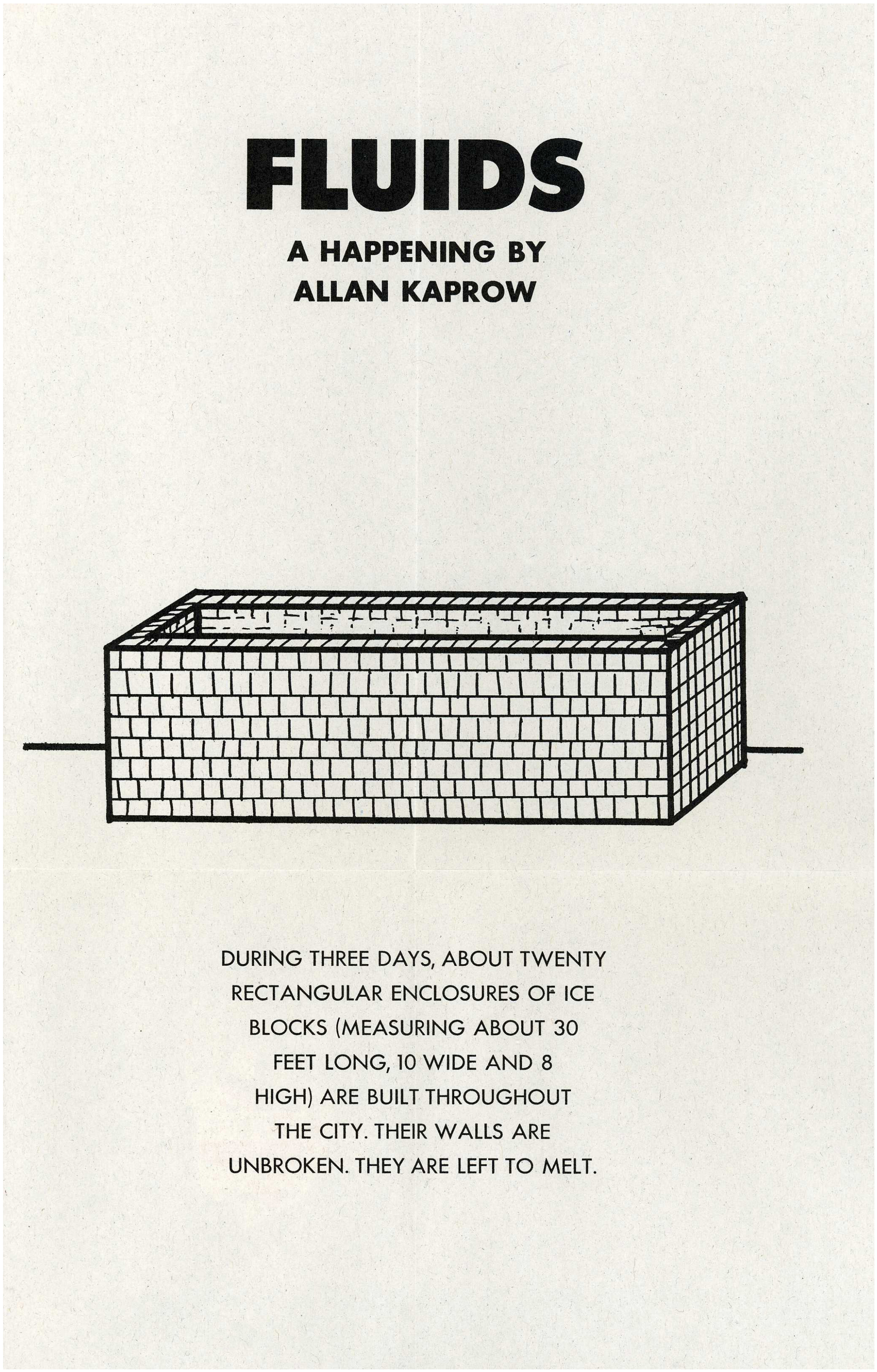
Christs Ritousnes

C ristiall streames of lyfe
H aue powerd dound my soule
R auishing delyts
I euer would behould
S aints are nare at Rest
T ell thay of god are blest

M y hart Lord waits for thy suply
Y eld it Lord doe me not deny

R ouse up my dropping Soule
I e then thy face behould
G lad Ide be if thoudst me make
H eavens Joy me to purtake
T ravell my soule still in the way
I then shall se that happy day
O how will this Ravish
V aind man cannot Express
S weet Cordiall Supply
N urishing when we die
E th Jaws of death haling for breat
S eraphims standing by

Figure 140. Acrostic on “CHRIST MY RIGHTIOUSNES,” n.p., John Dane commonplace-book, 1682. New England Historic Genealogical Society, Boston



FLUIDS

A HAPPENING BY
ALLAN KAPROW

DURING THREE DAYS, ABOUT TWENTY
RECTANGULAR ENCLOSURES OF ICE
BLOCKS (MEASURING ABOUT 30
FEET LONG, 10 WIDE AND 8
HIGH) ARE BUILT THROUGHOUT
THE CITY. THEIR WALLS ARE
UNBROKEN. THEY ARE LEFT TO MELT.

Figure 141. Allan Kaprow, poster for *Fluids* happening, 1967

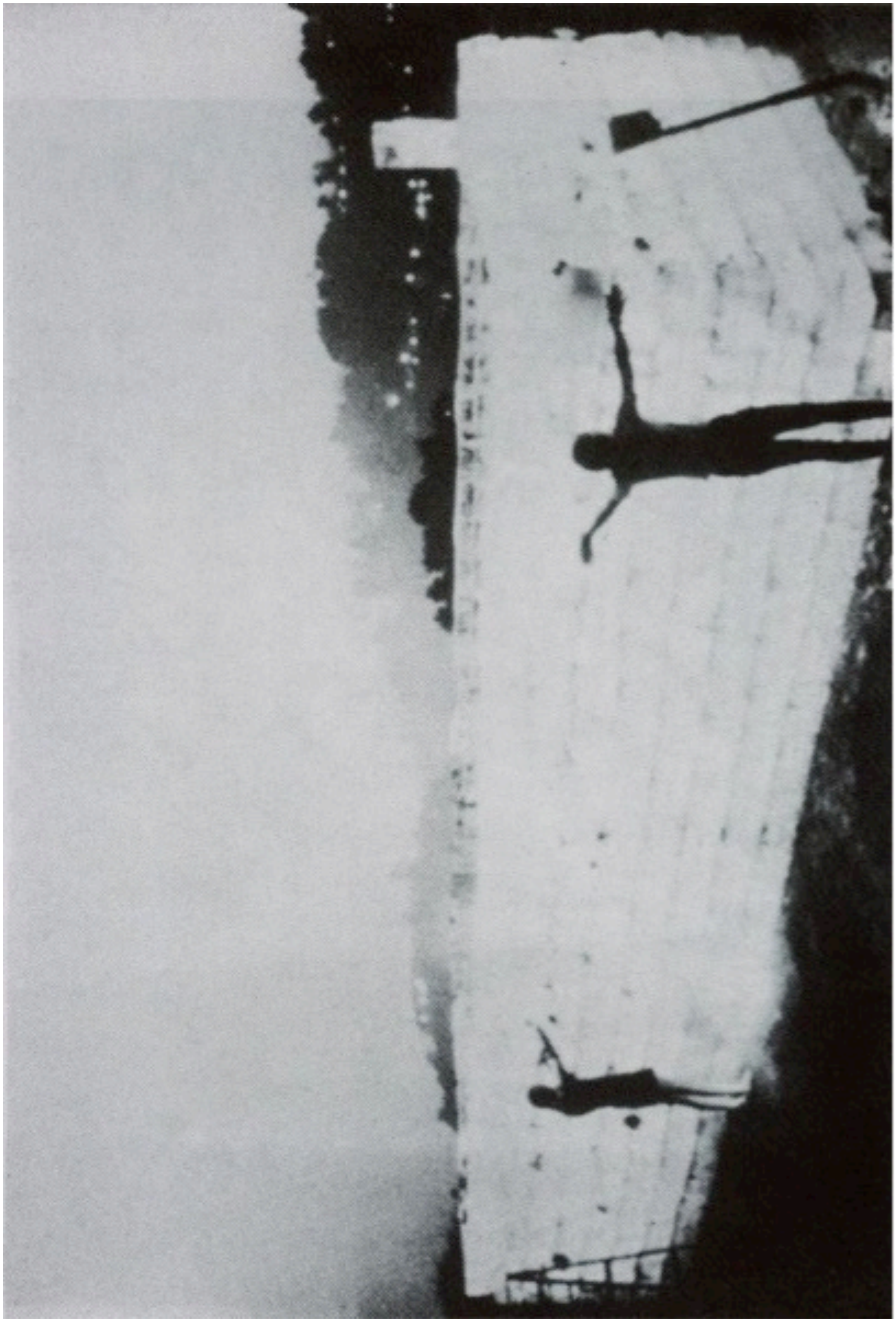
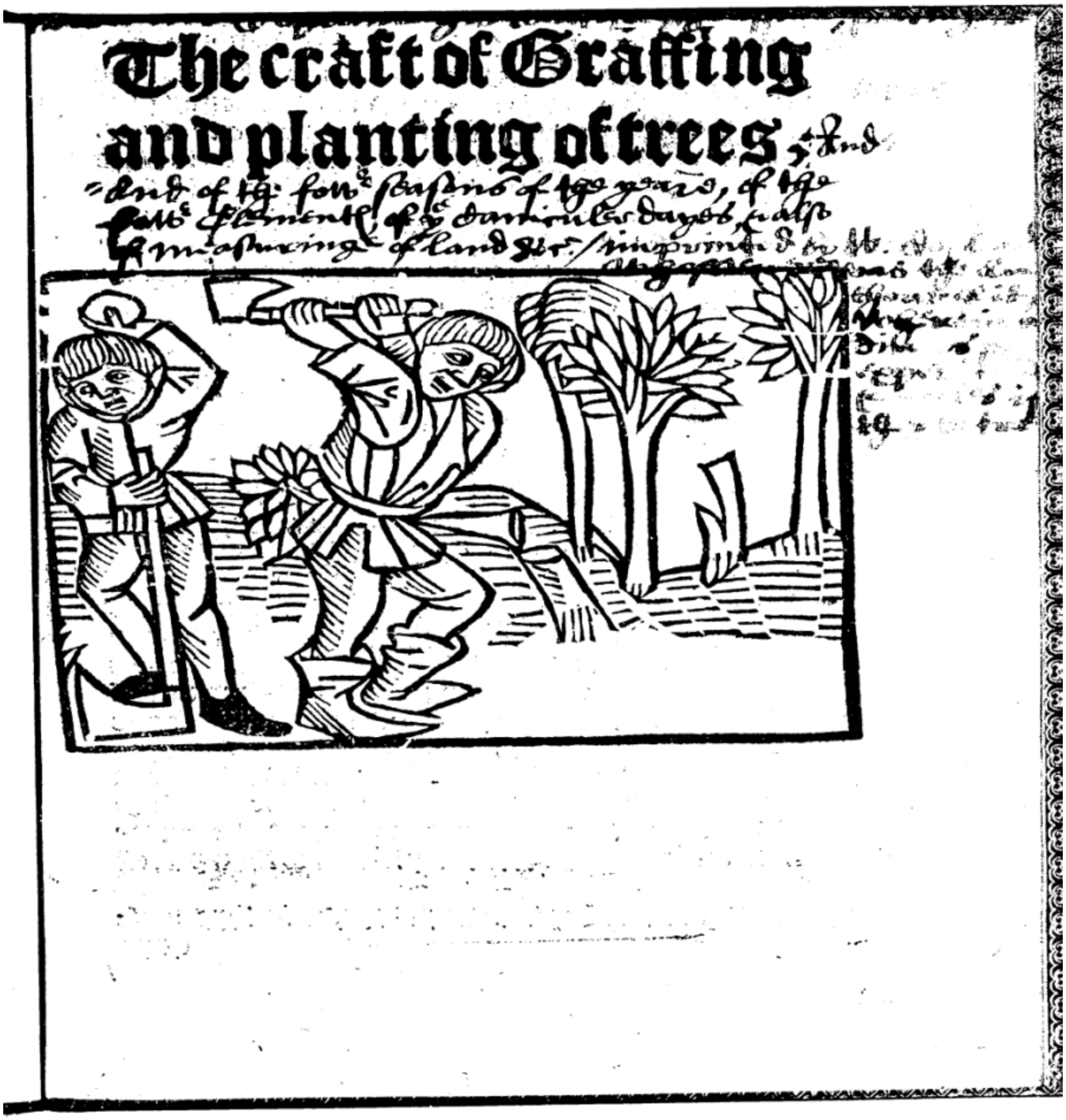


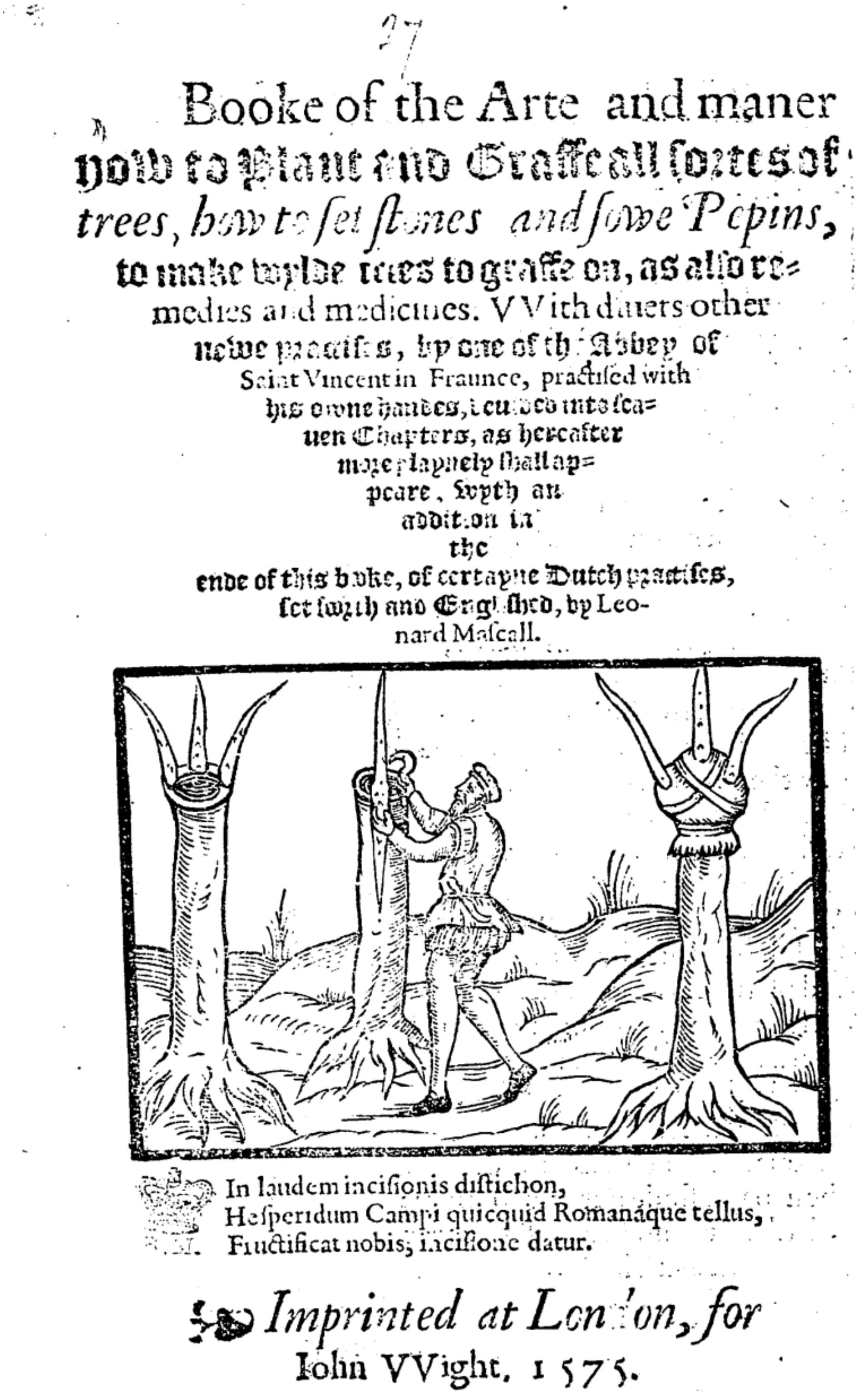
Figure 142. Allan Kaprow, *Fluids*, documentation of a happening, 1967



The craft of Graffing and planting of trees, and

And of the fowre seasons of the yeare, of the fowre elementes, of the dominicall dayes, & also the measuring of land &c.

Figure 143. Title page, *The Craft of Graffing and Planting of Trees*, London, 1563. University of Wisconsin Library, Madison



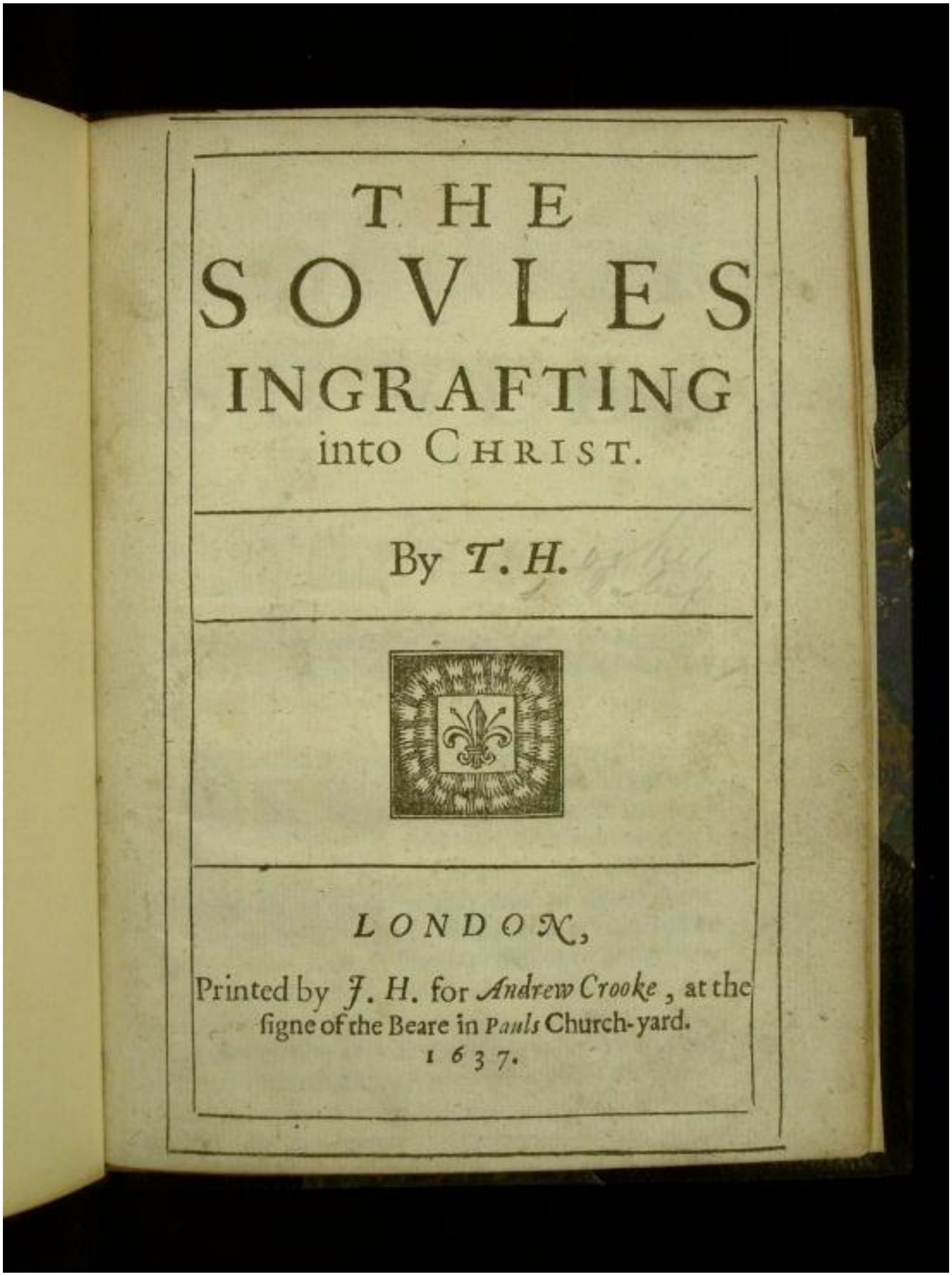
27

Booke of the Arte and maner
how to Plant and Graffe all ſortes of
trees, how to ſet ſtones and ſowe Pepins,
to make wylde trees to graffe on, as alſo remedies
and medicines. VVith diuers other
newe practiſes, by one of the Abbey of
Saint Vincent in Fraunce, practiſed with
his owne handes, deuided into ſeauen
Chapters, as hereafter
more playnely ſhall appeare,
with an
addition in
the
ende of this booke, of certayne Dutch practiſes,
ſet forth and Engliſhed, by Leonard
Maſcall.

In laudem inciſionis diſtichon,
Heſperidum Campi quicquid Romanáque tellus,
Fructificat nobis, inciſione datur.

Imprinted at London, for
Iohn VVight. 1575.

Figure 144. Title page, Leonard Mascall, *A Booke of the Arte and Maner How to Plant and Graffe*, London, 1575. British Library, London

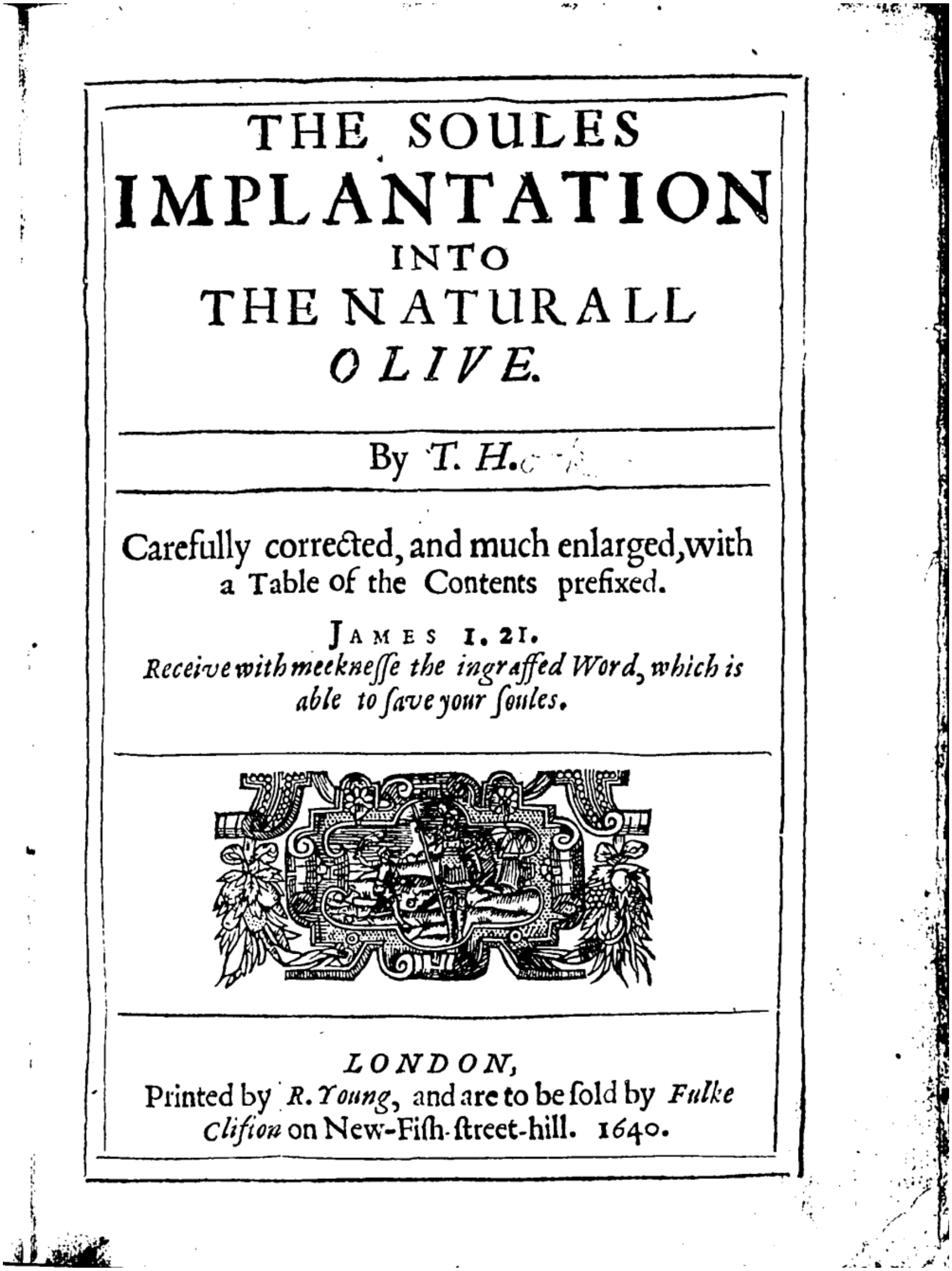


THE
SOVLES
INGRAFTING
into CHRIST.

By *T. H.*

LONDON,
Printed by *J. H.* for *Andrew Crooke*, at the
ſigne of the Beare in *Pauls* Church-yard.
1637.

Figure 145. Title page, Thomas Hooker, *The Sovles Ingrafting into Christ*, London, 1637. Huntington Library, San Marino, California



THE SOULES
IMPLANTATION
INTO
THE NATURALL
OLIVE.

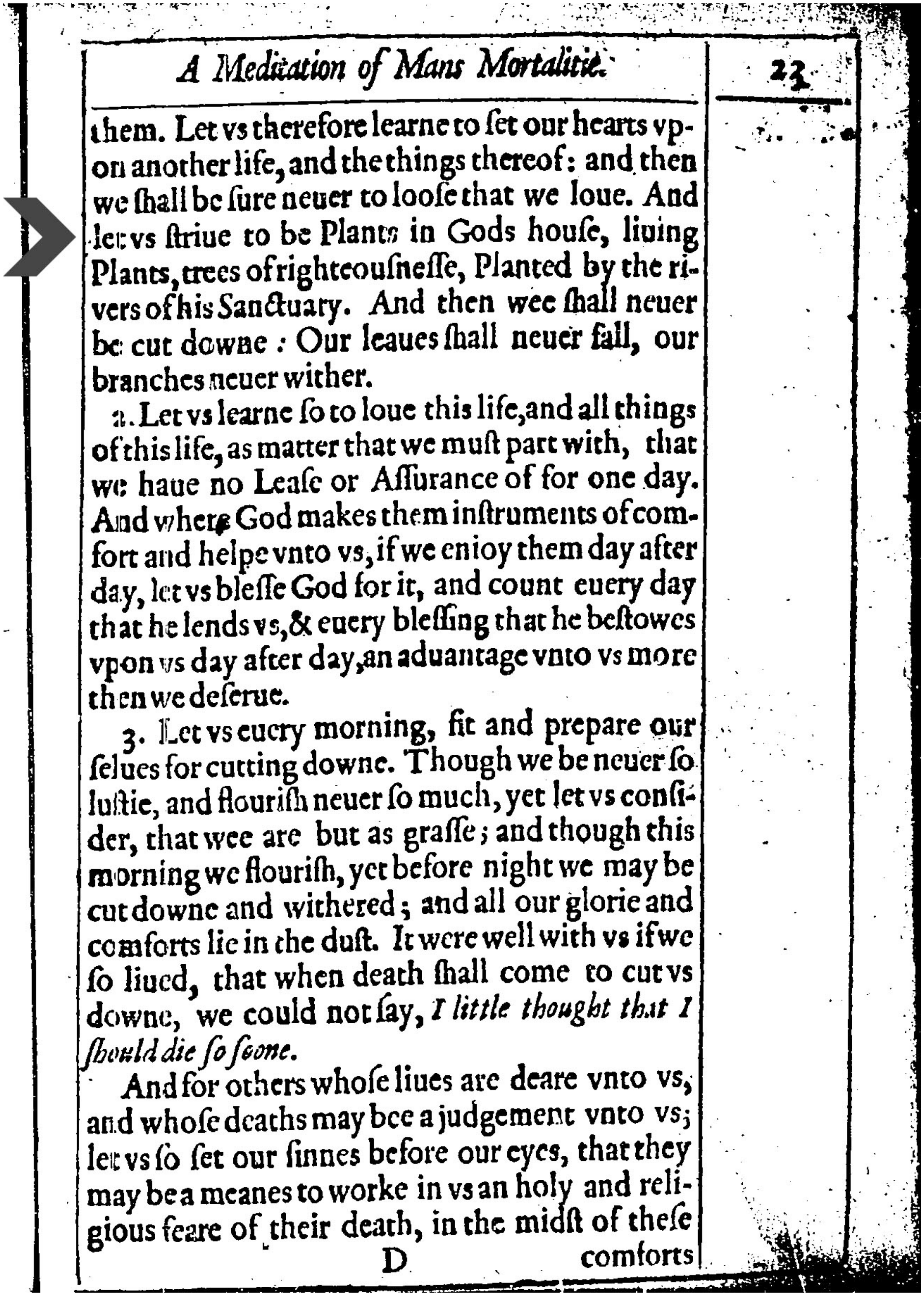
By *T. H.*

Carefully corrected, and much enlarged, with
a Table of the Contents prefixed.

JAMES 1. 21.
*Receive with meekneſſe the ingraffed Word, which is
able to ſave your ſoules.*

LONDON,
Printed by *R. Young*, and are to be ſold by *Fulke
Clifton* on New-Fiſh-ſtreet-hill. 1640.

Figure 146. Title page, Thomas Hooker, *The Soules Implantation into the Naturall Olive*, London, 1640. Huntington Library, San Marino, California



A Meditation of Mans Mortalitie. 23

them. Let vs therefore learne to ſet our hearts vpon another life, and the things thereof: and then we ſhall be ſure neuer to looſe that we loue. And let vs ſtriue to be Plants in Gods houſe, liuing Plants, trees of righteouſneſſe, Planted by the riuers of his Sanctuary. And then wee ſhall neuer be cut downe: Our leaues ſhall neuer fall, our branches neuer wither.

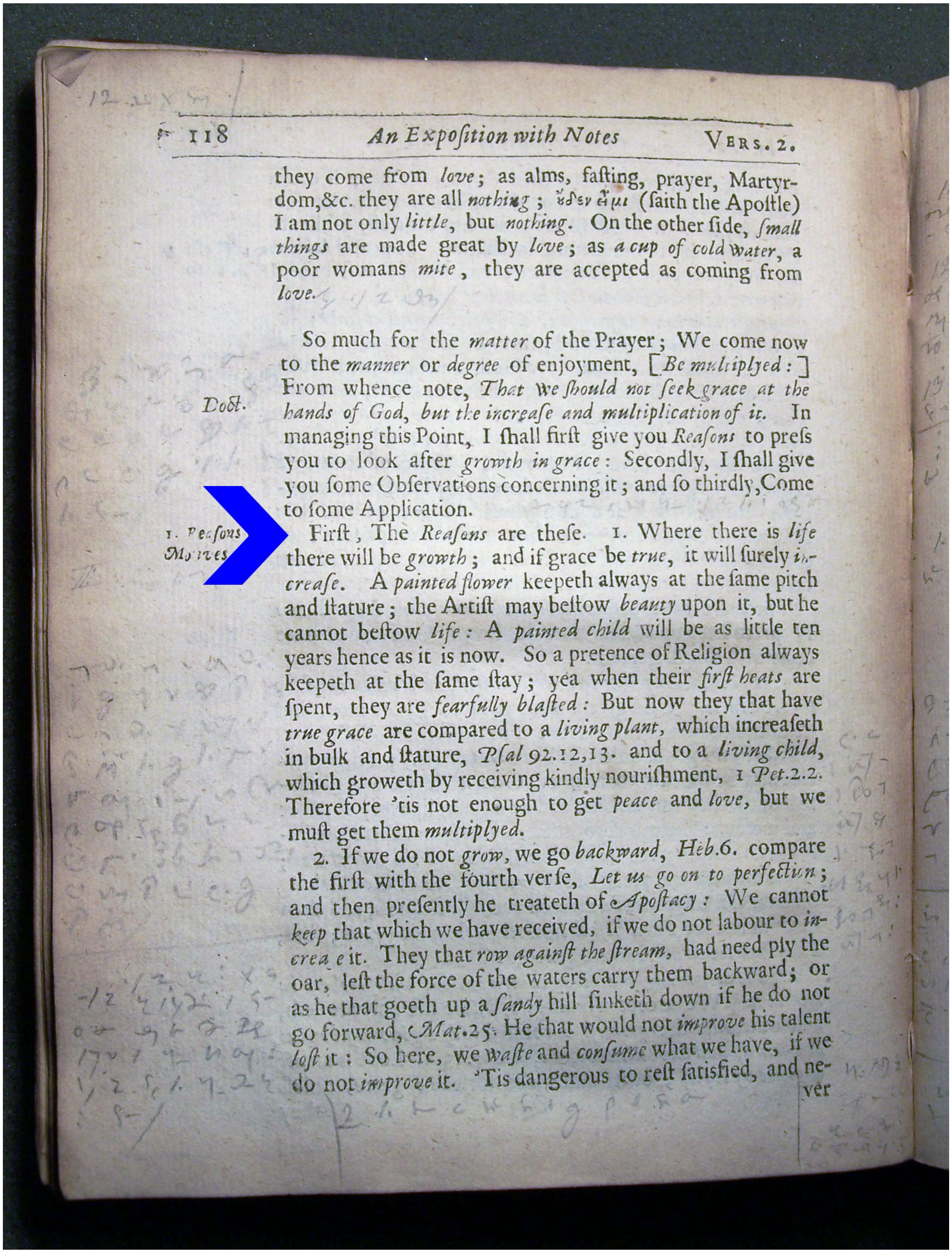
2. Let vs learne ſo to loue this life, and all things of this life, as matter that we muſt part with, that we haue no Leaſe or Aſſurance of for one day. And where God makes them inſtruments of comfort and helpe vnto vs, if we enioy them day after day, let vs bleſſe God for it, and count euery day that he lends vs, & euery bleſſing that he beſtowes vpon vs day after day, an aduantage vnto vs more then we deſerue.

3. Let vs euery morning, fit and prepare our ſelues for cutting downe. Though we be neuer ſo luſtie, and flouriſh neuer ſo much, yet let vs conſider, that wee are but as graſſe; and though this morning we flouriſh, yet before night we may be cut downe and withered; and all our glorie and comforts lie in the duſt. It were well with vs if we ſo liued, that when death ſhall come to cut vs downe, we could not ſay, *I little thought that I ſhould die ſo ſoone.*

And for others whoſe liues are deare vnto vs, and whoſe deaths may bee a judgement vnto vs; let vs ſo ſet our ſinnes before our eyes, that they may be a meanes to worke in vs an holy and religious feare of their death, in the midſt of theſe

D comforts

Figure 147. Page 23, William Bradshaw, *A Meditation of Mans Mortalitie*, London, 1621. Union Theological Seminary Library, New York



118 *An Expoſition with Notes* Vers. 2.

they come from *love*; as alms, faſting, prayer, Martyrdom,&c. they are all *nothing*; οὐδέν εἰμι (ſaith the Apoſtle) I am not only *little*, but *nothing*. On the other ſide, *ſmall things* are made great by *love*; as *a cup of cold Water*, a poor womans *mite*, they are accepted as coming from *love*.

So much for the *matter* of the Prayer; We come now to the *manner* or *degree* of enjoyment, [*Be multiplyed:*] From whence note, *That We ſhould not ſeek grace at the hands of God, but the increaſe and multiplication of it.* In managing this Point, I ſhall firſt give you *Reaſons* to preſs you to look after *growth in grace*: Secondly, I ſhall give you ſome Obſervations concerning it; and ſo thirdly, Come to ſome Application.

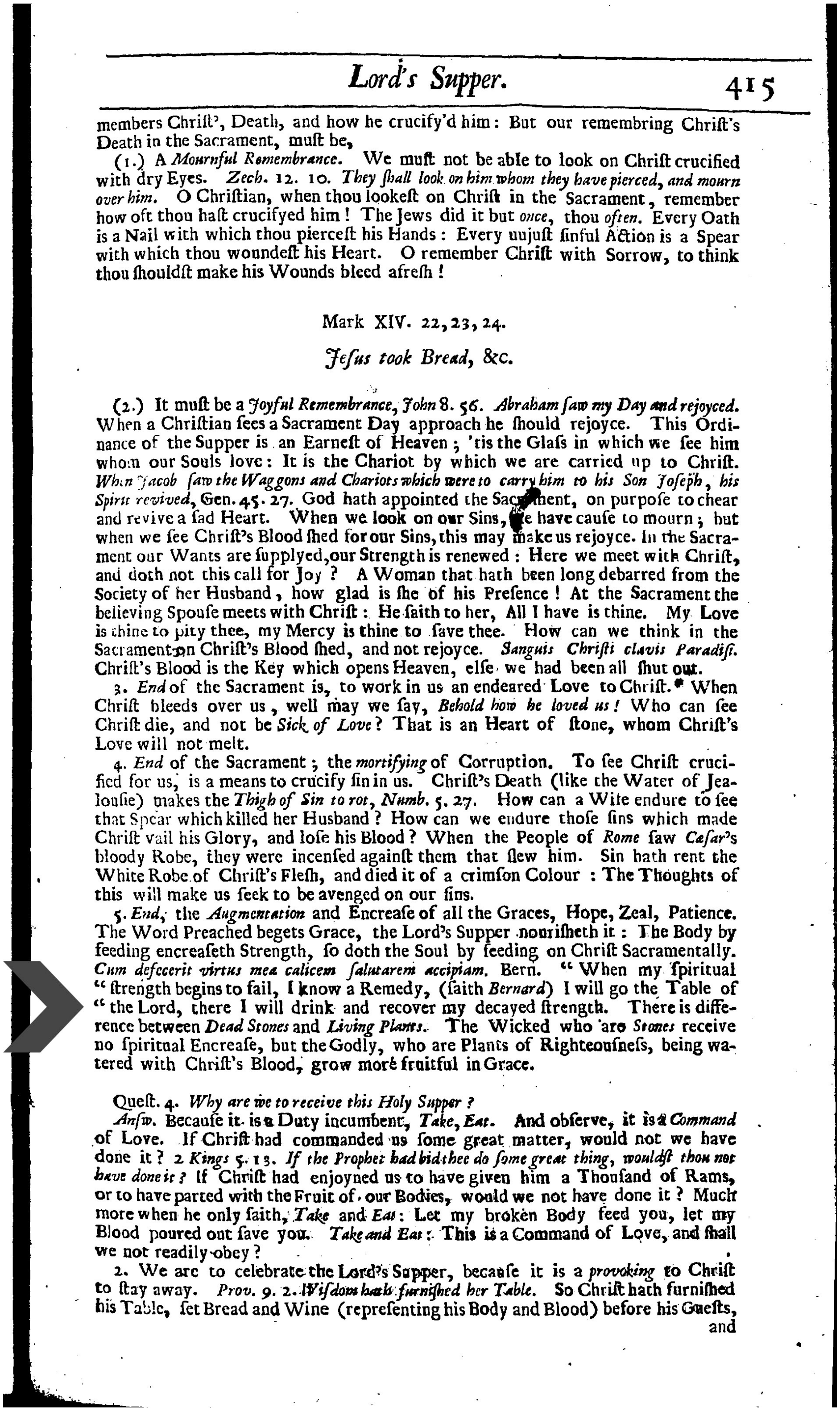
Doct.

1. Reaſons Motives

Firſt, The *Reaſons* are theſe. 1. Where there is *life* there will be *growth*; and if grace be *true*, it will ſurely *increaſe*. A *painted flower* keepeth always at the ſame pitch and ſtature; the Artiſt may beſtow *beauty* upon it, but he cannot beſtow *life*: A *painted child* will be as little ten years hence as it is now. So a pretence of Religion always keepeth at the ſame ſtay; yea when their *firſt heats* are ſpent, they are *fearfully blaſted*: But now they that have *true grace* are compared to a *living plant*, which increaſeth in bulk and ſtature, *Pſal* 92.12,13. and to a *living child*, which groweth by receiving kindly nouriſhment, 1 *Pet*.2.2. Therefore 'tis not enough to get *peace* and *love*, but we muſt get them *multiplyed*.

2. If we do not *grow*, we go *backward*, *Heb*.6. compare the firſt with the fourth verſe, *Let us go on to perfection*; and then preſently he treateth of *Apoſtacy*: We cannot *keep* that which we have received, if we do not labour to *increaſe* it. They that *row againſt the ſtream*, had need ply the oar, leſt the force of the waters carry them backward; or as he that goeth up a *ſandy* hill ſinketh down if he do not go forward, *Mat*.25. He that would not *improve* his talent *loſt* it: So here, we *waſte* and *conſume* what we have, if we do not *improve* it. 'Tis dangerous to reſt ſatisfied, and never

Figure 148. Page 18, Thomas Manton, *A Practical Commentary, or An Exposition with Notes on the Epistle of Jude*, London, 1657. Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D.C.



Lord's Supper. 415

members Chriſt', Death, and how he crucify'd him: But our remembring Chriſt's Death in the Sacrament, muſt be,

(1.) A *Mournful Remembrance.* We muſt not be able to look on Chriſt crucified with dry Eyes. *Zech.* 12. 10. *They ſhall look on him whom they have pierced, and mourn over him.* O Chriſtian, when thou lookeſt on Chriſt in the Sacrament, remember how oft thou haſt crucifyed him! The Jews did it but *once*, thou *often.* Every Oath is a Nail with which thou pierceſt his Hands: Every uujuſt ſinful Action is a Spear with which thou woundeſt his Heart. O remember Chriſt with Sorrow, to think thou ſhouldſt make his Wounds bleed afreſh!

Mark XIV. 22, 23, 24.

Jeſus took Bread, &c.

(2.) It muſt be a *Joyful Remembrance, John* 8. 56. *Abraham ſaw my Day and rejoyced.* When a Chriſtian ſees a Sacrament Day approach he ſhould rejoyce. This Ordinance of the Supper is an Earneſt of Heaven; 'tis the Glaſs in which we ſee him whom our Souls love: It is the Chariot by which we are carried up to Chriſt. *When Jacob ſaw the Waggons and Chariots which were to carry him to his Son Joſeph, his Spirit revived*, Gen. 45. 27. God hath appointed the Sacrament, on purpoſe to chear and revive a ſad Heart. When we look on our Sins, we have cauſe to mourn; but when we ſee Chriſt's Blood ſhed for our Sins, this may make us rejoyce. In the Sacrament our Wants are ſupplyed, our Strength is renewed: Here we meet with Chriſt, and doth not this call for Joy? A Woman that hath been long debarred from the Society of her Husband, how glad is ſhe of his Preſence! At the Sacrament the believing Spouſe meets with Chriſt: He ſaith to her, All I have is thine. My Love is thine to pity thee, my Mercy is thine to ſave thee. How can we think in the Sacrament on Chriſt's Blood ſhed, and not rejoyce. *Sanguis Chriſti clavis Paradiſi.* Chriſt's Blood is the Key which opens Heaven, elſe we had been all ſhut out.

3. *End* of the Sacrament is, to work in us an endeared Love to Chriſt.* When Chriſt bleeds over us, well may we ſay, *Behold how he loved us!* Who can ſee Chriſt die, and not be *Sick of Love*? That is an Heart of ſtone, whom Chriſt's Love will not melt.

4. *End* of the Sacrament; the *mortifying* of Corruption. To ſee Chriſt crucified for us, is a means to crucify ſin in us. Chriſt's Death (like the Water of Jealouſie) makes the *Thigh of Sin to rot, Numb.* 5. 27. How can a Wife endure to ſee that Spear which killed her Husband? How can we endure thoſe ſins which made Chriſt vail his Glory, and loſe his Blood? When the People of *Rome* ſaw *Cæſar*'s bloody Robe, they were incenſed againſt them that ſlew him. Sin hath rent the White Robe of Chriſt's Fleſh, and died it of a crimſon Colour: The Thoughts of this will make us ſeek to be avenged on our ſins.

5. *End*, the *Augmentation* and Encreaſe of all the Graces, Hope, Zeal, Patience. The Word Preached begets Grace, the Lord's Supper nouriſheth it: The Body by feeding encreaſeth Strength, ſo doth the Soul by feeding on Chriſt Sacramentally. *Cum defecerit virtus mea calicem ſalutarem accipiam.* Bern. "When my ſpiritual "ſtrength begins to fail, I know a Remedy, (ſaith *Bernard*) I will go the Table of "the Lord, there I will drink and recover my decayed ſtrength. There is difference between *Dead Stones* and *Living Plants.* The Wicked who are *Stones* receive no ſpiritual Encreaſe, but the Godly, who are Plants of Righteouſneſs, being watered with Chriſt's Blood, grow more fruitful in Grace.

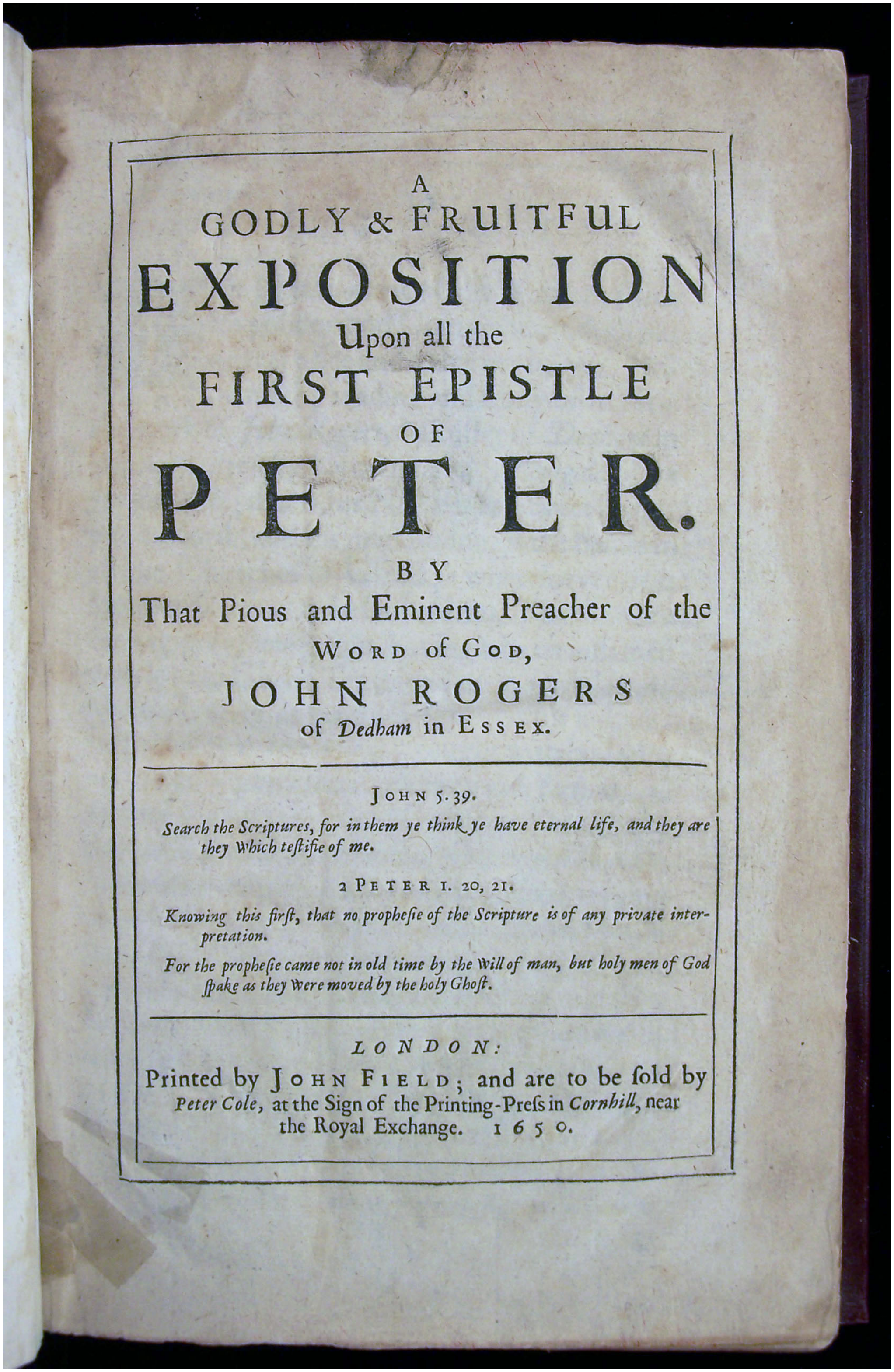
Queſt. 4. *Why are we to receive this Holy Supper?*

Anſw. Becauſe it is a Duty incumbent, *Take, Eat.* And obſerve, it is a *Command* of Love. If Chriſt had commanded us ſome great matter, would not we have done it? 2 *Kings* 5. 13. *If the Prophet had bid thee do ſome great thing, wouldſt thou not have done it?* If Chriſt had enjoyned us to have given him a Thouſand of Rams, or to have parted with the Fruit of our Bodies, would we not have done it? Much more when he only ſaith, *Take* and *Eat*: Let my broken Body feed you, let my Blood poured out ſave you. *Take and Eat*: This is a Command of Love, and ſhall we not readily obey?

2. We are to celebrate the Lord's Supper, becauſe it is a *provoking* to Chriſt to ſtay away. *Prov.* 9. 2. *Wiſdom hath furniſhed her Table.* So Chriſt hath furniſhed his Table, ſet Bread and Wine (repreſenting his Body and Blood) before his Gueſts,

and

Figure 149. Page 415, Thomas Watson, *A Body of Practical Divinity*, London, 1692. Union Theological Seminary Library, New York



A
GODLY & FRUITFUL
EXPOSITION
Upon all the
FIRST EPISTLE
OF
PETER.
BY
That Pious and Eminent Preacher of the
WORD of GOD,
JOHN ROGERS
of *Dedham* in ESSEX.

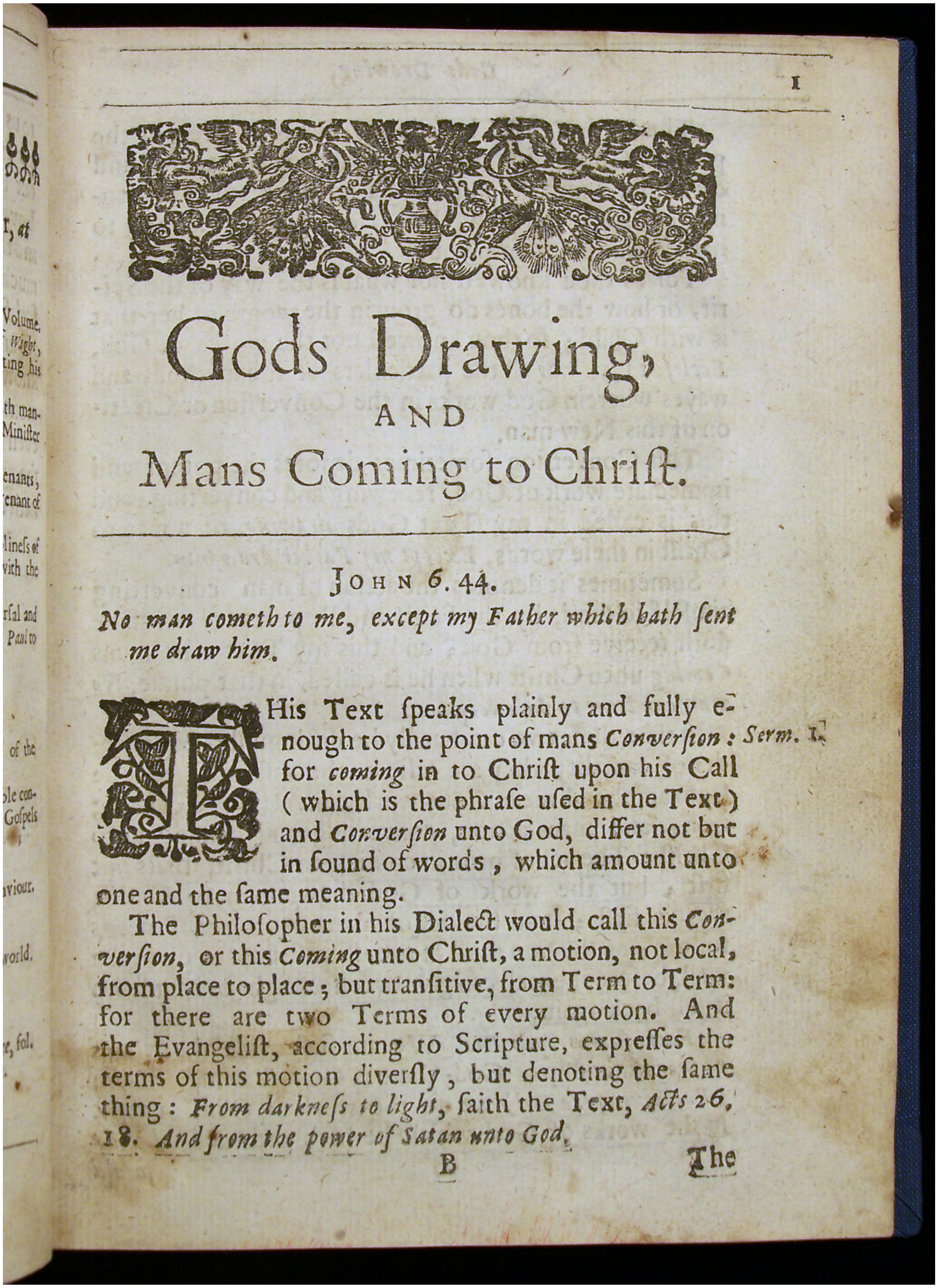
JOHN 5.39.
Search the Scriptures, for in them ye think ye have eternal life, and they are they Which teſtifie of me.

2 PETER I. 20, 21.
Knowing this firſt, that no propheſie of the Scripture is of any private interpretation.

For the propheſie came not in old time by the Will of man, but holy men of God ſpake as they Were moved by the holy Ghoſt.

LONDON:
Printed by JOHN FIELD; and are to be ſold by
Peter Cole, at the Sign of the Printing-Preſs in *Cornhill*, near
the Royal Exchange. 1650.

Figure 150. Title page, John Rogers, *A Godly and Fruitful Exposition Upon All the First Epistle of Peter*, London, 1650. Huntington Library, San Marino, California



1

Gods Drawing,

AND

Mans Coming to Chriſt.

JOHN 6. 44.

No man cometh to me, except my Father which hath ſent me draw him.

THis Text ſpeaks plainly and fully enough to the point of mans *Converſion*: for *coming* in to Chriſt upon his Call (which is the phraſe uſed in the Text) and *Converſion* unto God, differ not but in ſound of words, which amount unto one and the ſame meaning.

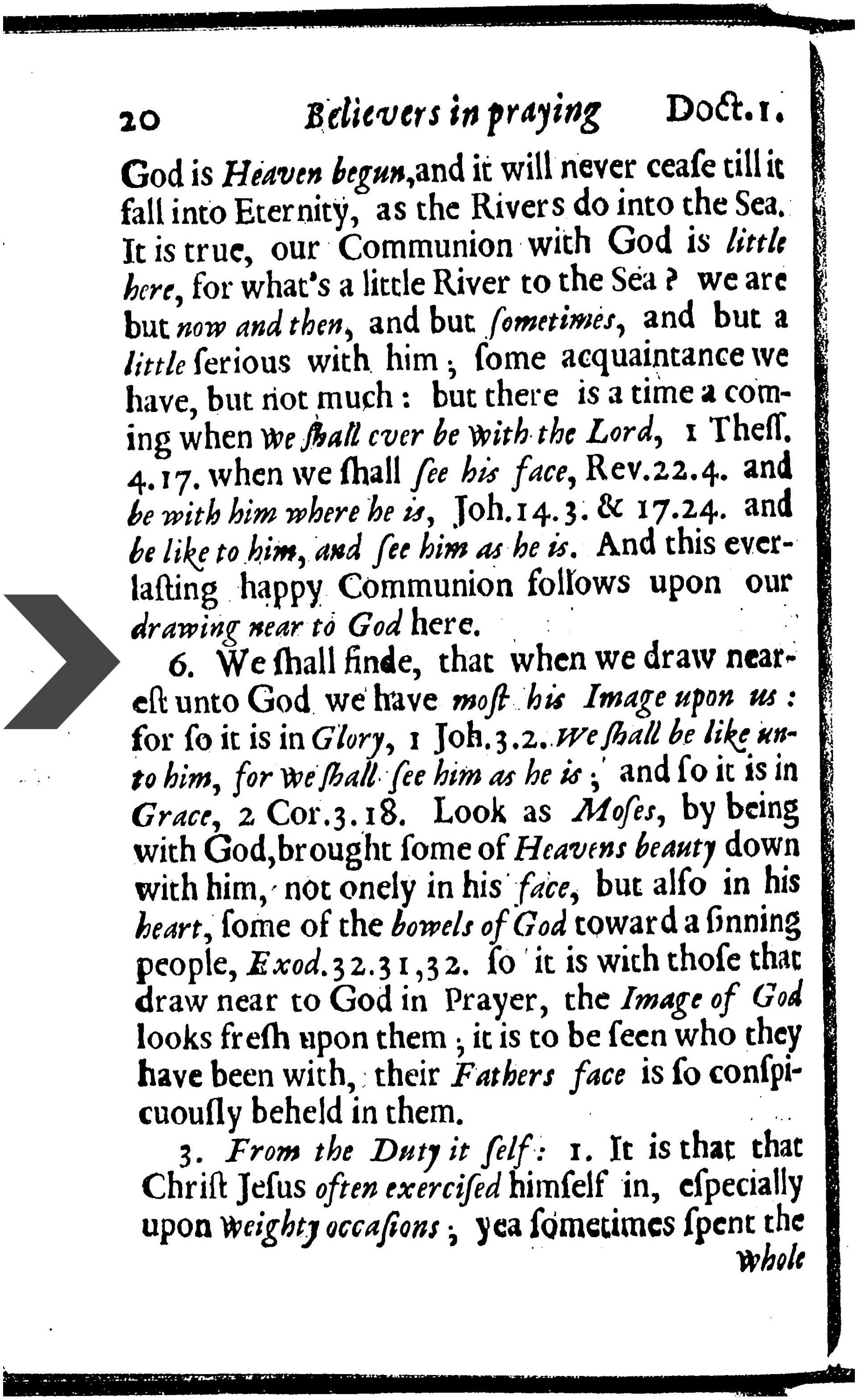
Serm. 1.

The Philoſopher in his Dialect would call this *Converſion*, or this *Coming* unto Chriſt, a motion, not local, from place to place; but tranſitive, from Term to Term: for there are two Terms of every motion. And the Evangeliſt, according to Scripture, expreſſes the terms of this motion diverſly, but denoting the ſame thing: *From darkneſs to light*, ſaith the Text, *Acts* 26. 18. *And from the power of Satan unto God.*

B

The

Figure 151. Page 1, Richard Vines, *Gods Drawing, and Mans Coming to Christ*, London, 1662. Huntington Library, San Marino, California



20 *Believers in praying* Doct.1.

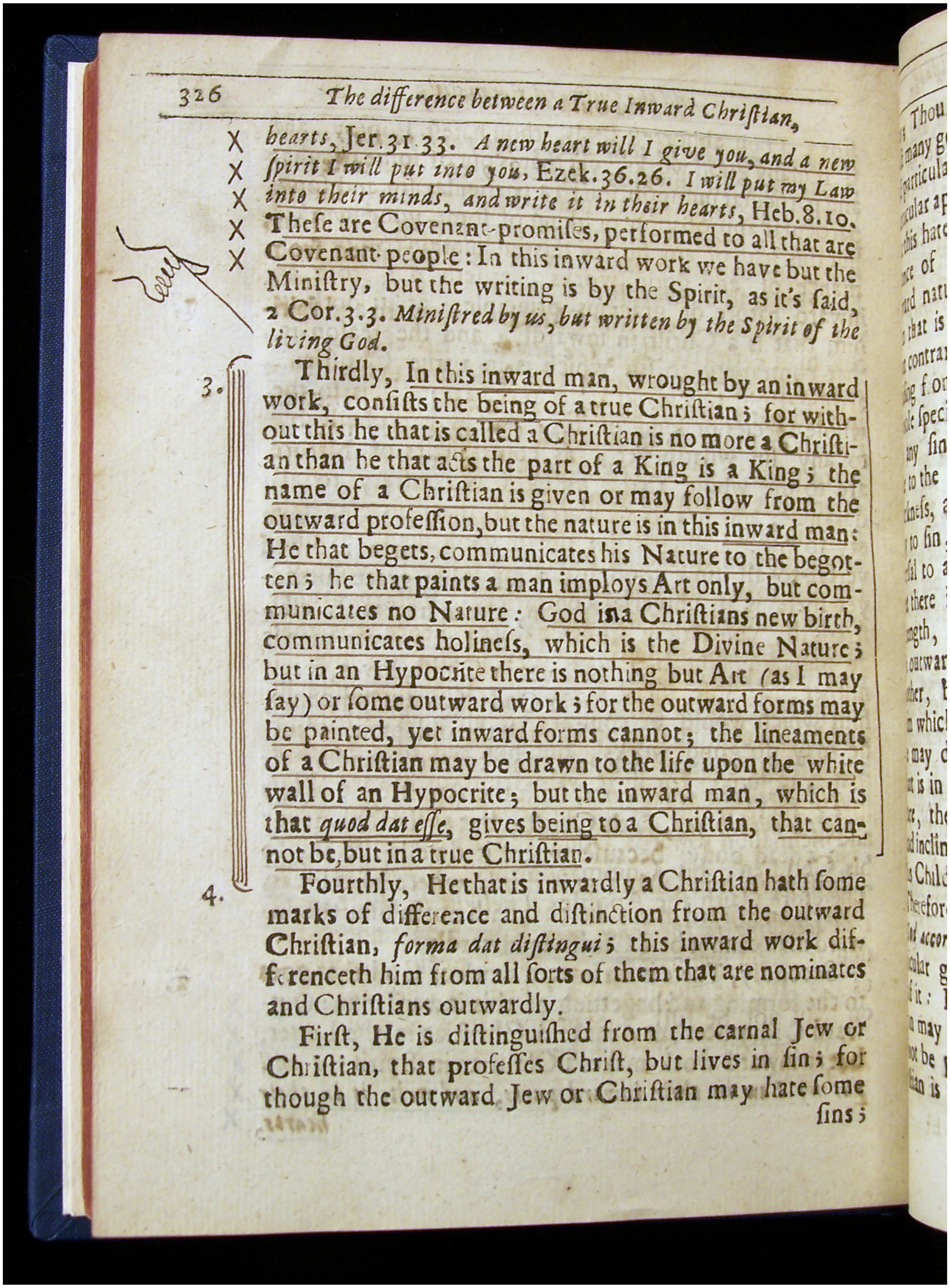
God is *Heaven begun*,and it will never ceaſe till it fall into Eternity, as the Rivers do into the Sea. It is true, our Communion with God is *little here*, for what's a little River to the Sea? we are but *now and then*, and but *ſometimes*, and but a *little* ſerious with him; ſome acquaintance we have, but not much: but there is a time a coming when *we ſhall ever be with the Lord*, 1 Theſſ. 4.17. when we ſhall *ſee his face*, Rev.22.4. and *be with him where he is*, Joh.14.3. & 17.24. and *be like to him, and ſee him as he is*. And this everlaſting happy Communion follows upon our *drawing near to God* here.

6. We ſhall finde, that when we draw neareſt unto God we have *moſt his Image upon us*: for ſo it is in *Glory*, 1 Joh.3.2. *We ſhall be like unto him, for we ſhall ſee him as he is*; and ſo it is in *Grace*, 2 Cor.3.18. Look as *Moſes*, by being with God,brought ſome of *Heavens beauty* down with him, not onely in his *face*, but alſo in his *heart*, ſome of the *bowels of God* toward a ſinning people, *Exod*.32.31,32. ſo it is with thoſe that draw near to God in Prayer, the *Image of God* looks freſh upon them; it is to be ſeen who they have been with, their *Fathers face* is ſo conſpicuouſly beheld in them.

3. *From the Duty it ſelf*: 1. It is that that Chriſt Jeſus *often exerciſed* himſelf in, eſpecially upon *weighty occaſions*; yea ſometimes ſpent the

whole

Figure 152. Page 20, Samuel Whiting, *Abraham's Humble Intercession for Sodom*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1666. John Carter Brown Library, Providence, Rhode Island



hearts, Jer.31.33. *A new heart will I give you, and a new ſpirit I will put into you*, Ezek.36.26. *I will put my Law into their minds, and write it in their hearts*, Heb.8.10. Theſe are Covenant-promiſes, performed to all that are Covenant-people: In this inward work we have but the Miniſtry, but the writing is by the Spirit, as it's ſaid, 2 Cor.3.3. *Miniſtred by us, but written by the Spirit of the living God.*

3. Thirdly, In this inward man, wrought by an inward work, conſiſts the being of a true Chriſtian; for without this he that is called a Chriſtian is no more a Chriſtian than he that acts the part of a King is a King; the name of a Chriſtian is given or may follow from the outward profeſſion, but the nature is in this inward man: He that begets, communicates his Nature to the begotten; he that paints a man imploys Art only, but communicates no Nature: God in a Chriſtians new birth, communicates holineſs, which is the Divine Nature; but in an Hypocrite there is nothing but Art (as I may ſay) or ſome outward work; for the outward forms may be painted, yet inward forms cannot; the lineaments of a Chriſtian may be drawn to the life upon the white wall of an Hypocrite; but the inward man, which is that *quod dat eſſe*, gives being to a Chriſtian, that cannot be, but in a true Chriſtian.

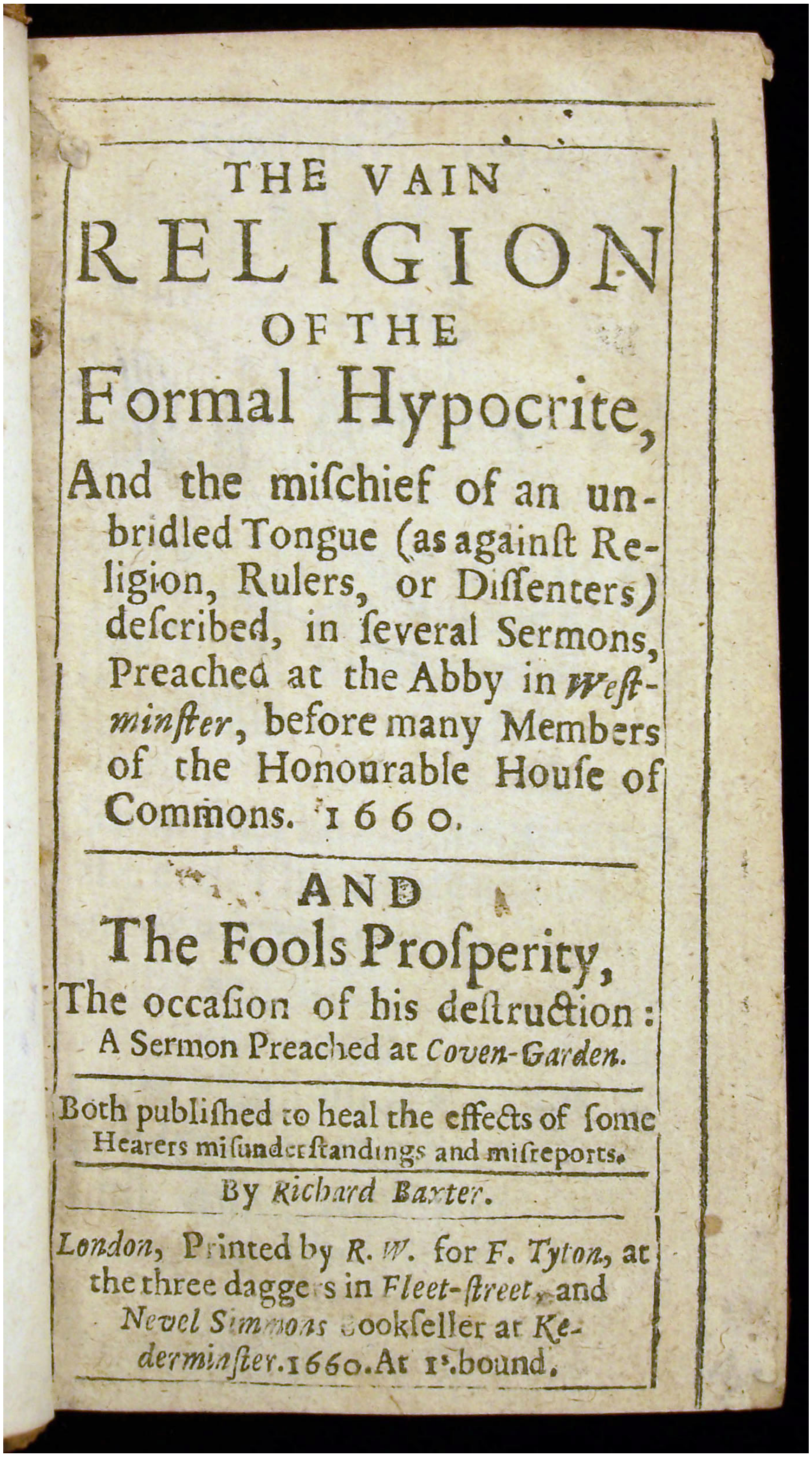
4. Fourthly, He that is inwardly a Chriſtian hath ſome marks of difference and diſtinction from the outward Chriſtian, *forma dat diſtingui*; this inward work differenceth him from all ſorts of them that are nominates and Chriſtians outwardly.

Firſt, He is diſtinguiſhed from the carnal Jew or Chriſtian, that profeſſes Chriſt, but lives in ſin; for though the outward Jew or Chriſtian may hate ſome ſins;

ſins;

Figure 153. Page 326, Richard Vines, *Gods Drawing, and Mans Coming to Christ*, London, 1662. Huntington Library, San Marino, California

Figure 154. Attributed to Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues, *A Young Daughter of the Picts*, ca. 1585. Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, Connecticut



THE VAIN
RELIGION
OF THE
Formal Hypocrite,
And the miſchief of an unbridled Tongue (as againſt Religion, Rulers, or Diſſenters) deſcribed, in ſeveral Sermons, Preached at the Abby in *Weſtminſter*, before many Members of the Honourable Houſe of Commons. 1660.

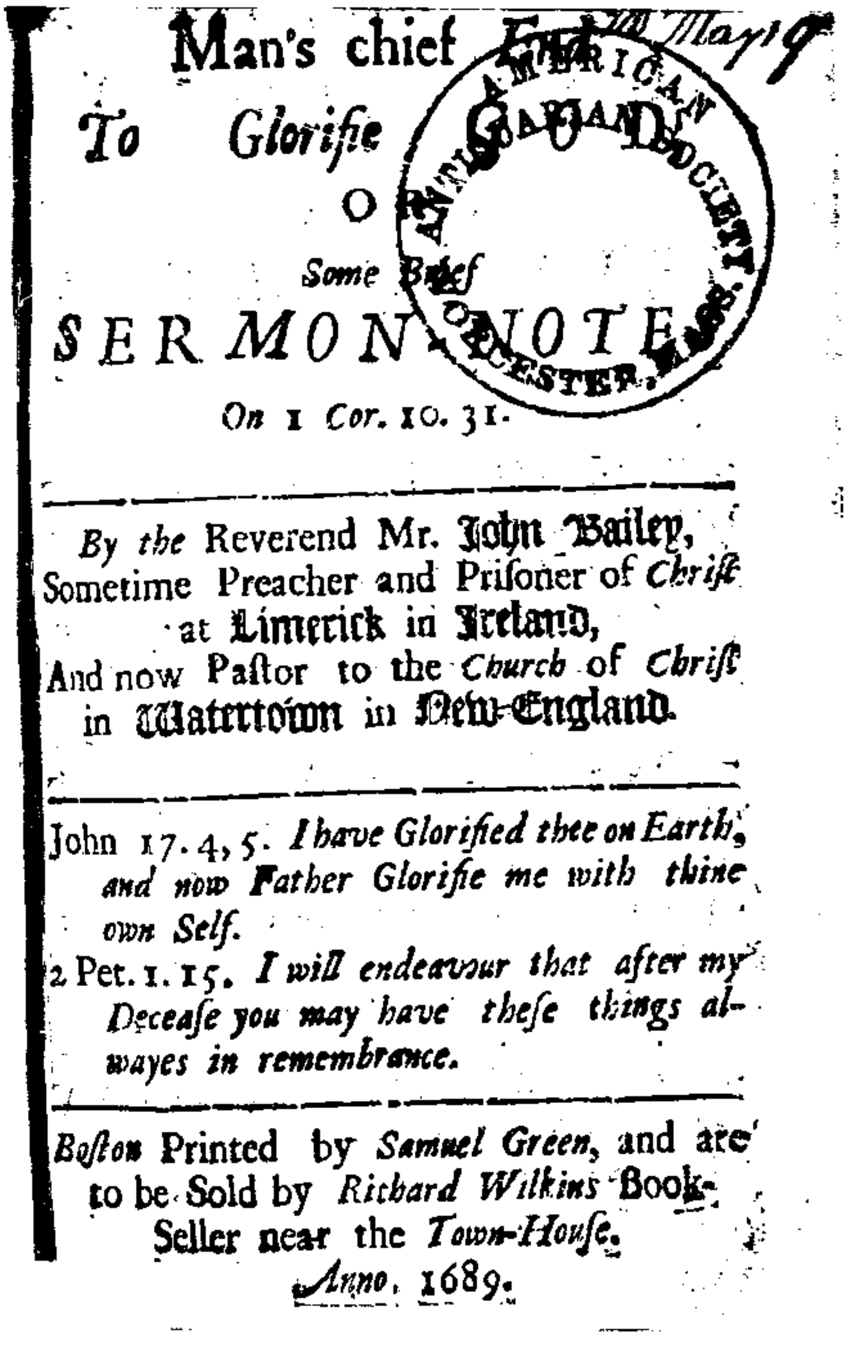
AND
The Fools Proſperity,
The occaſion of his deſtruction:
A Sermon Preached at *Coven-Garden*.

Both publiſhed to heal the effects of ſome Hearers miſunderſtandings and miſreports.

By *Richard Baxter*.

London, Printed by *R. W.* for *F. Tyton*, at the three daggers in *Fleet-ſtreet*, and *Nevel Simmons* Bookſeller at *Kederminſter*. 1660. At 1^{s}.bound.

Figure 155. Title page, Richard Baxter, *The Vain Religion of the Formal Hypocrite*, London, 1660. Huntington Library, San Marino, California



Man's chief End

To Glorifie GOD.

OR

Some Brief

SERMON-NOTES

On 1 Cor. 10. 31.

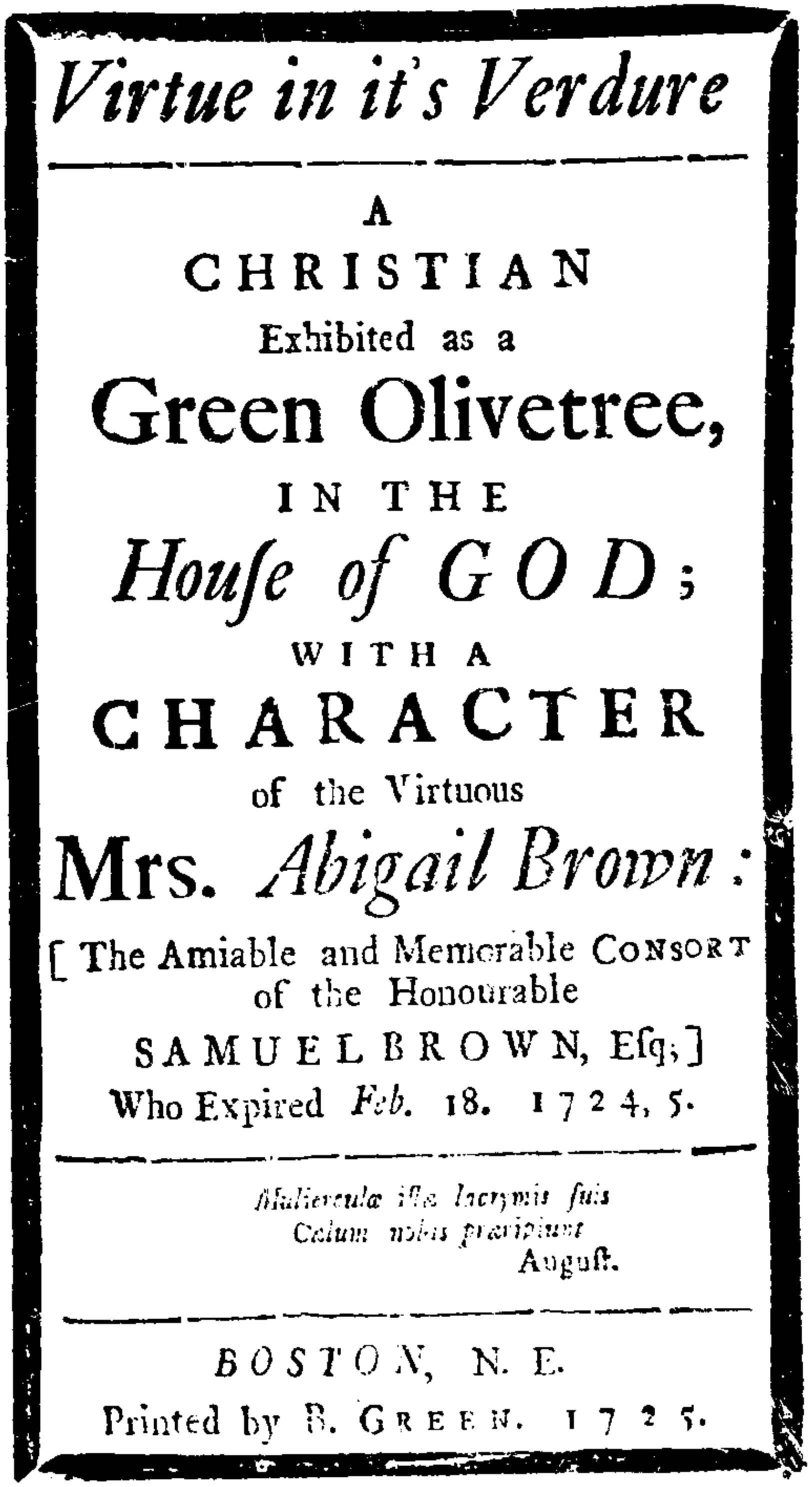
By the Reverend Mr. **John Bailey**,
Sometime Preacher and Priſoner of *Chriſt*
at **Limerick** in **Ireland**,
And now Paſtor to the *Church* of *Chriſt*
in **Watertown** in **New-England**.

John 17. 4, 5. *I have Glorified thee on Earth, and now Father Glorifie me with thine own Self.*

2 Pet. 1. 15. *I will endeavour that after my Deceaſe you may have theſe things alwayes in remembrance.*

Boſton Printed by *Samuel Green*, and are
to be Sold by *Richard Wilkins* Book-
Seller near the *Town-Houſe*.
Anno, 1689.

Figure 156. Title page, John Bailey, *Man's Chief End to Glorifie God*, Boston, 1689. American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts



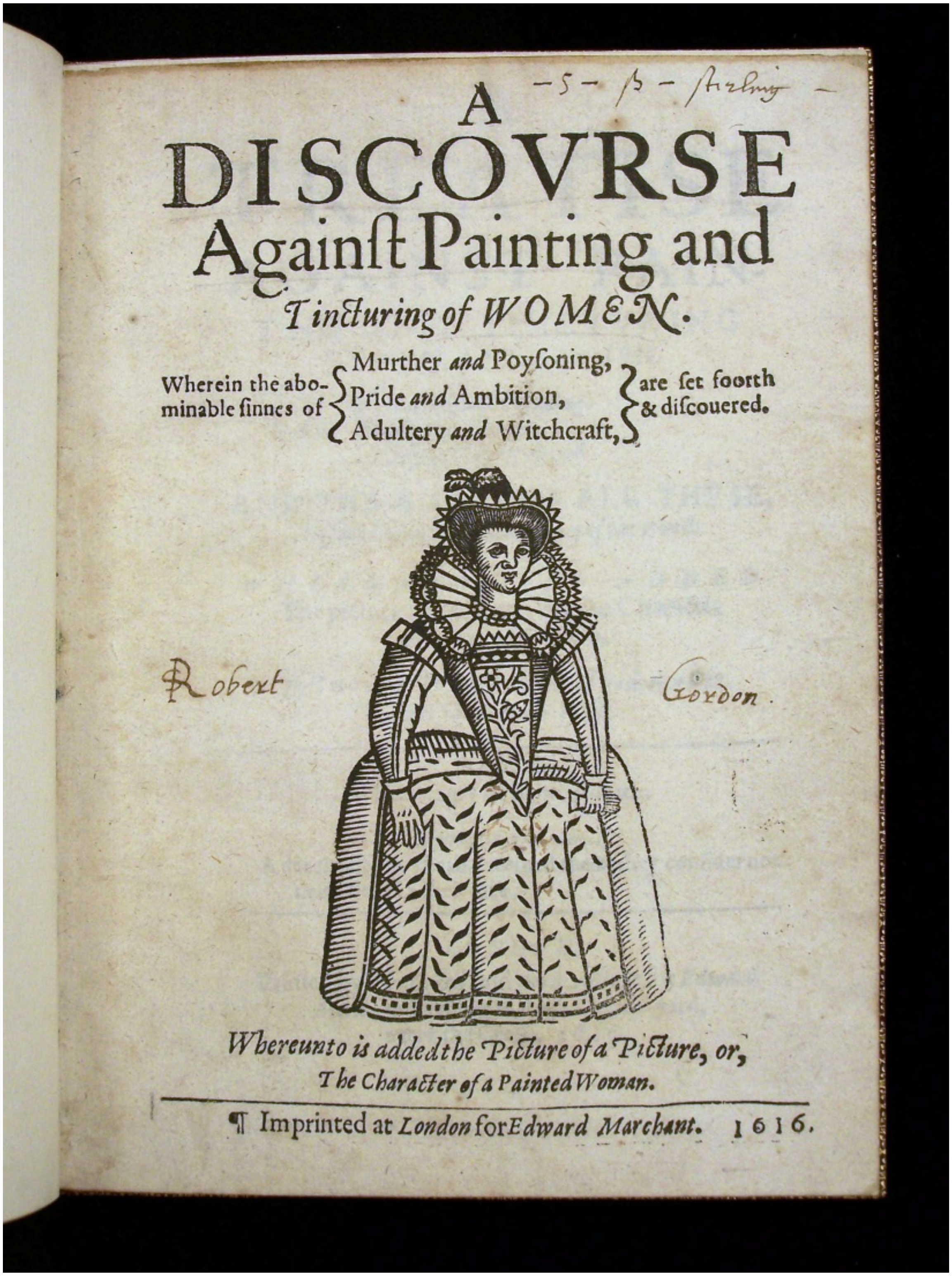
Virtue in it's Verdure

A
CHRISTIAN
Exhibited as a
Green Olivetree,
IN THE
Houſe of GOD;
WITH A
CHARACTER
of the Virtuous
Mrs. *Abigail Brown:*
[The Amiable and Memorable CONSORT
of the Honourable
SAMUEL BROWN, Eſq;]
Who Expired *Feb.* 18. 1724, 5.

Mulierculæ iſtæ lacrymis ſuis
Cælum nobis præripiunt
Auguſt.

BOSTON, N. E.
Printed by B. GREEN. 1725.

Figure 157. Title page, Cotton Mather, *Virtue in It's Verdure*, Boston, 1725. American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts



-5- ß - ſterling -

A
DISCOVRSE
Againſt Painting and
Tincturing of WOMEN.

Wherein the abominable ſinnes of { Murther *and* Poyſoning, Pride *and* Ambition, Adultery *and* Witchcraft, } are ſet foorth & diſcouered.

Robert Gordon.

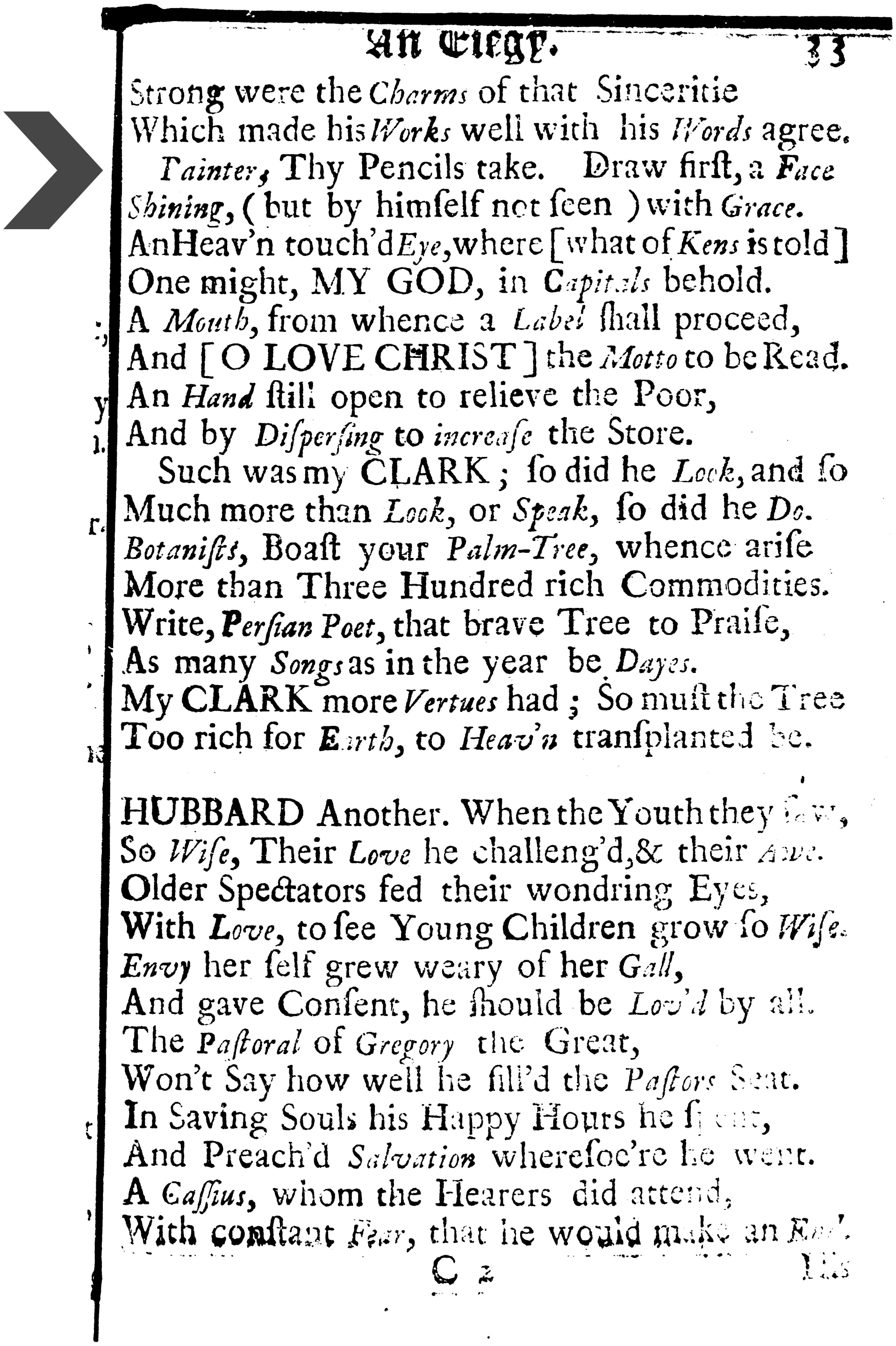
Whereunto is added the Picture of a Picture, or,
The Character of a Painted Woman.

¶ Imprinted at *London* for *Edward Marchant.* 1616.

Figure 158. Title page, Thomas Tuke, *A Discourse Against Painting and Tincturing of Women*, London, 1616. Huntington Library, San Marino, California

Figure 159. Pargetting, 1670. Ancient House, Ipswich, Suffolk

Figure 160. Pargetting (detail), 1670. Ancient House, Ipswich, Suffolk



Strong were the *Charms* of that Sinceritie
Which made his *Works* well with his *Words* agree.
Painter, Thy Pencils take. Draw firſt, a *Face*
Shining, (but by himſelf not ſeen) with *Grace*.
An Heav'n touch'd *Eye*, where [what of *Kens* is told]
One might, MY GOD, in *Capitals* behold.
A *Mouth*, from whence a *Label* ſhall proceed,
And [O LOVE CHRIST] the *Motto* to be Read.
An *Hand* ſtill open to relieve the Poor,
And by *Diſperſing* to *increaſe* the Store.
Such was my CLARK; ſo did he *Look*, and ſo
Much more than *Look*, or *Speak*, ſo did he *Do*.
Botaniſts, Boaſt your *Palm-Tree*, whence ariſe
More than Three Hundred rich Commodities.
Write, *Perſian Poet*, that brave Tree to Praiſe,
As many *Songs* as in the year be *Dayes*.
My CLARK more *Vertues* had; So muſt the Tree
Too rich for *Earth*, to *Heav'n* tranſplanted be.

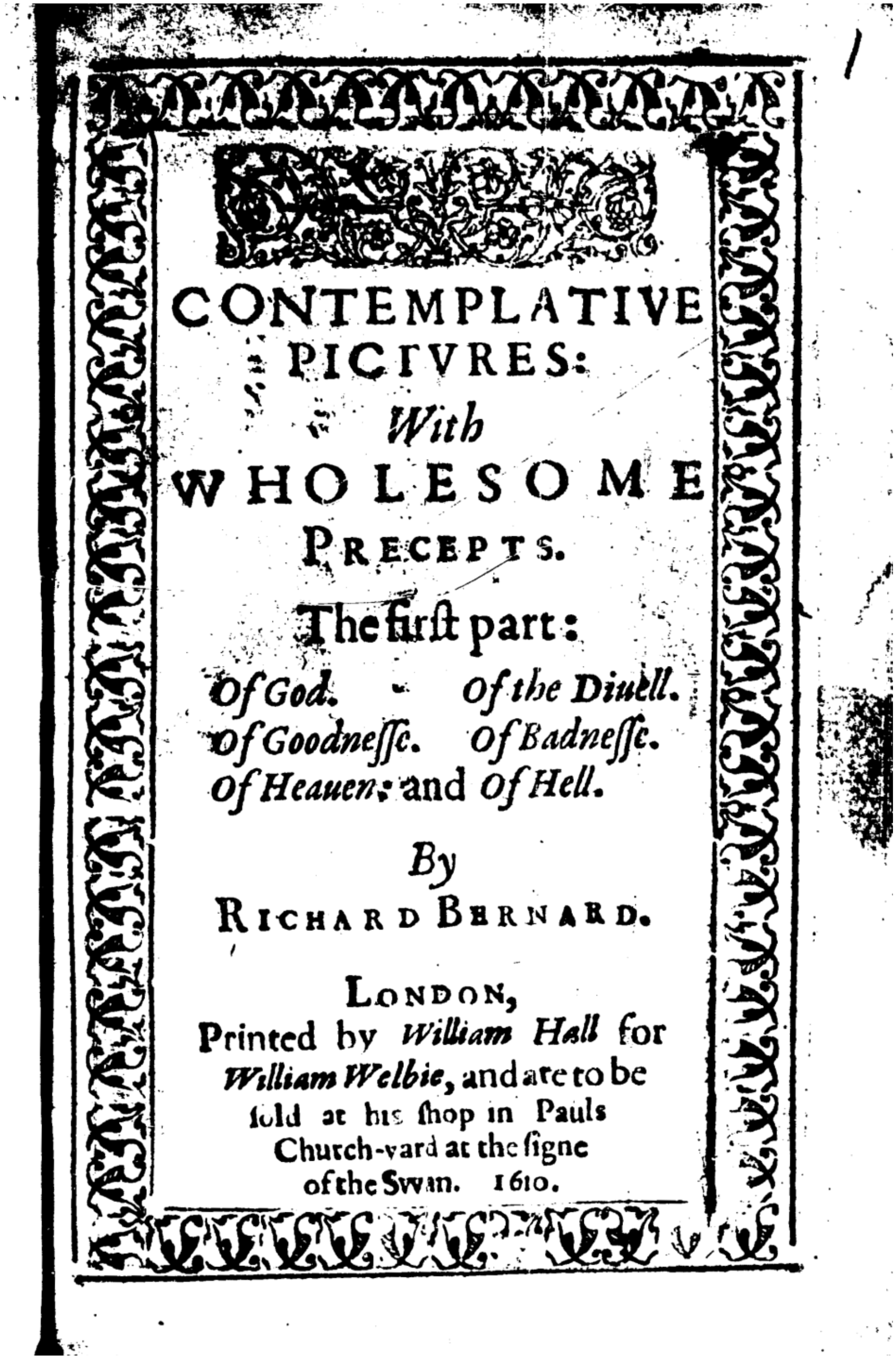
HUBBARD Another. When the Youth they ſaw,
So *Wiſe*, Their *Love* he challeng'd,& their *Awe*.
Older Spectators fed their wondring Eyes,
With *Love*, to ſee Young Children grow ſo *Wiſe*.
Envy her ſelf grew weary of her *Gall*,
And gave Conſent, he ſhould be *Lov'd* by all.
The *Paſtoral* of *Gregory* the Great,
Won't Say how well he fill'd the *Paſtors* Seat.
In Saving Souls his Happy Hours he ſpent,
And Preach'd *Salvation* whereſoe're he went.
A *Caſſius*, whom the Hearers did attend,
With conſtant *Fear*, that he would make an *End*.

C 2 His

Figure 161. Page 33, Cotton Mather, *Vigilantius*, Boston, 1706. Tracy W. McGregor Library of American History, University of Virginia, Charlottesville

Figure 162. Rubbing of John Todenham brass, ca. 1440, St. John Maddermarket, Norwich, Norfolk. Image: Ernest R. Suffling, *English Church Brasses from the 13th to the 17th Century* (Baltimore, Maryland: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1970), page 179

Figure 163. Folio 43v, Thomas Fella, *A Booke of Diverse Devices*, manuscript ca. 1585-1622. Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D.C.



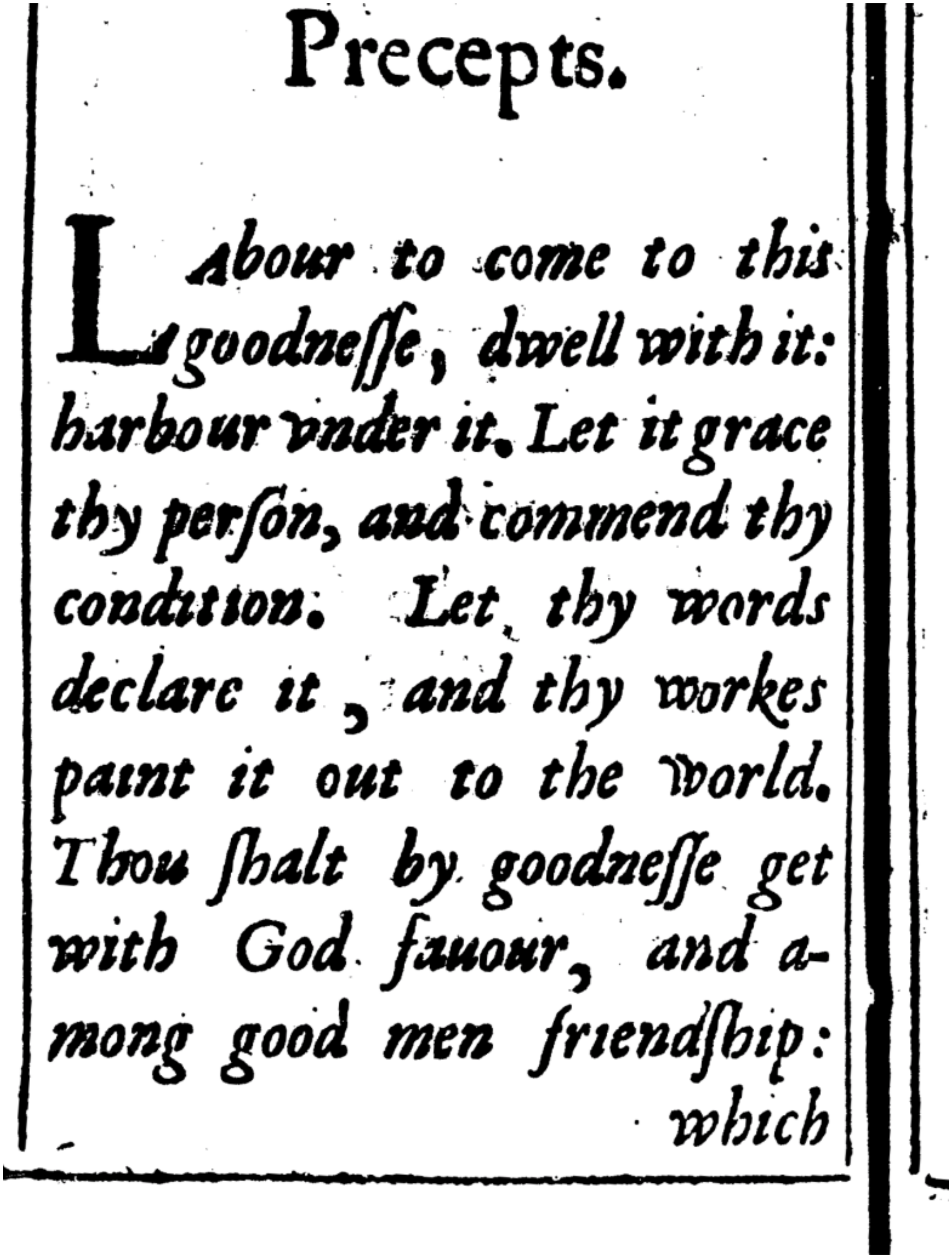
CONTEMPLATIVE
PICTVRES:
With
WHOLESOME
PRECEPTS.

The firſt part:
Of God. *Of the Diuell.*
Of Goodneſſe. *Of Badneſſe.*
Of Heauen: and *Of Hell.*

By
RICHARD BERNARD.

LONDON,
Printed by *William Hall* for
William Welbie, and are to be
ſold at his ſhop in Pauls
Church-yard at the ſigne
of the Swan. 1610.

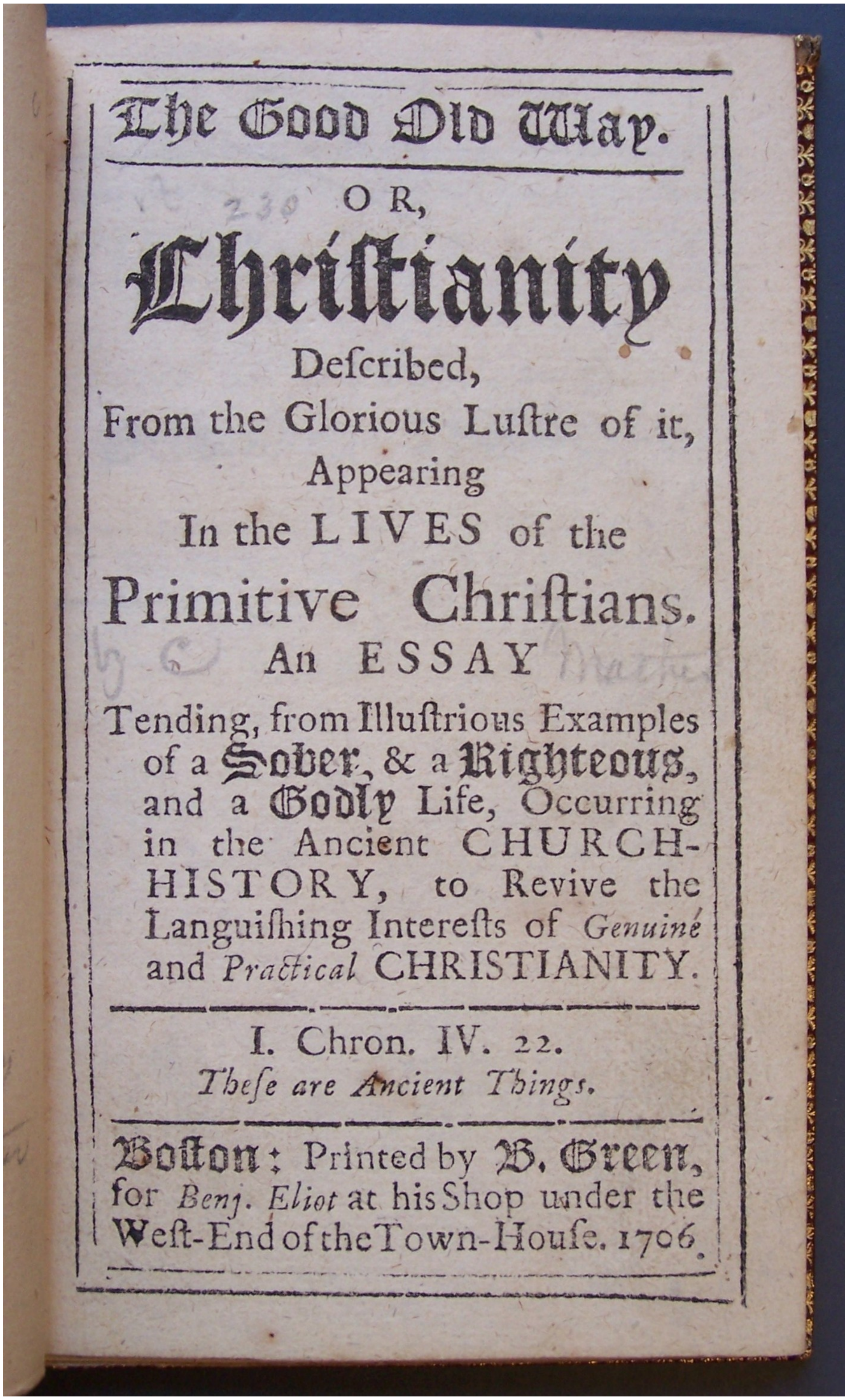
Figure 164. Title page, Richard Bernard, *Contemplative Pictures: With Wholesome Precepts*, London, 1610. Emmanuel College Library, University of Cambridge



Precepts.

Labour to come to this goodneſſe, dwell with it: harbour vnder it. Let it grace thy perſon, and commend thy condition. Let thy words declare it, and thy workes paint it out to the World. Thou ſhalt by goodneſſe get with God fauour, and among good men friendſhip: which

Figure 165. Page 64 (detail), Richard Bernard, *Contemplative Pictures: With Wholesome Precepts*, London, 1610. Emmanuel College Library, University of Cambridge



The Good Old Way.

OR,

Chriſtianity

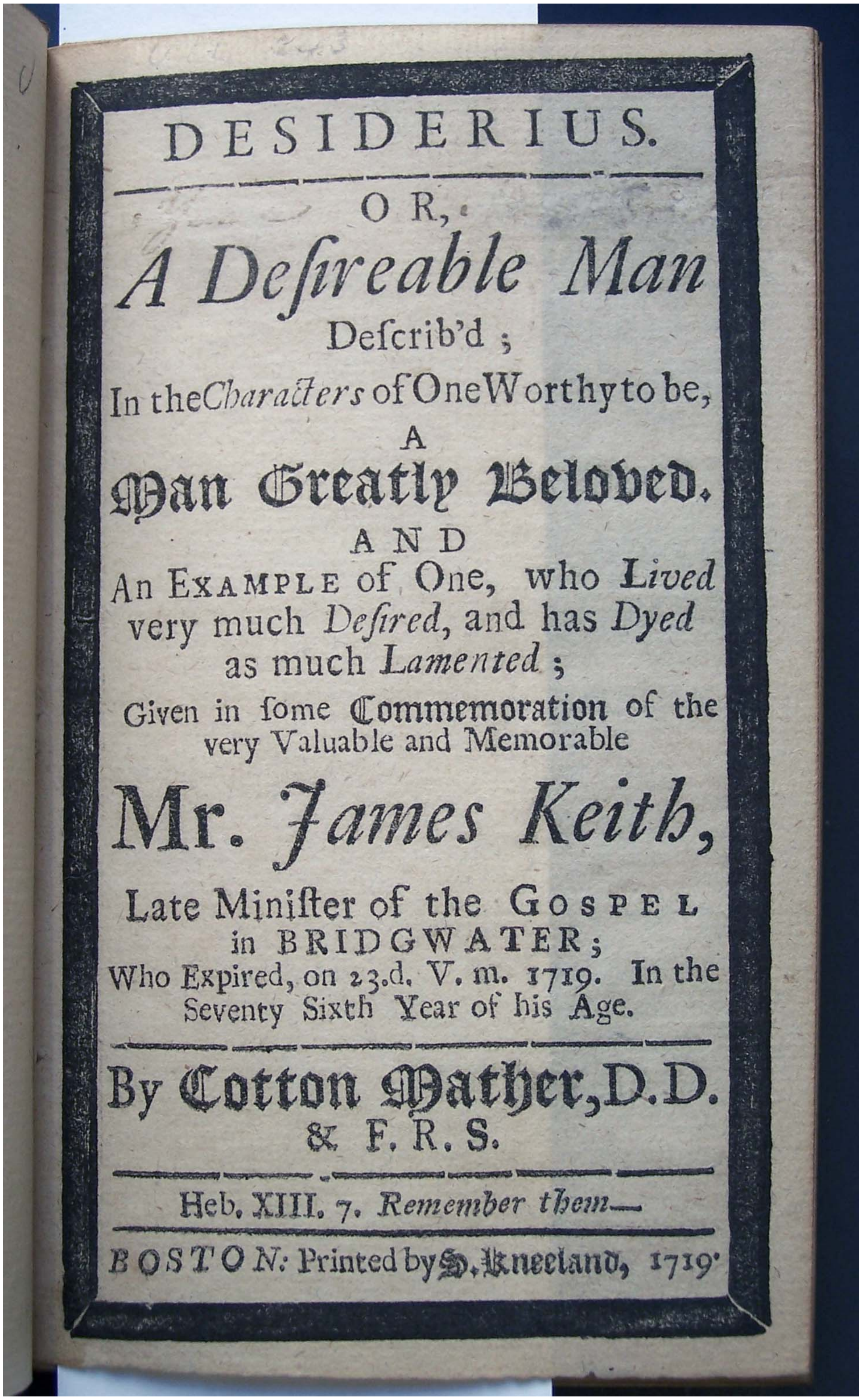
Deſcribed,
From the Glorious Luſtre of it,
Appearing
In the LIVES of the
Primitive Chriſtians.

An ESSAY
Tending, from Illuſtrious Examples
of a **Sober**, & a **Righteous**,
and a **Godly** Life, Occurring
in the Ancient CHURCH-HISTORY, to Revive the
Languiſhing Intereſts of *Genuine*
and *Practical* CHRISTIANITY.

I. Chron. IV. 22.
Theſe are Ancient Things.

Boſton: Printed by **B. Green**,
for *Benj. Eliot* at his Shop under the
Weſt-End of the Town-Houſe. 1706.

Figure 166. Title page, Cotton Mather, *The Good Old Way*, Boston, 1706. John Carter Brown Library, Providence, Rhode Island



DESIDERIUS.

OR,

A Deſireable Man

Deſcrib'd;

In the *Characters* of One Worthy to be,

A

Man Greatly Beloved.

AND

An EXAMPLE of One, who *Lived*
very much *Deſired*, and has *Dyed*
as much *Lamented*;

Given in ſome **Commemoration** of the
very Valuable and Memorable

Mr. *James Keith*,

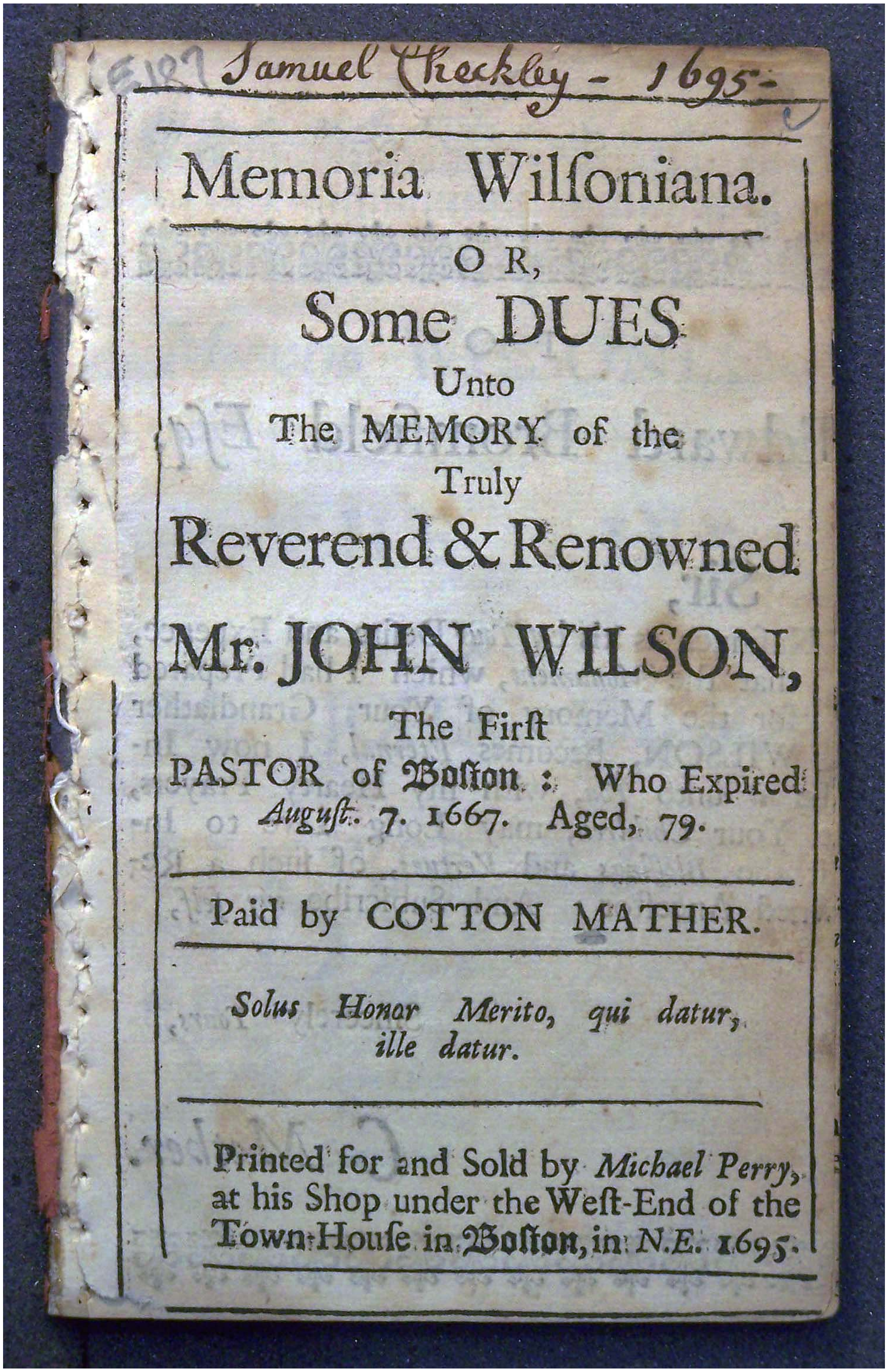
Late Miniſter of the GOSPEL
in BRIDGWATER;
Who Expired, on 23.d. V. m. 1719. In the
Seventy Sixth Year of his Age.

By **Cotton Mather**, D.D.
& F.R.S.

Heb. XIII. 7. *Remember them*—

BOSTON: Printed by **S. Kneeland**, 1719.

Figure 167. Title page, Cotton Mather, *Desiderius*, Boston, 1719. John Carter Brown Library, Providence, Rhode Island



E187 Samuel Checkley - 1695-

Memoria Wilſoniana.

O R,

Some DUES

Unto

The MEMORY of the

Truly

Reverend & Renowned

Mr. JOHN WILSON,

The Firſt

PASTOR of **Boſton** : Who Expired

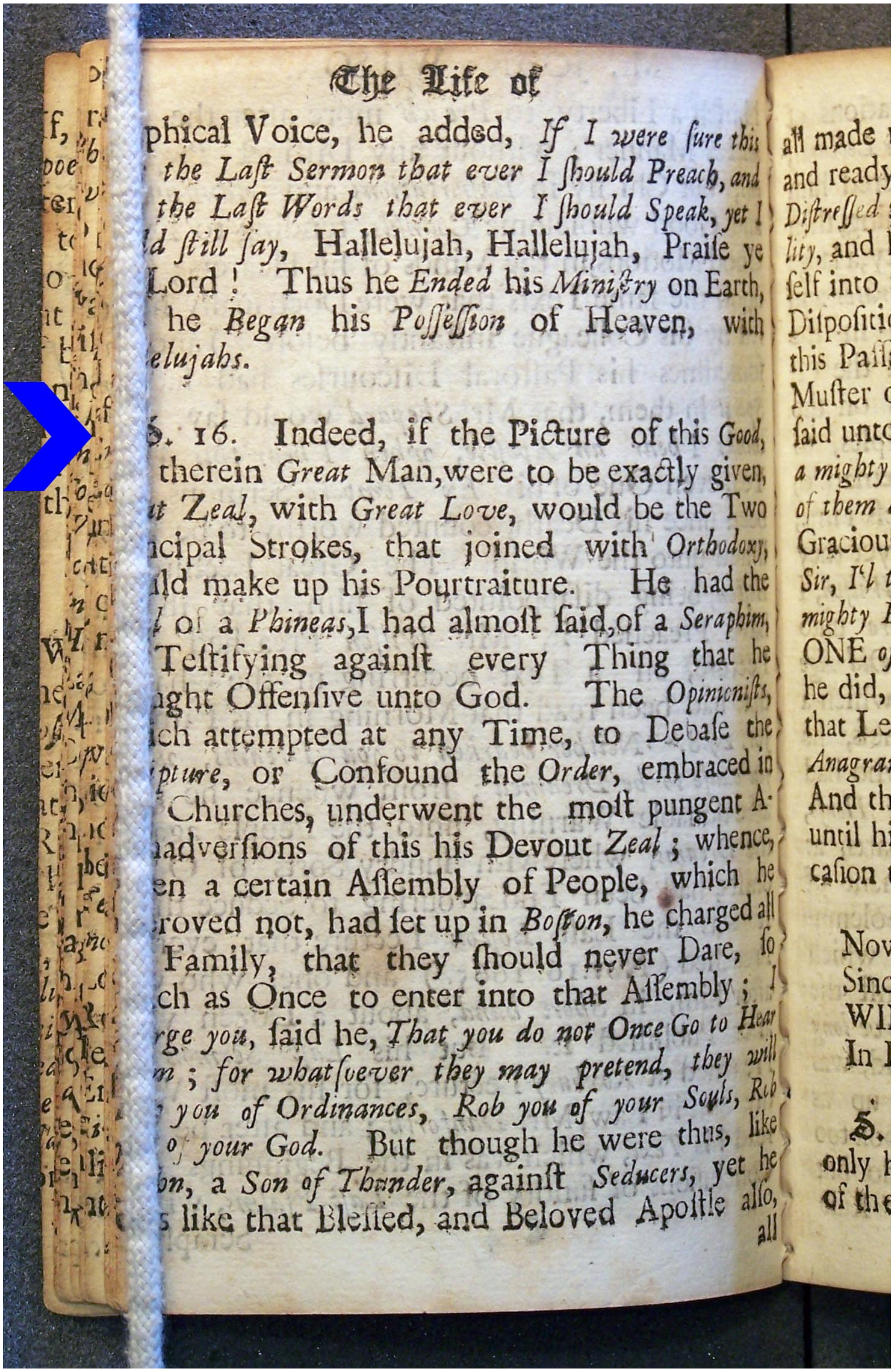
Auguſt. 7. 1667. Aged, 79.

Paid by COTTON MATHER.

Solus Honor Merito, qui datur,
ille datur.

Printed for and Sold by *Michael Perry*,
at his Shop under the Weſt-End of the
Town-Houſe in **Boſton**, in *N.E.* 1695.

Figure 168. Title page, Cotton Mather, *Memoria Wilsoniana*, Boston, 1695. Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston

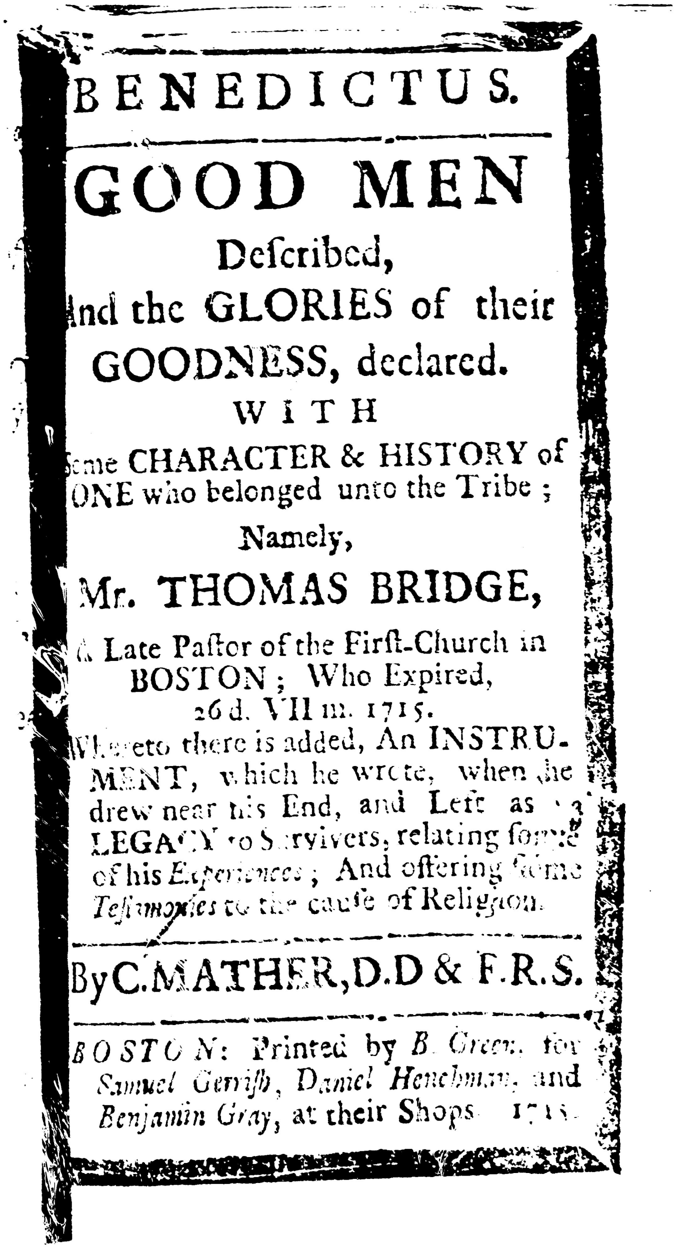


The Life of

phical Voice, he added, *If I were ſure this*
the Laſt Sermon that ever I ſhould Preach, and
the Laſt Words that ever I ſhould Speak, yet I
d ſtill ſay, Hallelujah, Hallelujah, Praiſe ye
Lord! Thus he *Ended* his *Miniſtry* on Earth,
he *Began* his *Poſſeſſion* of Heaven, with
elujahs.

§. 16. Indeed, if the Picture of this *Good,*
therein *Great* Man, were to be exactly given,
it Zeal, with *Great Love,* would be the Two
ncipal Strokes, that joined with *Orthodoxy,*
ıld make up his Pourtraiture. He had the
l of a *Phineas,* I had almoſt ſaid, of a *Seraphim,*
Teſtifying againſt every Thing that he
ught Offenſive unto God. The *Opinioniſts,*
ich attempted at any Time, to Debaſe the
pture, or Confound the *Order,* embraced in
Churches, underwent the moſt pungent A-
nadverſions of this his Devout *Zeal*; whence,
en a certain Aſſembly of People, which he
roved not, had ſet up in *Boſton,* he charged all
Family, that they ſhould never Dare, ſo
ch as Once to enter into that Aſſembly; I
rge you, ſaid he, *That you do not Once Go to Hear*
m; for whatſoever they may pretend, they will
you of Ordinances, Rob you of your Souls, Rob
of your God. But though he were thus, like
hn, a *Son of Thunder,* againſt *Seducers,* yet he
s like that Bleſſed, and Beloved Apoſtle alſo,
all

Figure 169. Page 24, Cotton Mather, *Memoria Wilsoniana*, Boston, 1695. Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston



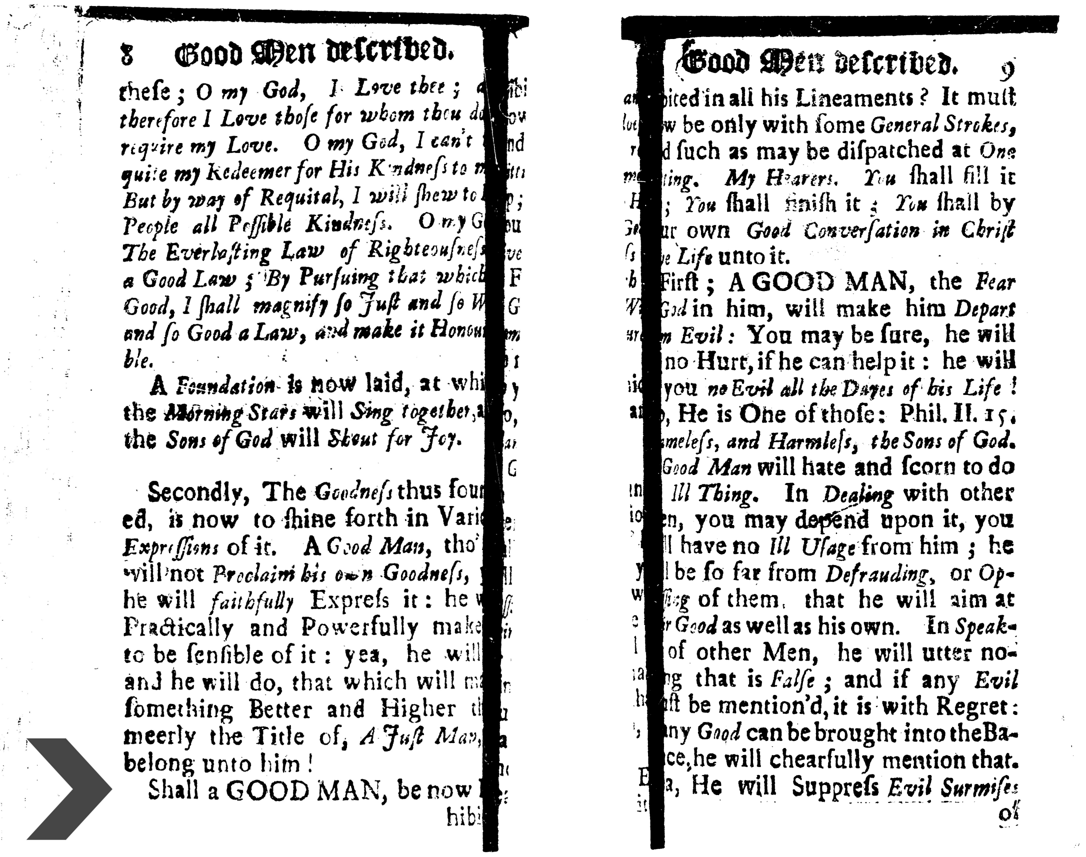
BENEDICTUS.

GOOD MEN
Deſcribed,
And the GLORIES of their
GOODNESS, declared.
WITH
ſome CHARACTER & HISTORY of
ONE who belonged unto the Tribe;
Namely,
Mr. THOMAS BRIDGE,
A Late Paſtor of the Firſt-Church in
BOSTON; Who Expired,
26 d. VII m. 1715.
Whereto there is added, An INSTRU-
MENT, which he wrote, when he
drew near his End, and Left as a
LEGACY to Survivers, relating ſome
of his *Experiences*; And offering ſome
Teſtimonies to the cauſe of Religion.

By C. MATHER, D.D & F.R.S.

BOSTON: Printed by *B. Green*, for
Samuel Gerriſh, *Daniel Henchman*, and
Benjamin Gray, at their Shops. 1715.

Figure 170. Title page, Cotton Mather, *Benedictus*, Boston, 1715. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.



8 Good Men deſcribed.

theſe; O my God, I Love thee; a
therefore I Love thoſe for whom thou d
require my Love. O my God, I can't
quite my Redeemer for His Kindneſs to m
But by way of Requital, I will ſhew to
People all Poſſible Kindneſs. O my G
The Everlaſting Law of Righteouſneſs
a Good Law; By Purſuing that which
Good, I ſhall magnify ſo Juſt and ſo W
and ſo Good a Law, and make it Honou
ble.

A Foundation is now laid, at whi
the Morning Stars will Sing together, a
the Sons of God will Shout for Joy.

Secondly, The Goodneſs thus foun
ed, is now to ſhine forth in Vari
Expreſſions of it. A Good Man, tho'
will not Proclaim his own Goodneſs,
he will faithfully Expreſs it: he w
Practically and Powerfully make
to be ſenſible of it: yea, he will
and he will do, that which will ma
ſomething Better and Higher th
meerly the Title of, A Juſt Man,
belong unto him!

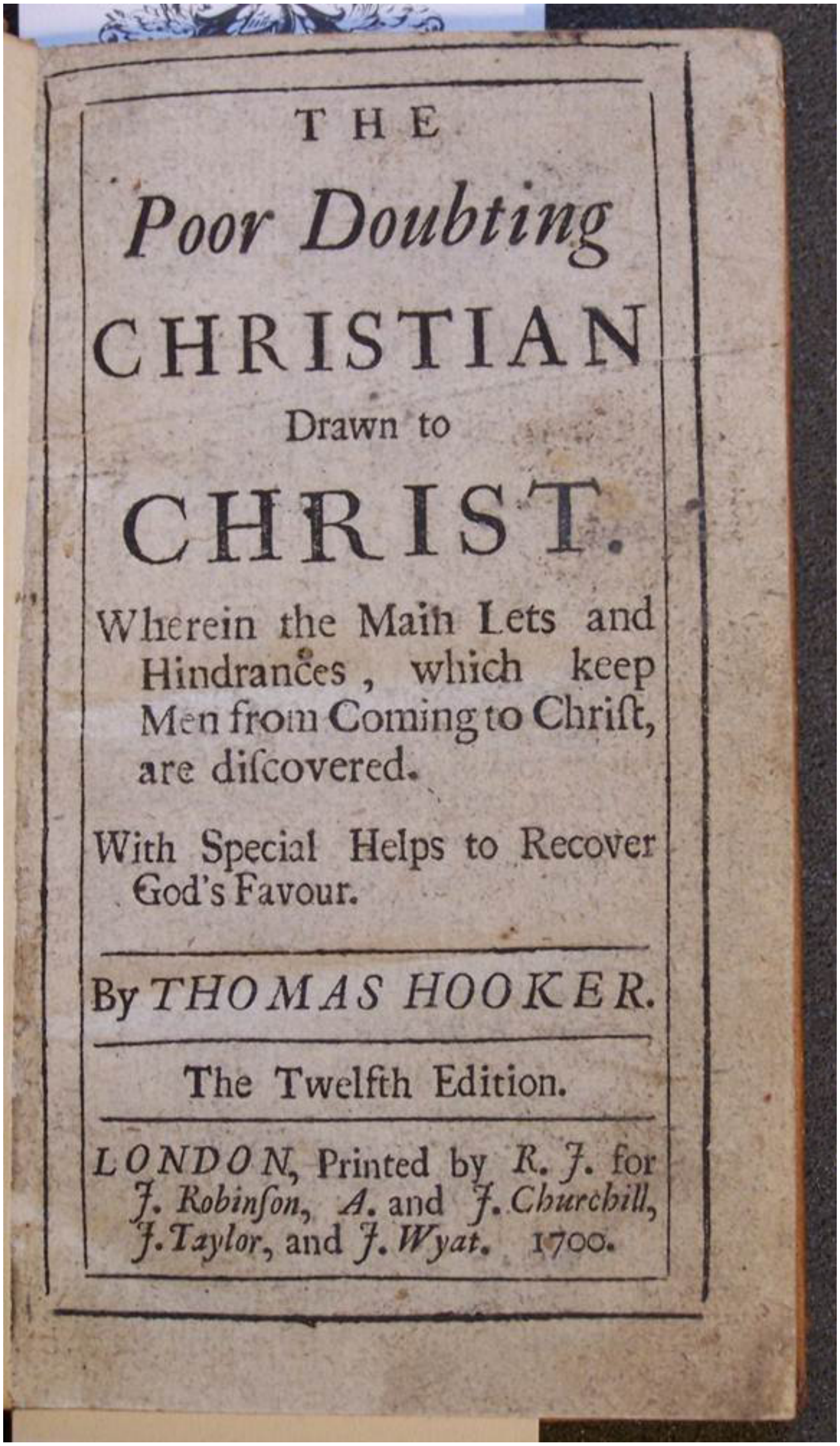
Shall a GOOD MAN, be now
hibi

Good Men deſcribed. 9

ited in all his Lineaments? It muſt
w be only with ſome General Strokes,
d ſuch as may be diſpatched at One
ting. My Hearers. You ſhall fill it
; You ſhall finiſh it; You ſhall by
ur own Good Converſation in Chriſt
e Life unto it.

Firſt; A GOOD MAN, the Fear
God in him, will make him Depart
m Evil: You may be ſure, he will
no Hurt, if he can help it: he will
you no Evil all the Dayes of his Life!
, He is One of thoſe: Phil. II. 15.
meleſs, and Harmleſs, the Sons of God.
Good Man will hate and ſcorn to do
Ill Thing. In Dealing with other
n, you may depend upon it, you
l have no Ill Uſage from him; he
l be ſo far from Defrauding, or Op-
ing of them, that he will aim at
r Good as well as his own. In Speak-
of other Men, he will utter no-
g that is Falſe; and if any Evil
ſt be mention'd, it is with Regret:
ny Good can be brought into the Ba-
ce, he will chearfully mention that.
a, He will Suppreſs Evil Surmiſes
of

Figure 171. Pages 8-9, Cotton Mather, *Benedictus*, Boston, 1715. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.



THE

Poor Doubting

CHRISTIAN

Drawn to

CHRIST.

Wherein the Main Lets and
Hindrances, which keep
Men from Coming to Chriſt,
are diſcovered.

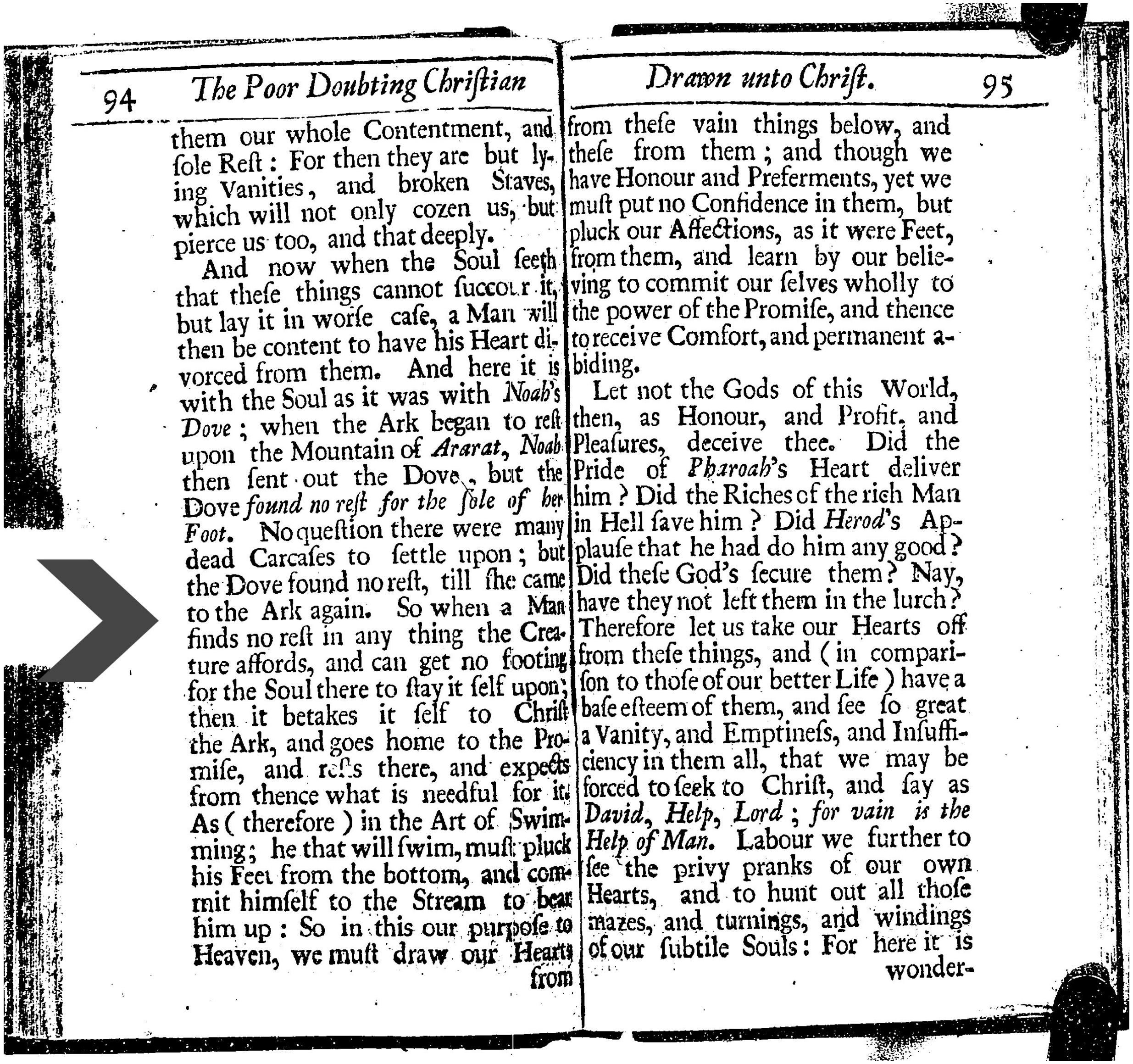
With Special Helps to Recover
God's Favour.

By *THOMAS HOOKER.*

The Twelfth Edition.

LONDON, Printed by *R. J.* for
J. Robinſon, *A.* and *J. Churchill*,
J. Taylor, and *J. Wyat*. 1700.

Figure 172. Title page, Thomas Hooker, *The Poor Doubting Christian Drawn to Christ*, 12th edition, London, 1700. John Carter Brown Library, Providence, Rhode Island



94 *The Poor Doubting Chriſtian*

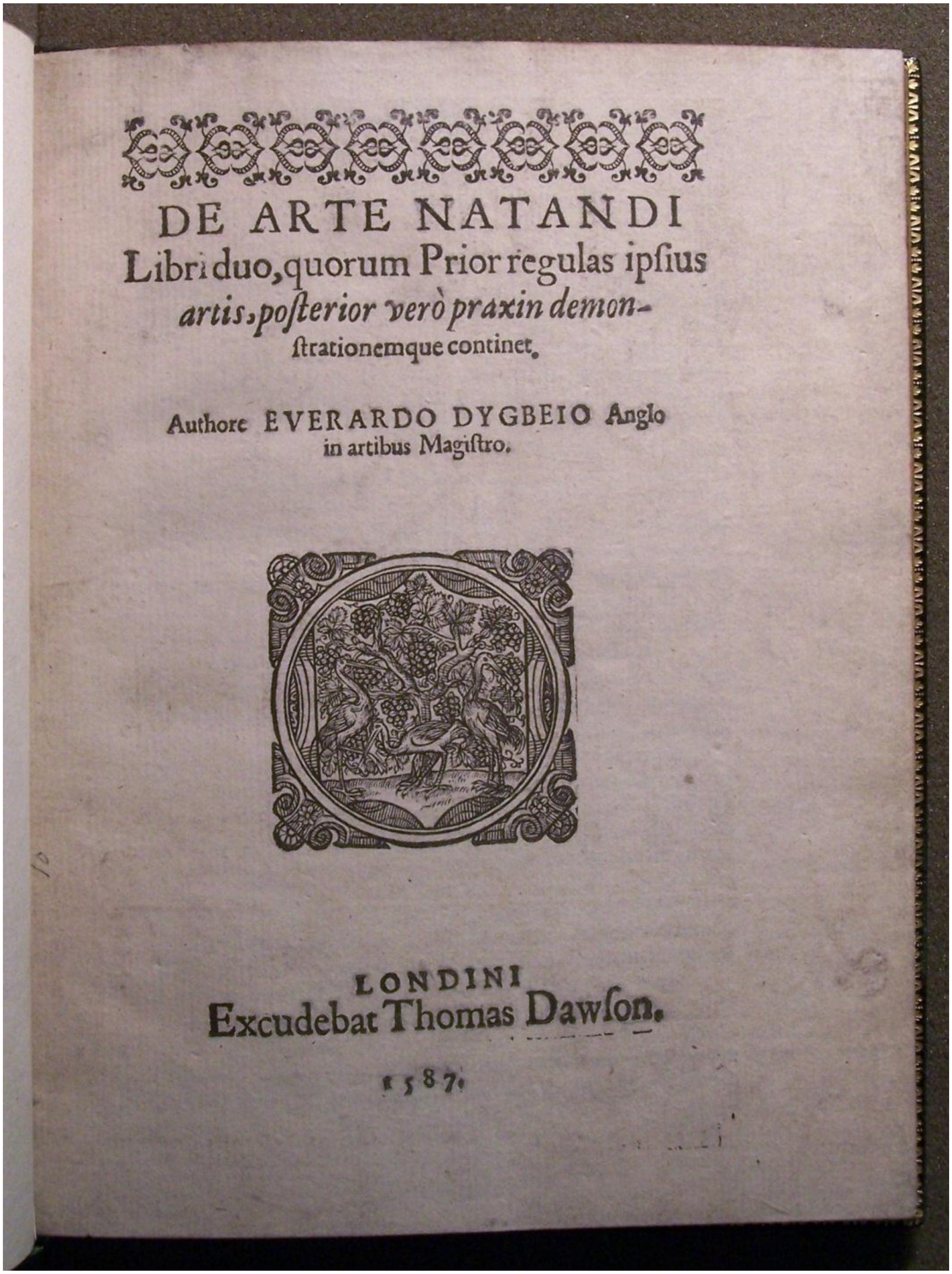
them our whole Contentment, and ſole Reſt: For then they are but lying Vanities, and broken Staves, which will not only cozen us, but pierce us too, and that deeply.

And now when the Soul ſeeth that theſe things cannot ſuccour it, but lay it in worſe caſe, a Man will then be content to have his Heart divorced from them. And here it is with the Soul as it was with *Noah's Dove*; when the Ark began to reſt upon the Mountain of *Ararat*, *Noah* then ſent out the Dove, but the Dove *found no reſt for the ſole of her Foot*. No queſtion there were many dead Carcaſes to ſettle upon; but the Dove found no reſt, till ſhe came to the Ark again. So when a Man finds no reſt in any thing the Creature affords, and can get no footing for the Soul there to ſtay it ſelf upon; then it betakes it ſelf to Chriſt the Ark, and goes home to the Promiſe, and reſts there, and expects from thence what is needful for it. As (therefore) in the Art of Swimming; he that will ſwim, muſt pluck his Feet from the bottom, and commit himſelf to the Stream to bear him up: So in this our purpoſe to Heaven, we muſt draw our Hearts from theſe vain things below, and theſe from them; and though we have Honour and Preferments, yet we muſt put no Confidence in them, but pluck our Affections, as it were Feet, from them, and learn by our believing to commit our ſelves wholly to the power of the Promiſe, and thence to receive Comfort, and permanent abiding.

Drawn unto Chriſt. 95

Let not the Gods of this World, then, as Honour, and Profit, and Pleaſures, deceive thee. Did the Pride of *Pharoah's* Heart deliver him? Did the Riches of the rich Man in Hell ſave him? Did *Herod's* Applauſe that he had do him any good? Did theſe God's ſecure them? Nay, have they not left them in the lurch? Therefore let us take our Hearts off from theſe things, and (in compariſon to thoſe of our better Life) have a baſe eſteem of them, and ſee ſo great a Vanity, and Emptineſs, and Inſufficiency in them all, that we may be forced to ſeek to Chriſt, and ſay as *David*, *Help, Lord; for vain is the Help of Man.* Labour we further to ſee the privy pranks of our own Hearts, and to hunt out all thoſe mazes, and turnings, and windings of our ſubtile Souls: For here it is wonder-

Figure 173. Pages 94-95, Thomas Hooker, *The Poor Doubting Christian Drawn to Christ*, 12th edition, London, 1700. John Carter Brown Library, Providence, Rhode Island



DE ARTE NATANDI
Libri duo, quorum Prior regulas ipſius
artis, poſterior verò praxin demonſtrationemque continet.

Authore EVERARDO DYGBEIO Anglo
in artibus Magiſtro.

LONDINI
Excudebat Thomas Dawſon.

1587.

Figure 174. Title page, Sir Everard Digby, *De arte natandi*, London, 1587. Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D.C.

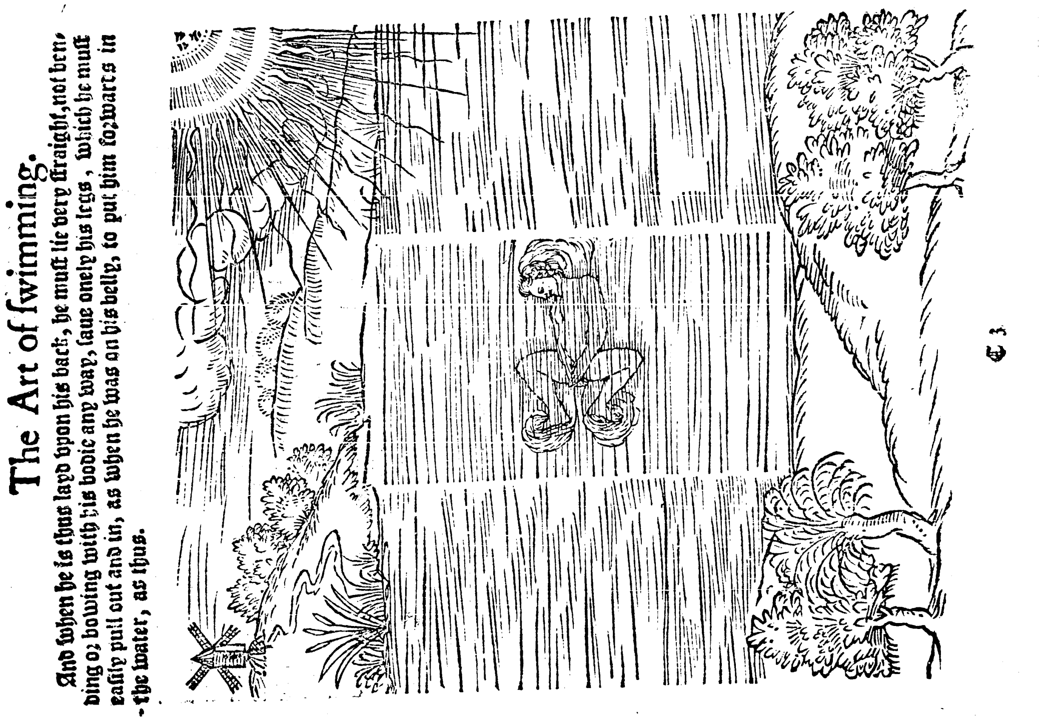
LIBER SECVNDVS.

Ingreſſuri quidam lento gradu gradientes Corpora extendentes ſimul manuſque procumbunt. Vt planè occulos anteponam tuos.

E 3

Peri-

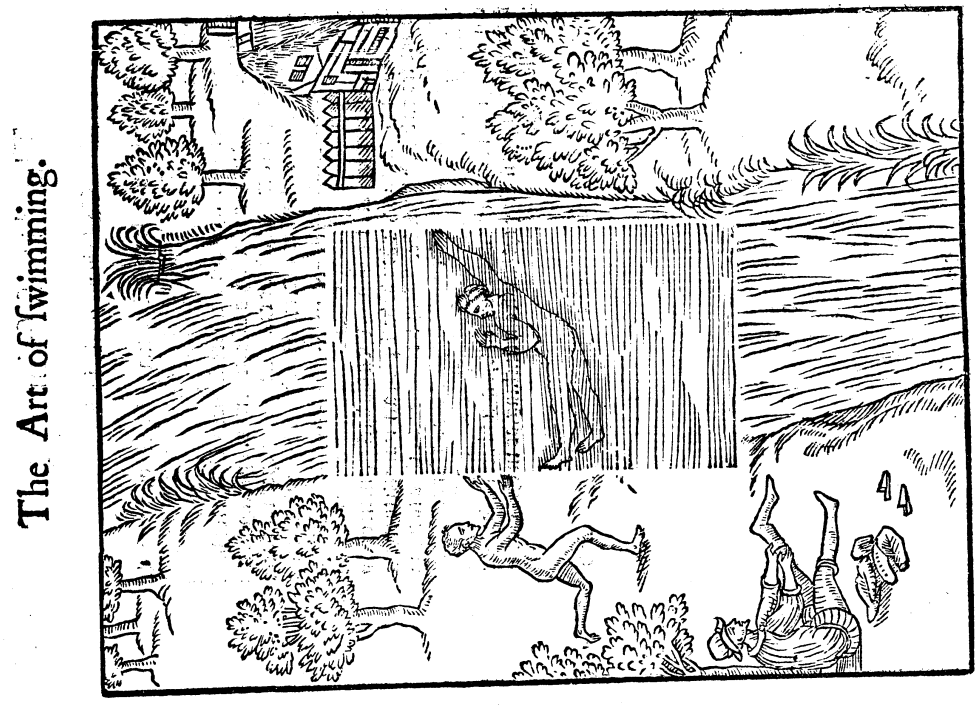
Figure 175. Swimming image #1, n.p., Sir Everard Digby, *De arte natandi*, London, 1587. Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D.C.



The Art of ſwimming.

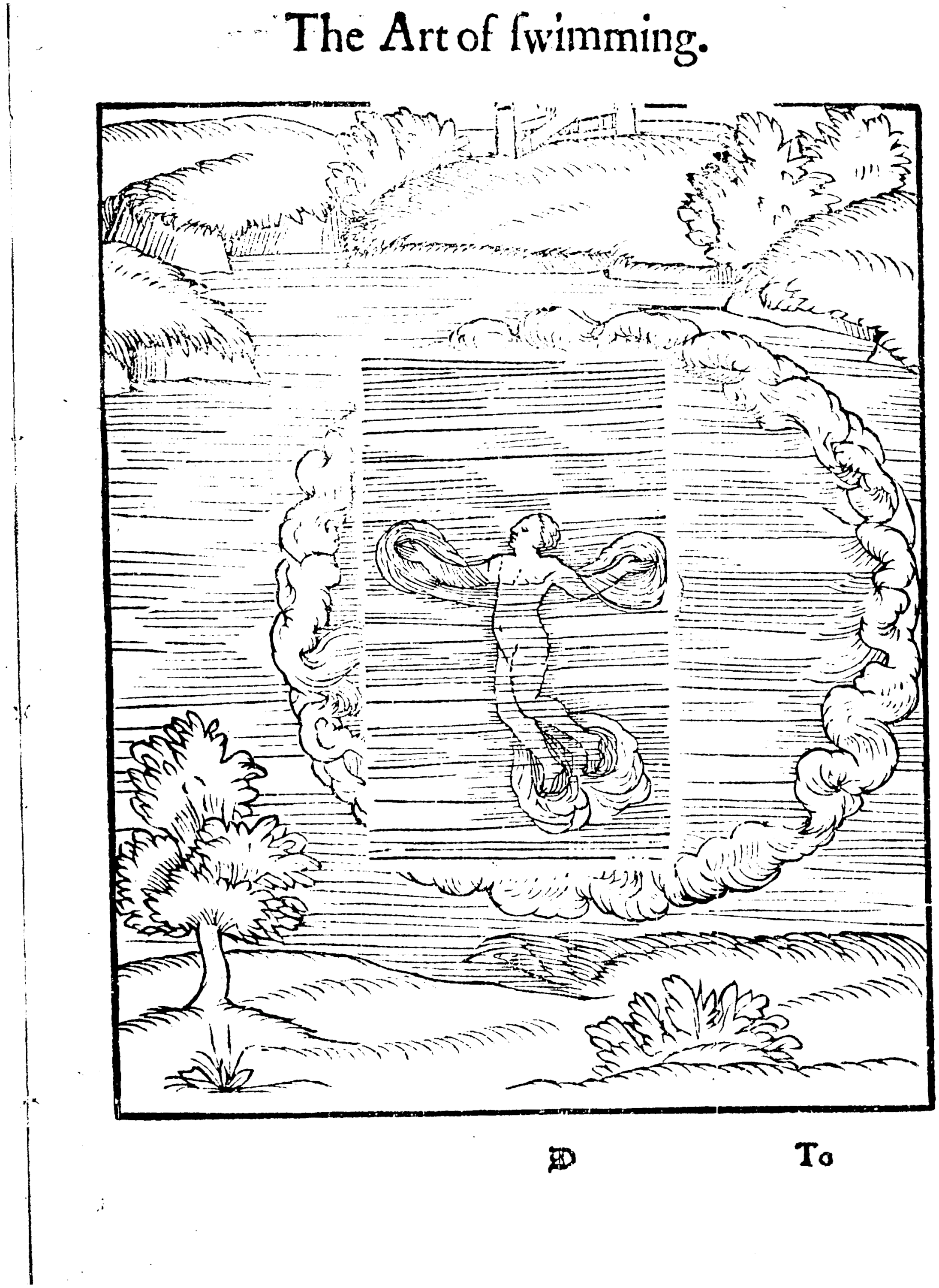
And when he is thus layd vpon his back, he muſt lie very ſtraight, not bending or bowing with his bodie any way, ſaue onely his legs, which he muſt eaſily pull out and in, as when he was on his belly, to put him forwards in the water, as thus.

C 3



The Art of ſwimming.

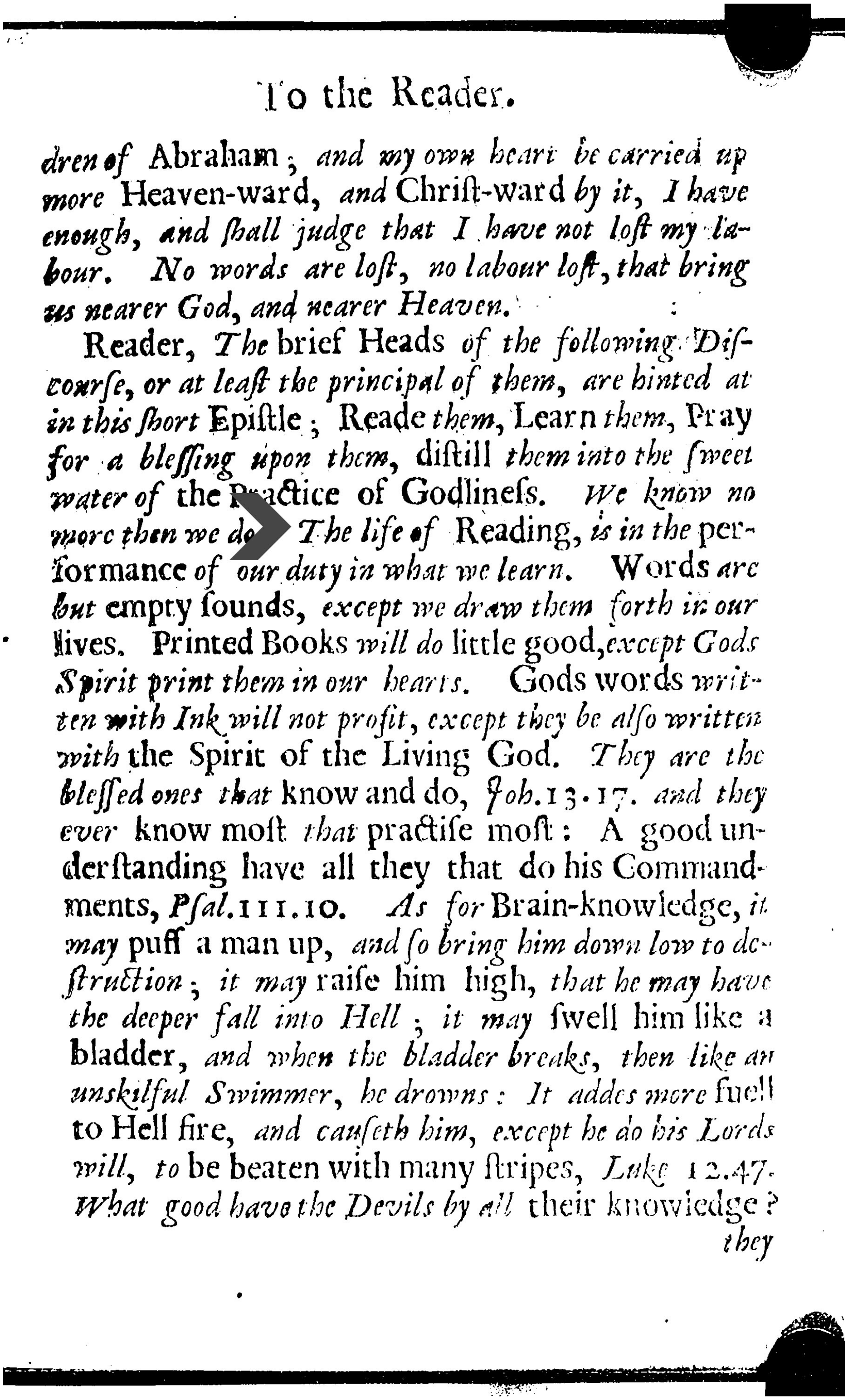
Figure 176. Swimming images #s 2-3, n.p., Sir Everard Digby, *A Short Introduction for to Learne to Swimme*, translated by Christofer Middleton, London, 1595. Bodleian Library, University of Oxford



The Art of ſwimming.

D To

Figure 177. Swimming image #4, n.p., Sir Everard Digby, *A Short Introduction for to Learne to Swimme*, translated by Christofer Middleton, London, 1595. Bodleian Library, University of Oxford



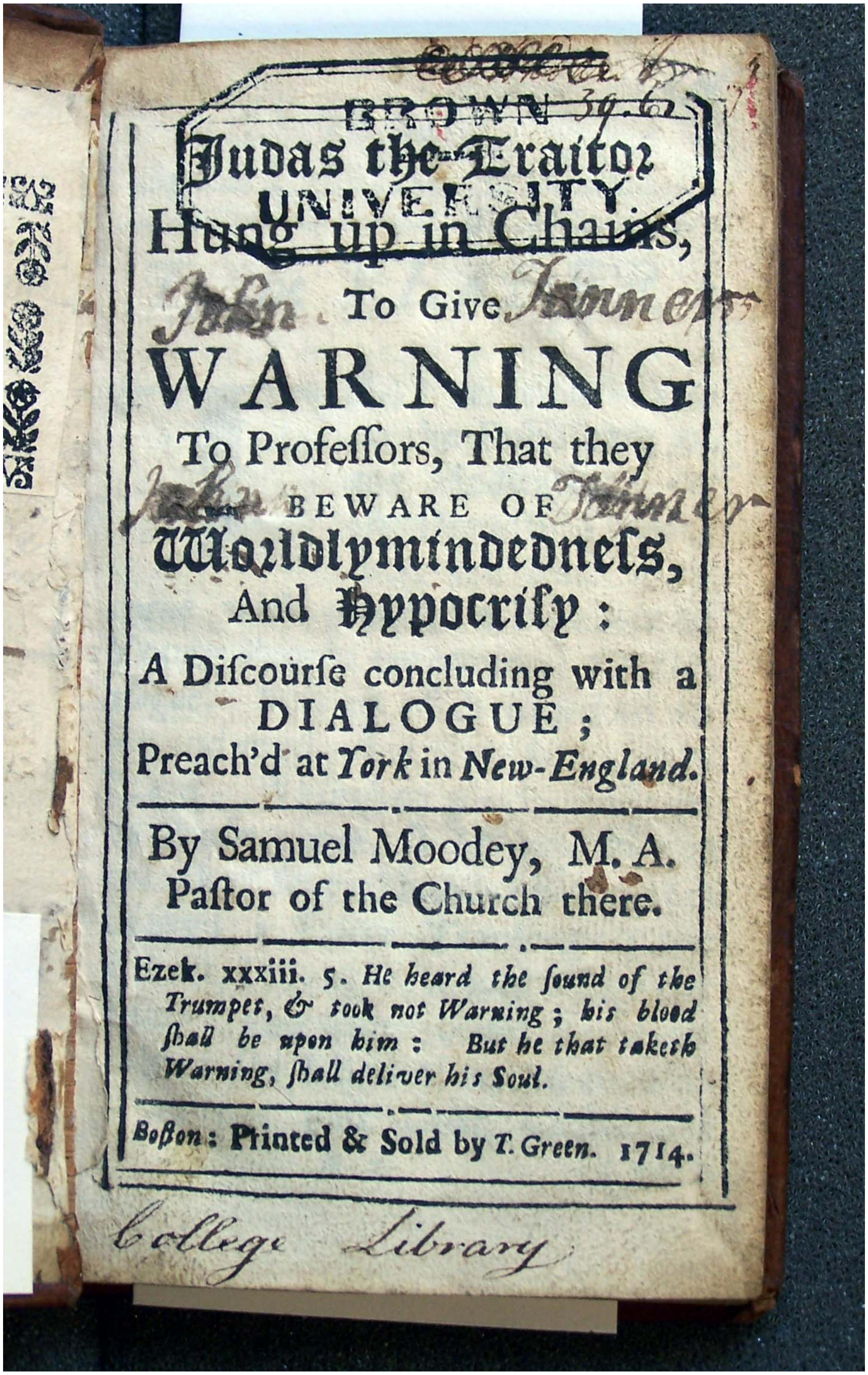
To the Reader.

dren of Abraham; *and my own heart be carried up more* Heaven-ward, *and* Chriſt-ward *by it, I have enough, and ſhall judge that I have not loſt my labour. No words are loſt, no labour loſt, that bring us nearer God, and nearer Heaven.*

Reader, *The* brief Heads *of the following Diſcourſe, or at leaſt the principal of them, are hinted at in this ſhort* Epiſtle; Reade *them,* Learn *them,* Pray *for a bleſſing upon them,* diſtill *them into the ſweet water of* the Practice of Godlineſs. *We know no more then we do. The life of* Reading, *is in the* performance *of our duty in what we learn.* Words *are but* empty ſounds, *except we draw them forth in our* lives. Printed Books *will do* little good, *except Gods Spirit print them in our hearts.* Gods words *written with Ink will not profit, except they be alſo written with* the Spirit of the Living God. *They are the bleſſed ones that* know and do, *Joh.* 13. 17. *and they ever* know moſt *that* practiſe moſt: A good underſtanding have all they that do his Commandments, *Pſal.* 111. 10. *As for* Brain-knowledge, *it may* puff a man up, *and ſo bring him down low to deſtruction; it may* raiſe him high, *that he may have the deeper fall into Hell; it may* ſwell him like a bladder, *and when the bladder breaks, then like an unskilful Swimmer, he drowns: It addes more* fuell to Hell fire, *and cauſeth him, except he do his Lords will, to* be beaten with many ſtripes, *Luke* 12. 47. *What good have the Devils by all* their knowledge?

they

Figure 178. “To the Reader,” n.p., Samuel Whiting, *Abraham’s Humble Intercession for Sodom*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1666. John Carter Brown Library, Providence, Rhode Island



Judas the Traitor
Hung up in Chains,
John To Give Tanner
WARNING
To Profeſſors, That they
John BEWARE OF Tanner
Worldlymindedneſs,
And Hypocriſy:
A Diſcourſe concluding with a
DIALOGUE;
Preach'd at *York* in *New-England.*

By Samuel Moodey, M. A.
Paſtor of the Church there.

Ezek. xxxiii. 5. *He heard the ſound of the Trumpet, & took not Warning; his blood ſhall be upon him: But he that taketh Warning, ſhall deliver his Soul.*

Boſton: Printed & Sold by *T. Green.* 1714.

College Library

Figure 179. Title page, Samuel Moodey, *Judas the Traitor Hung Up in Chains*, Boston, 1714. John Carter Brown Library, Providence, Rhode Island

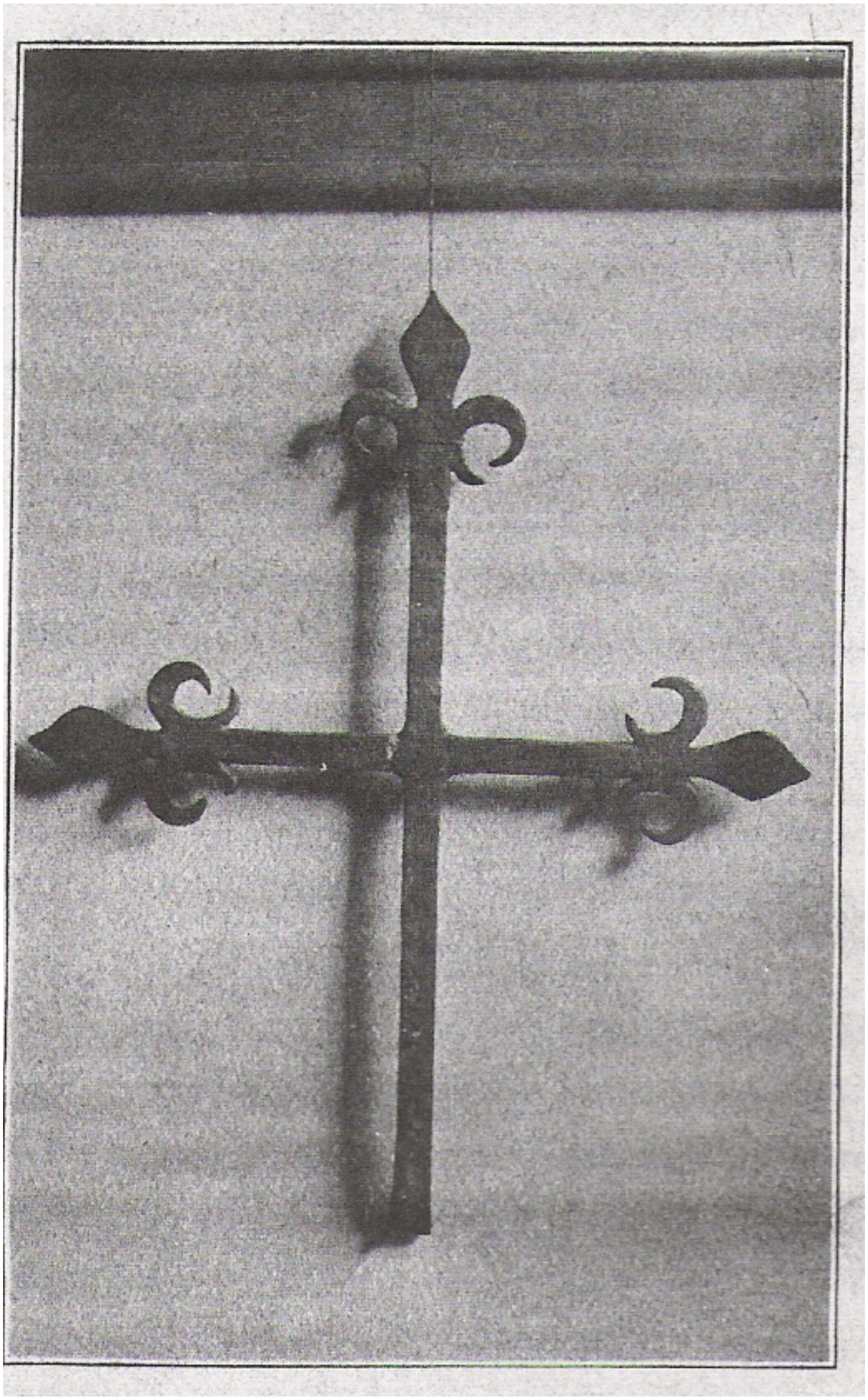
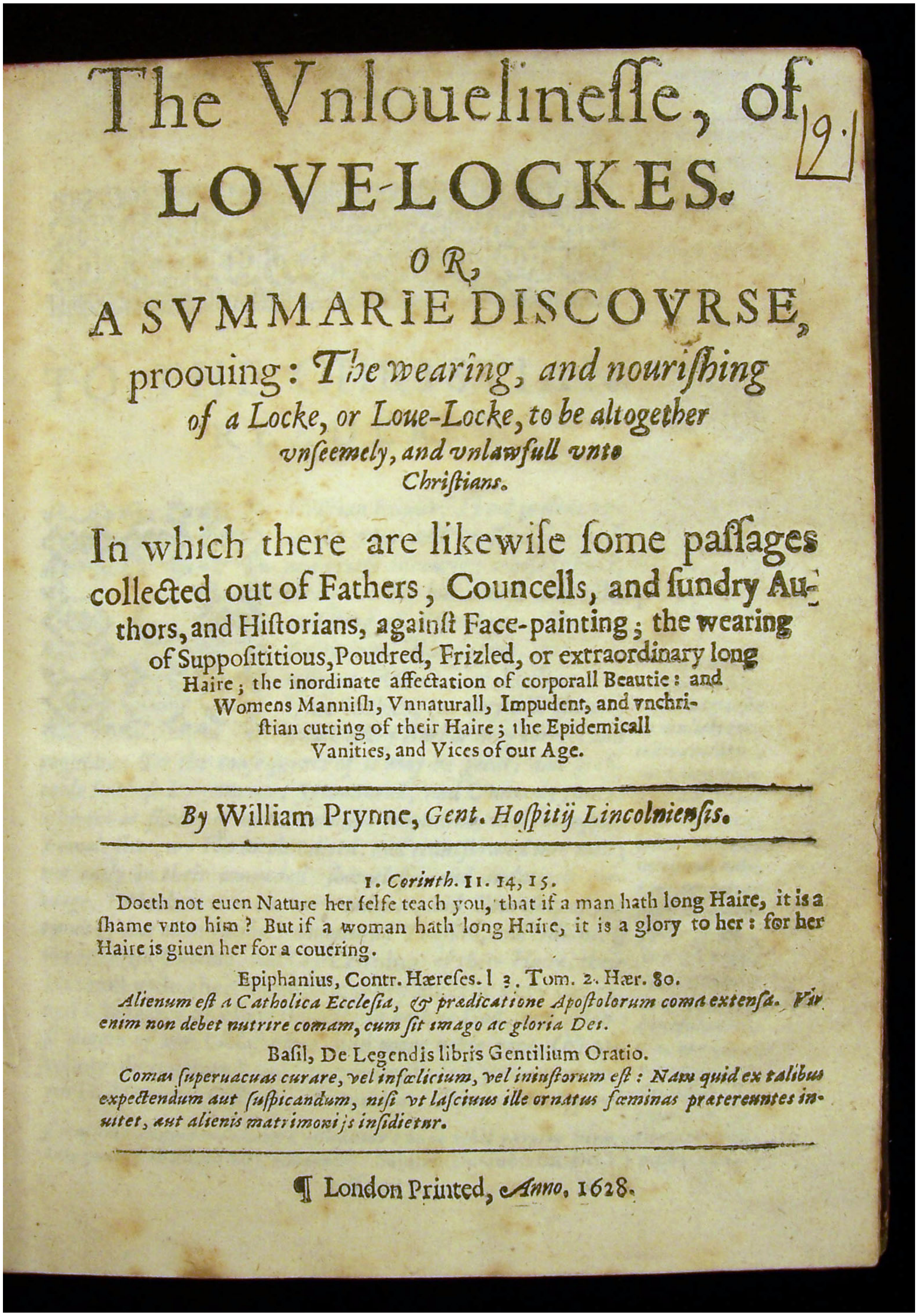


Figure 180. The Louisburg Cross, 18th century. Cape Breton, Nova Scotia



The Vnlouelineſſe, of
LOVE-LOCKES.
OR,
A SVMMARIE DISCOVRSE,
prooving: *The wearing, and nouriſhing*
of a Locke, or Loue-Locke, to be altogether
vnſeemely, and vnlawfull vnto
Chriſtians.

In which there are likewiſe ſome paſſages
collected out of Fathers, Councells, and ſundry Authors,
and Hiſtorians, againſt Face-painting; the wearing
of Suppoſititious, Poudred, Frizled, or extraordinary long
Haire; the inordinate affectation of corporall Beautie: and
Womens Manniſh, Vnnaturall, Impudent, and vnchriſtian
cutting of their Haire; the Epidemicall
Vanities, and Vices of our Age.

By William Prynne, *Gent. Hoſpitij Lincolnienſis.*

---

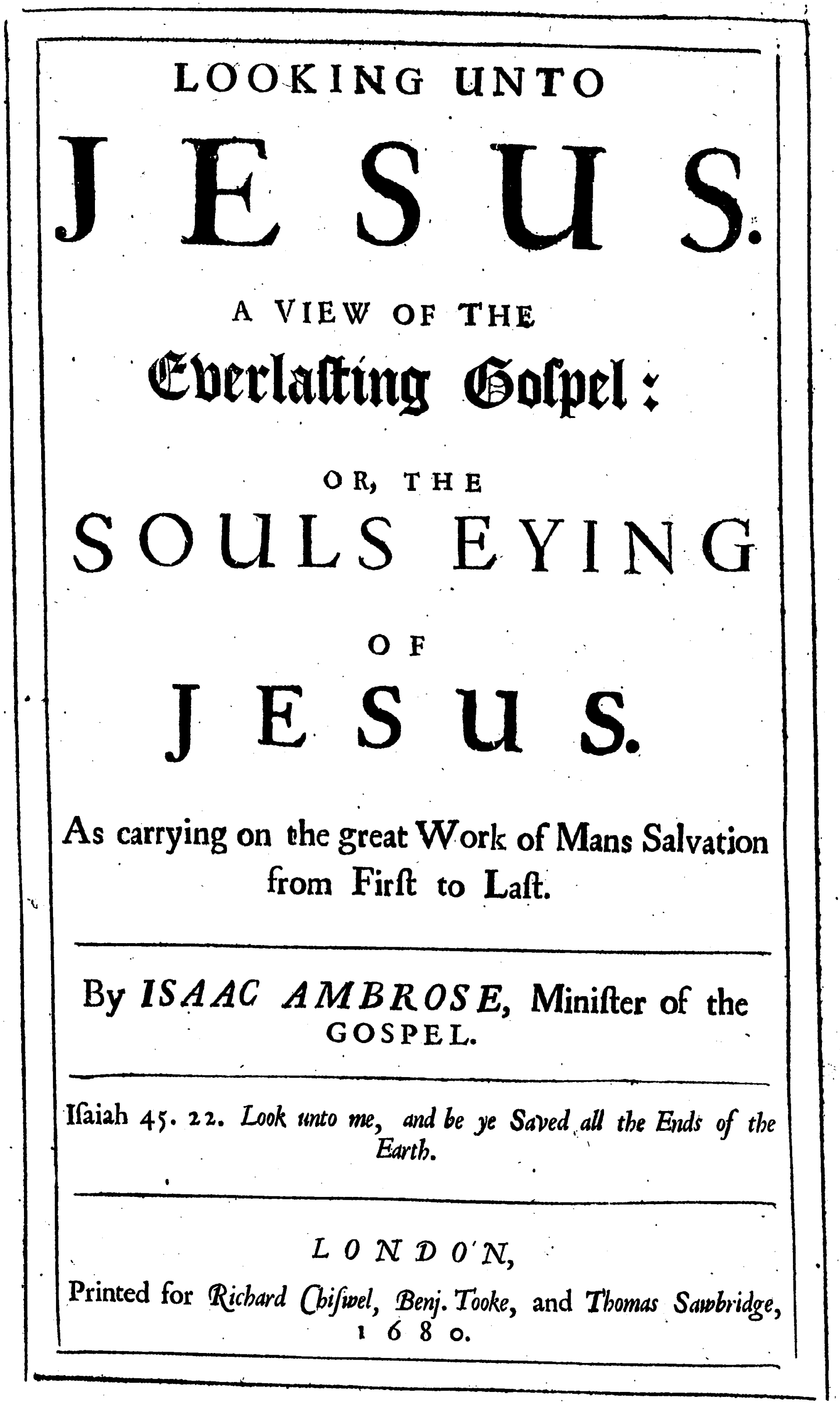
1. *Corinth.* 11. 14, 15.
Doeth not euen Nature her ſelfe teach you, that if a man hath long Haire, it is a ſhame vnto him? But if a woman hath long Haire, it is a glory to her: for her Haire is giuen her for a couering.

Epiphanius, Contr. Hæreſes. l 3. Tom. 2. Hær. 80.
Alienum eſt a Catholica Eccleſia, & prædicatione Apoſtolorum coma extenſa. Vir enim non debet nutrire comam, cum ſit imago ac gloria Dei.

Baſil, De Legendis libris Gentilium Oratio.
Comas ſuperuacuas curare, vel infœlicium, vel iniuſtorum eſt: Nam quid ex talibus expectendum aut ſuſpicandum, niſi vt laſciuus ille ornatus fœminas prætereuntes inuitet, aut alienis matrimonijs inſidietur.

¶ London Printed, *Anno*, 1628.

Figure 181. Title page, William Prynne, *The Vnloueliness, of Love-Lockes*, London, 1628. Huntington Library, San Marino, California



LOOKING UNTO

JESUS.

A VIEW OF THE

Everlaſting Goſpel:

OR, THE

SOULS EYING

OF

JESUS.

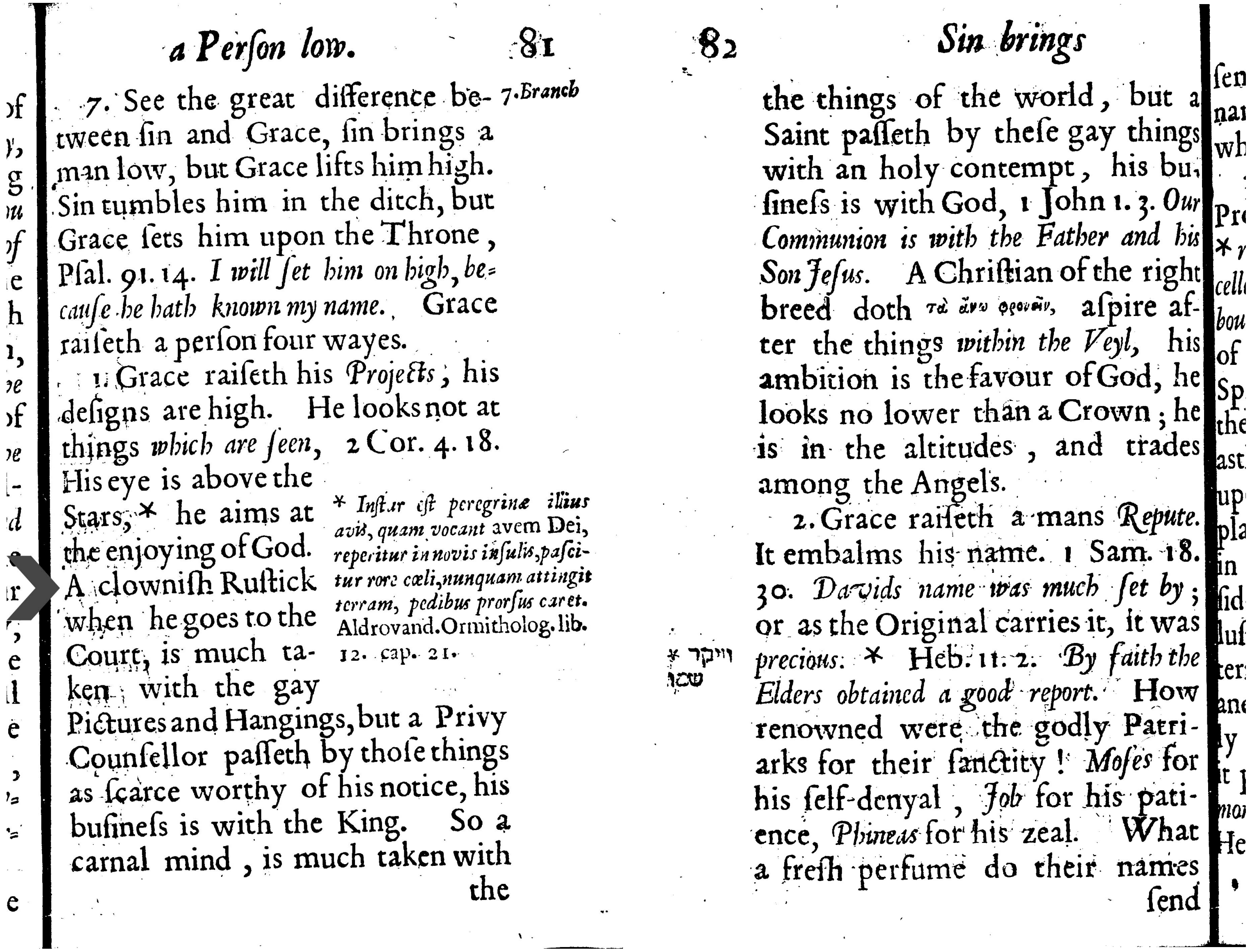
As carrying on the great Work of Mans Salvation
from Firſt to Laſt.

By *ISAAC AMBROSE*, Miniſter of the
GOSPEL.

Iſaiah 45. 22. *Look unto me, and be ye Saved all the Ends of the
Earth.*

LONDON,
Printed for *Richard Chiſwel*, *Benj. Tooke*, and *Thomas Sawbridge*,
1680.

Figure 182. Title page, Isaac Ambrose, *Looking unto Jesus*, London, 1680. British Library, London



a Perſon low. 81

7. See the great difference between ſin and Grace, ſin brings a man low, but Grace lifts him high. Sin tumbles him in the ditch, but Grace ſets him upon the Throne, Pſal. 91. 14. *I will ſet him on high, becauſe he hath known my name.* Grace raiſeth a perſon four wayes.

7. Branch

1. Grace raiſeth his *Projects*, his deſigns are high. He looks not at things *which are ſeen*, 2 Cor. 4. 18. His eye is above the Stars,* he aims at the enjoying of God. A clowniſh Ruſtick when he goes to the Court, is much taken with the gay Pictures and Hangings, but a Privy Counſellor paſſeth by thoſe things as ſcarce worthy of his notice, his buſineſs is with the King. So a carnal mind, is much taken with

the

* *Inſtar eſt peregrinæ illius avis, quam vocant* avem Dei, *reperitur in novis inſulis, paſcitur rore cœli, nunquam attingit terram, pedibus prorſus caret.* Aldrovand. Ornitholog. lib. 12. cap. 21.

82 *Sin brings*

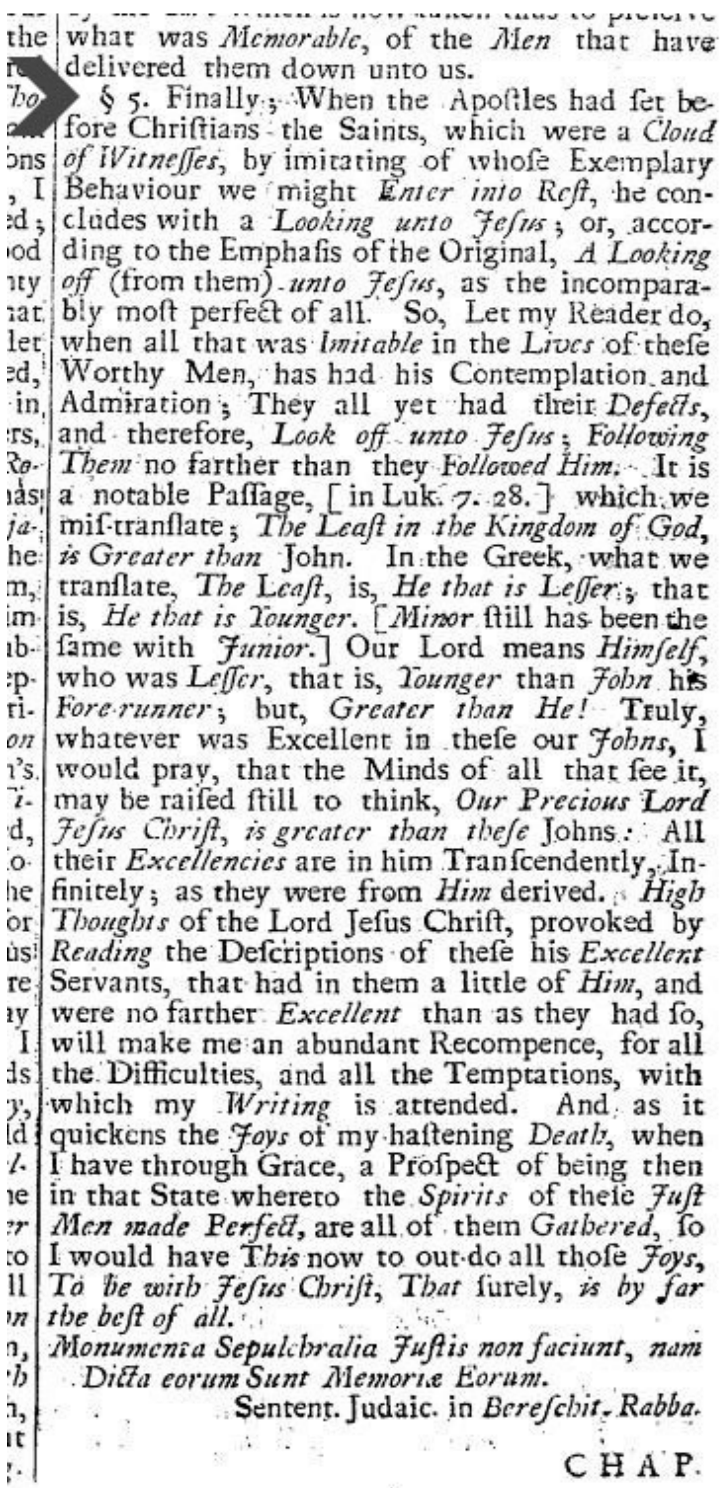
the things of the world, but a Saint paſſeth by theſe gay things with an holy contempt, his buſineſs is with God, 1 John 1. 3. *Our Communion is with the Father and his Son Jeſus.* A Chriſtian of the right breed doth τὰ ἄνω φρονεῖν, aſpire after the things *within the Veyl*, his ambition is the favour of God, he looks no lower than a Crown; he is in the altitudes, and trades among the Angels.

2. Grace raiſeth a mans *Repute.* It embalms his name. 1 Sam. 18. 30. *Davids name was much ſet by*; or as the Original carries it, it was *precious.* * Heb. 11. 2. *By faith the Elders obtained a good report.* How renowned were the godly Patriarks for their ſanctity! *Moſes* for his ſelf-denyal, *Job* for his patience, *Phineas* for his zeal. What a freſh perfume do their names

ſend

* ויקר שמו

Figure 183. Pages 81-82, Thomas Watson, *The Mischief of Sinne, It Brings a Person Low*, London, 1671. Union Theological Seminary Library, New York



what was *Memorable*, of the *Men* that have delivered them down unto us.

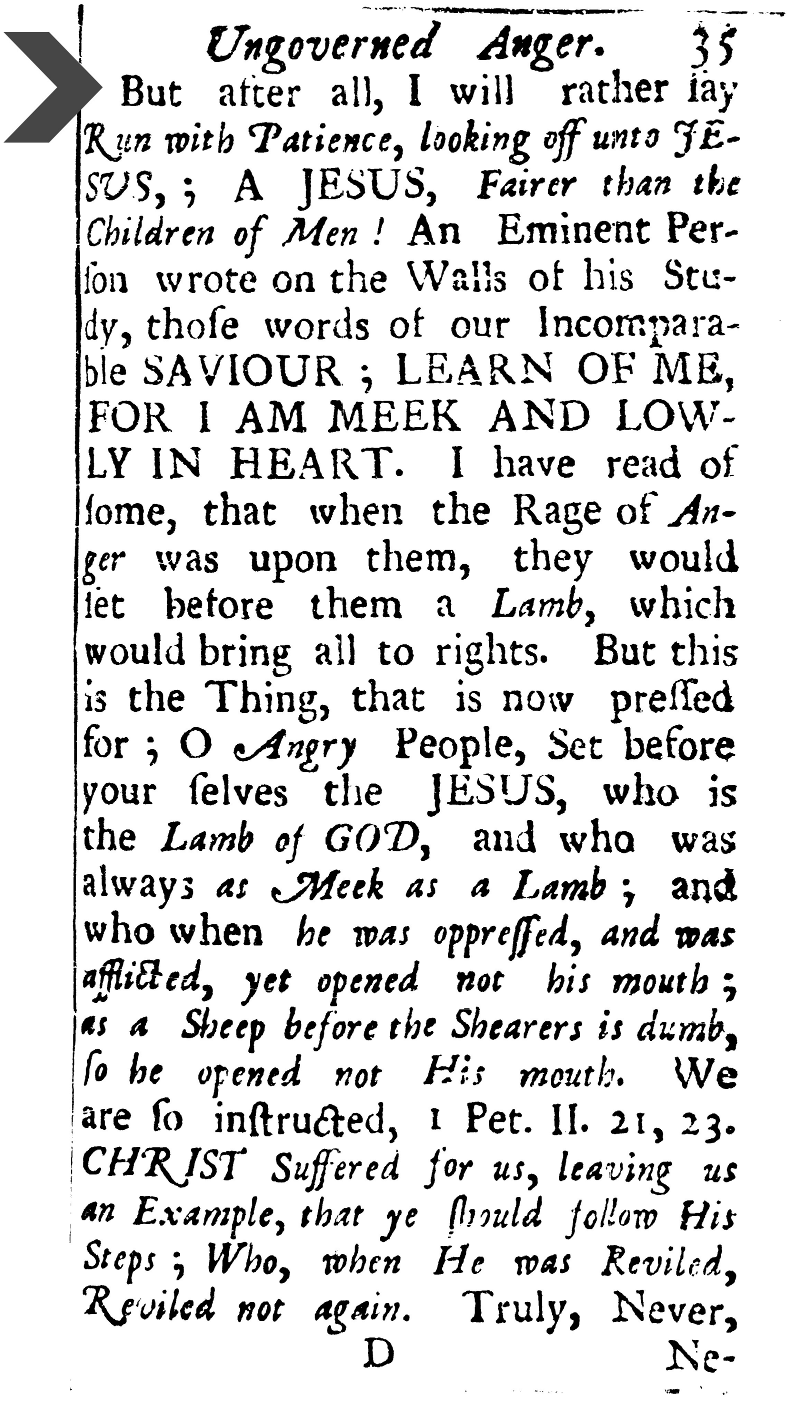
§ 5. Finally; When the Apoſtles had ſet before Chriſtians the Saints, which were a *Cloud of Witneſſes*, by imitating of whoſe Exemplary Behaviour we might *Enter into Reſt*, he concludes with a *Looking unto Jeſus*; or, according to the Emphaſis of the Original, *A Looking off* (from them) *unto Jeſus*, as the incomparably moſt perfect of all. So, Let my Reader do, when all that was *Imitable* in the *Lives* of theſe Worthy Men, has had his Contemplation and Admiration; They all yet had their *Defects*, and therefore, *Look off unto Jeſus*; *Following Them* no farther than they *Followed Him*. It is a notable Paſſage, [in Luk. 7. 28.] which we miſ-tranſlate; *The Leaſt in the Kingdom of God, is Greater than* John. In the Greek, what we tranſlate, *The Leaſt*, is, *He that is Leſſer*; that is, *He that is Younger*. [*Minor* ſtill has been the ſame with *Junior*.] Our Lord means *Himſelf*, who was *Leſſer*, that is, *Younger* than *John* his *Fore-runner*; but, *Greater than He!* Truly, whatever was Excellent in theſe our *Johns*, I would pray, that the Minds of all that ſee it, may be raiſed ſtill to think, *Our Precious Lord Jeſus Chriſt, is greater than theſe* Johns: All their *Excellencies* are in him Tranſcendently, Infinitely; as they were from *Him* derived. *High Thoughts* of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, provoked by *Reading* the Deſcriptions of theſe his *Excellent* Servants, that had in them a little of *Him*, and were no farther *Excellent* than as they had ſo, will make me an abundant Recompence, for all the Difficulties, and all the Temptations, with which my *Writing* is attended. And as it quickens the *Joys* of my haſtening *Death*, when I have through Grace, a Proſpect of being then in that State whereto the *Spirits* of theſe *Juſt Men made Perfect*, are all of them *Gathered*, ſo I would have *This* now to out-do all thoſe *Joys*, *To be with Jeſus Chriſt*, *That* ſurely, *is by far the beſt of all*.

Monumenta Sepulchralia Juſtis non faciunt, nam Dicta eorum Sunt Memoriæ Eorum.

Sentent. Judaic. in *Bereſchit-Rabba*.

CHAP.

Figure 184. Volume 3, page 13 (detail), Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana*, London, 1702. British Library, London

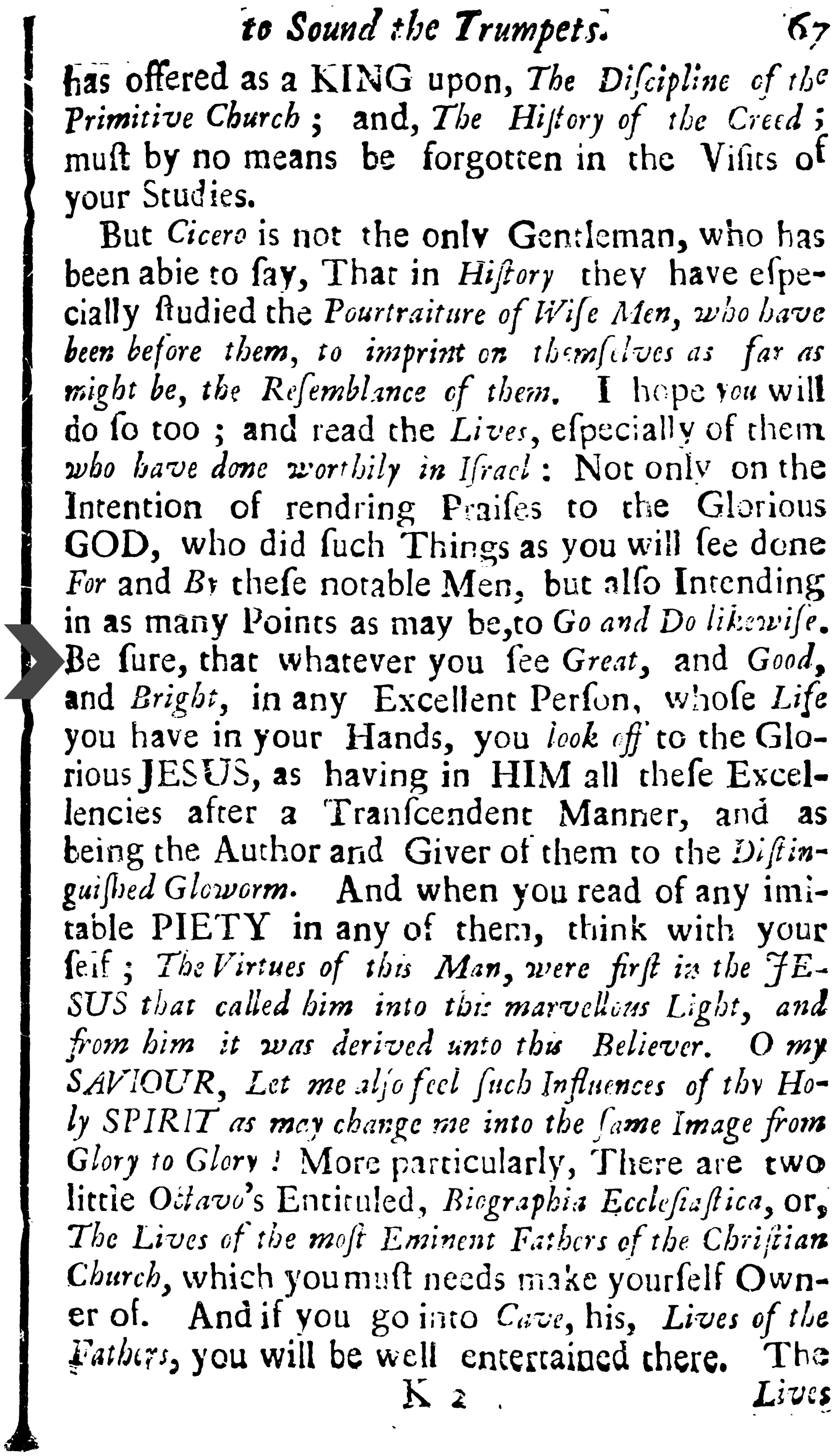


Ungoverned Anger. 35

But after all, I will rather ſay *Run with Patience, looking off unto JESVS*, ; A JESUS, *Fairer than the Children of Men!* An Eminent Perſon wrote on the Walls of his Study, thoſe words of our Incomparable SAVIOUR ; LEARN OF ME, FOR I AM MEEK AND LOWLY IN HEART. I have read of ſome, that when the Rage of *Anger* was upon them, they would ſet before them a *Lamb*, which would bring all to rights. But this is the Thing, that is now preſſed for ; O *Angry* People, Set before your ſelves the JESUS, who is the *Lamb of GOD*, and who was always *as Meek as a Lamb* ; and who when *he was oppreſſed, and was afflicted, yet opened not his mouth ; as a Sheep before the Shearers is dumb, ſo he opened not His mouth.* We are ſo inſtructed, 1 Pet. II. 21, 23. *CHRIST Suffered for us, leaving us an Example, that ye ſhould follow His Steps ; Who, when He was Reviled, Reviled not again.* Truly, Never,

D Ne-

Figure 185. Page 35, Cotton Mather, *Febrifugium. An Essay for the Cure of Ungoverned Anger*, Boston, 1717. Yale University Library, New Haven, Connecticut



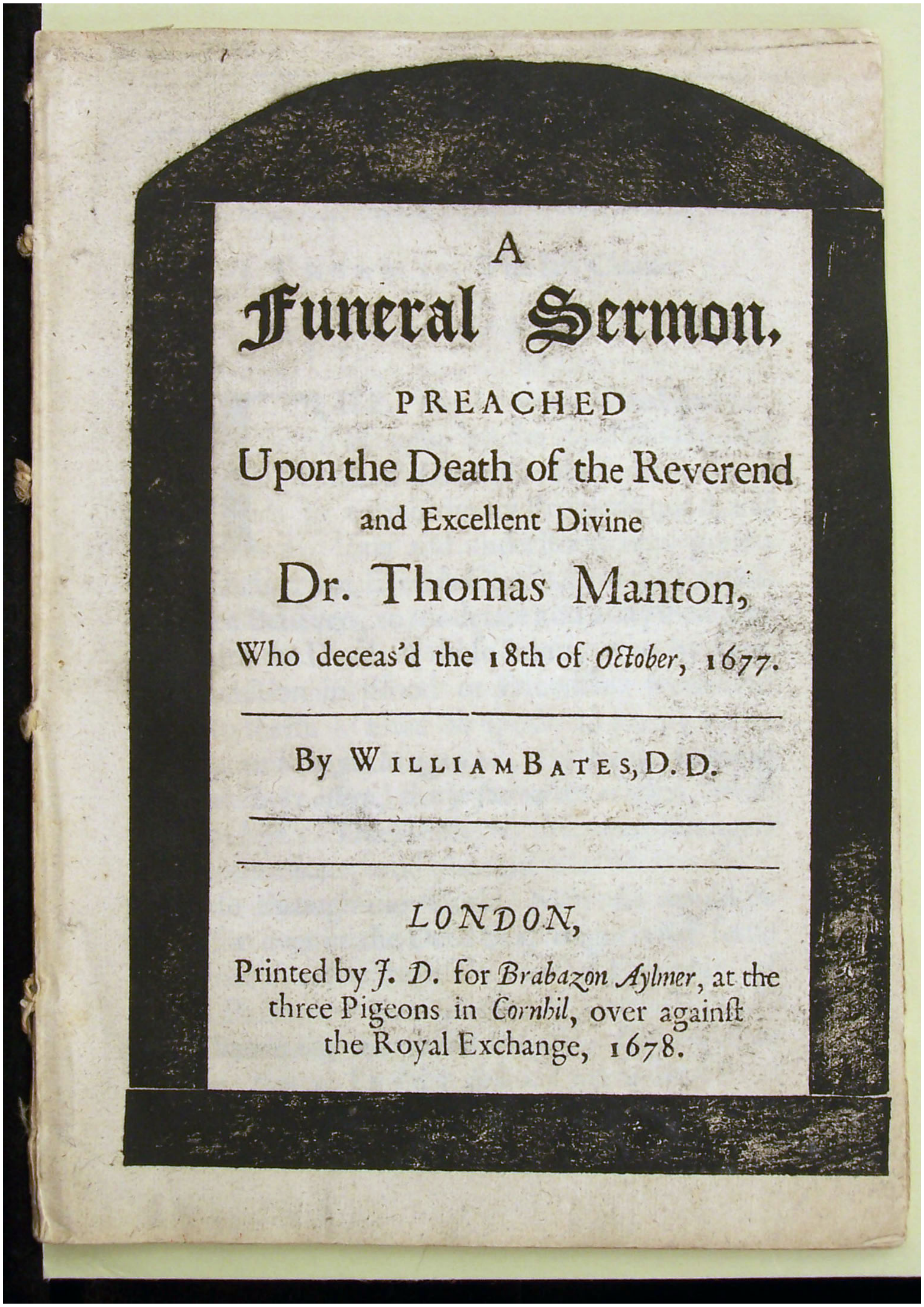
to Sound the Trumpets. 67

has offered as a KING upon, *The Diſcipline of the Primitive Church*; and, *The Hiſtory of the Creed*; muſt by no means be forgotten in the Viſits of your Studies.

But *Cicero* is not the only Gentleman, who has been able to ſay, That in *Hiſtory* they have eſpecially ſtudied the *Pourtraiture of Wiſe Men, who have been before them, to imprint on themſelves as far as might be, the Reſemblance of them.* I hope *you* will do ſo too; and read the *Lives*, eſpecially of them *who have done worthily in Iſrael*: Not only on the Intention of rendring Praiſes to the Glorious GOD, who did ſuch Things as you will ſee done *For* and *By* theſe notable Men, but alſo Intending in as many Points as may be, to *Go and Do likewiſe*. Be ſure, that whatever you ſee *Great*, and *Good*, and *Bright*, in any Excellent Perſon, whoſe *Life* you have in your Hands, you *look off* to the Glorious JESUS, as having in HIM all theſe Excellencies after a Tranſcendent Manner, and as being the Author and Giver of them to the *Diſtinguiſhed Glowworm*. And when you read of any imitable PIETY in any of them, think with your ſelf; *The Virtues of this Man, were firſt in the JESUS that called him into this marvellous Light, and from him it was derived unto this Believer. O my SAVIOUR, Let me alſo feel ſuch Influences of thy Holy SPIRIT as may change me into the ſame Image from Glory to Glory!* More particularly, There are two little *Octavo*'s Entituled, *Biographia Eccleſiaſtica*, or, *The Lives of the moſt Eminent Fathers of the Chriſtian Church*, which you muſt needs make yourſelf Owner of. And if you go into *Cave*, his, *Lives of the Fathers*, you will be well entertained there. The

K 2 *Lives*

Figure 186. Page 67, Cotton Mather, *Manuductio ad Ministerium*, Boston, 1726. American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts



A

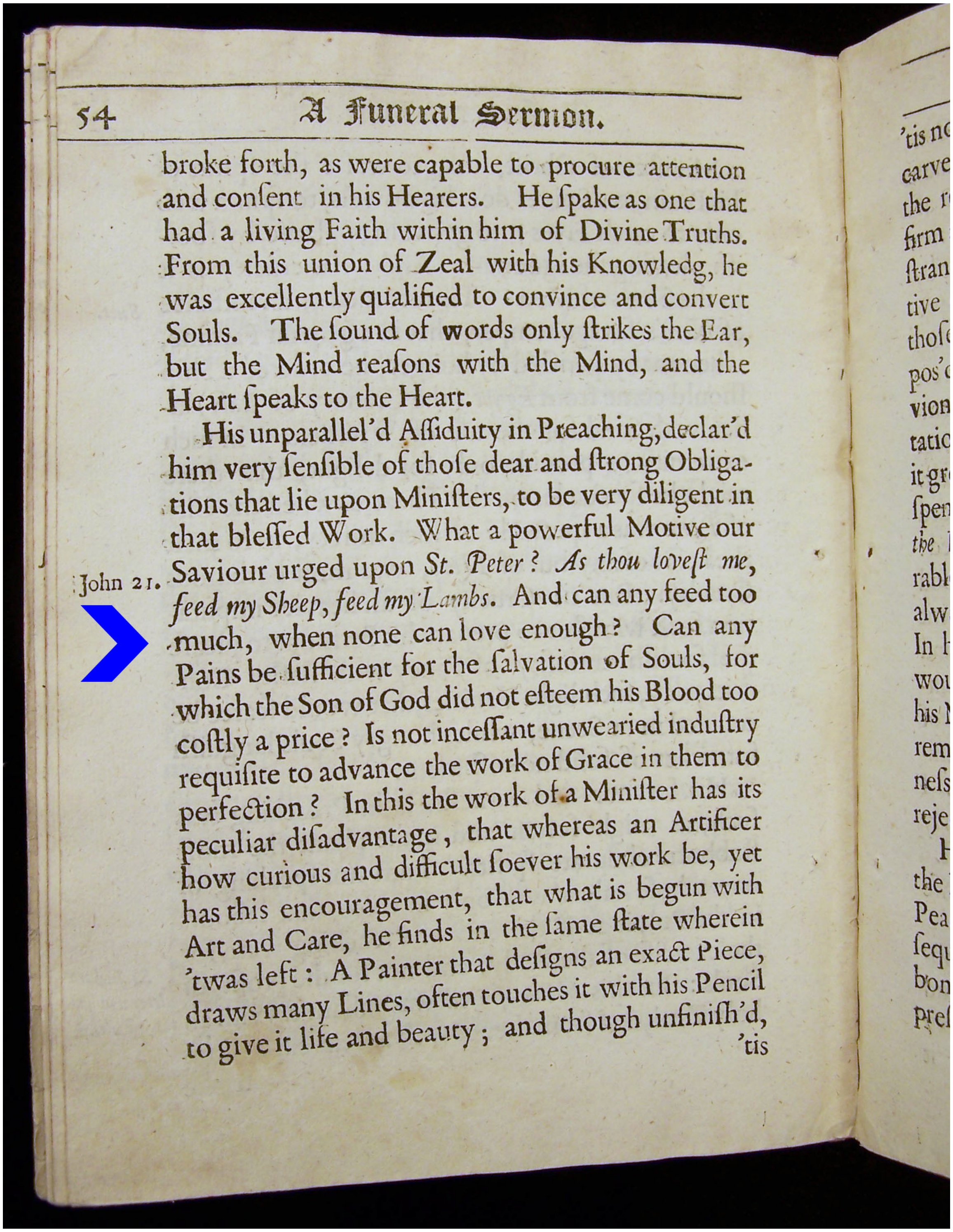
Funeral Sermon.

PREACHED
Upon the Death of the Reverend
and Excellent Divine
Dr. Thomas Manton,
Who deceas'd the 18th of *October*, 1677.

By WILLIAM BATES, D. D.

LONDON,
Printed by *J. D.* for *Brabazon Aylmer*, at the
three Pigeons in *Cornhil*, over againſt
the Royal Exchange, 1678.

Figure 187. Title page, William Bates, *A Funeral Sermon, Preached Upon the Death of the Reverend and Excellent Divine Dr. Thomas Manton*, London, 1678. Huntington Library, San Marino, California



54 A Funeral Sermon.

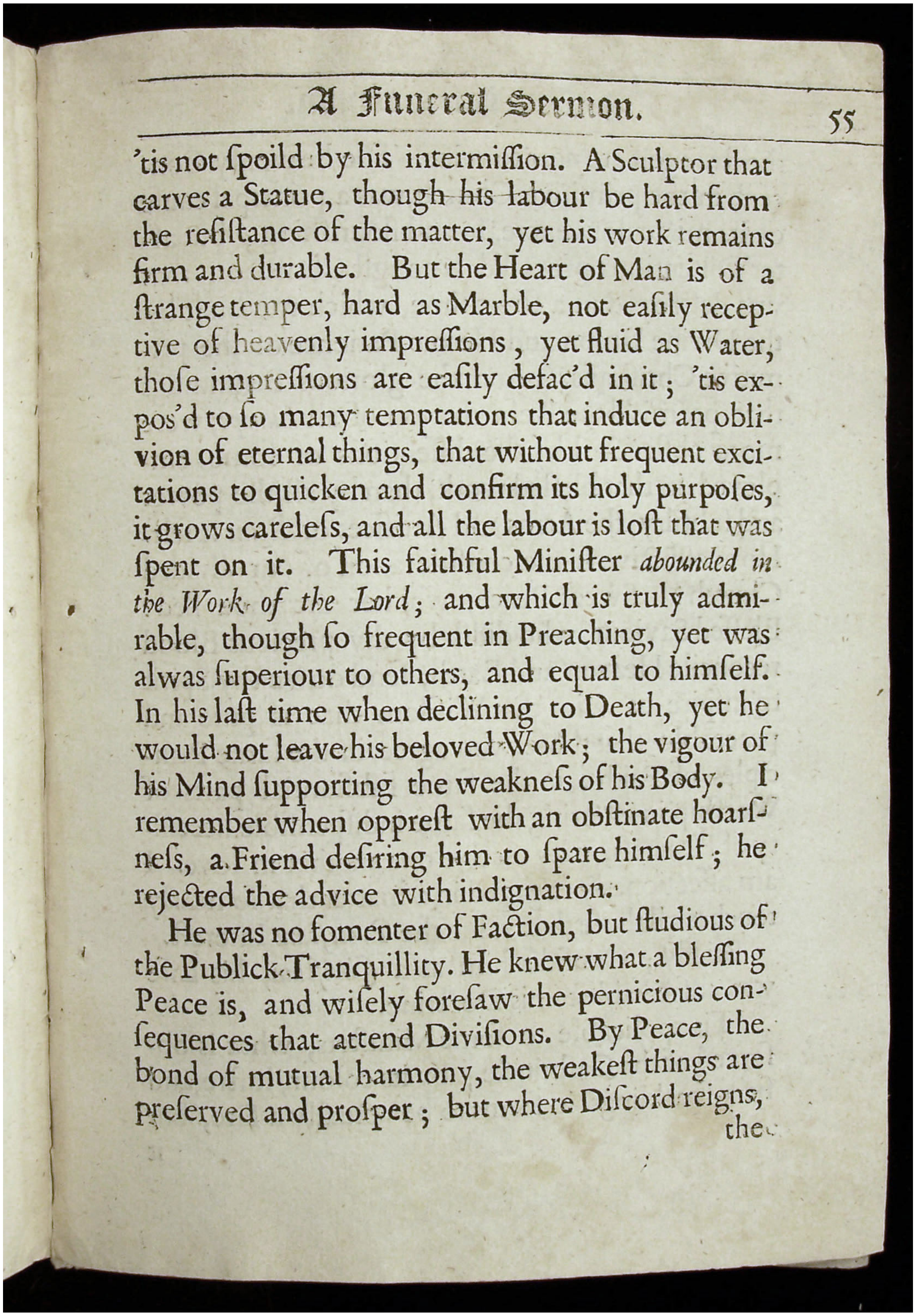
broke forth, as were capable to procure attention and conſent in his Hearers. He ſpake as one that had a living Faith within him of Divine Truths. From this union of Zeal with his Knowledg, he was excellently qualified to convince and convert Souls. The ſound of words only ſtrikes the Ear, but the Mind reaſons with the Mind, and the Heart ſpeaks to the Heart.

His unparallel'd Aſſiduity in Preaching, declar'd him very ſenſible of thoſe dear and ſtrong Obligations that lie upon Miniſters, to be very diligent in that bleſſed Work. What a powerful Motive our Saviour urged upon St. *Peter*? *As thou loveſt me, feed my Sheep, feed my Lambs.* And can any feed too much, when none can love enough? Can any Pains be ſufficient for the ſalvation of Souls, for which the Son of God did not eſteem his Blood too coſtly a price? Is not inceſſant unwearied induſtry requiſite to advance the work of Grace in them to perfection? In this the work of a Miniſter has its peculiar diſadvantage, that whereas an Artificer how curious and difficult ſoever his work be, yet has this encouragement, that what is begun with Art and Care, he finds in the ſame ſtate wherein 'twas left: A Painter that deſigns an exact Piece, draws many Lines, often touches it with his Pencil to give it life and beauty; and though unfiniſh'd,

John 21.

'tis

Figure 188. Page 54, William Bates, *A Funeral Sermon, Preached Upon the Death of the Reverend and Excellent Divine Dr. Thomas Manton*, London, 1678. Huntington Library, San Marino, California



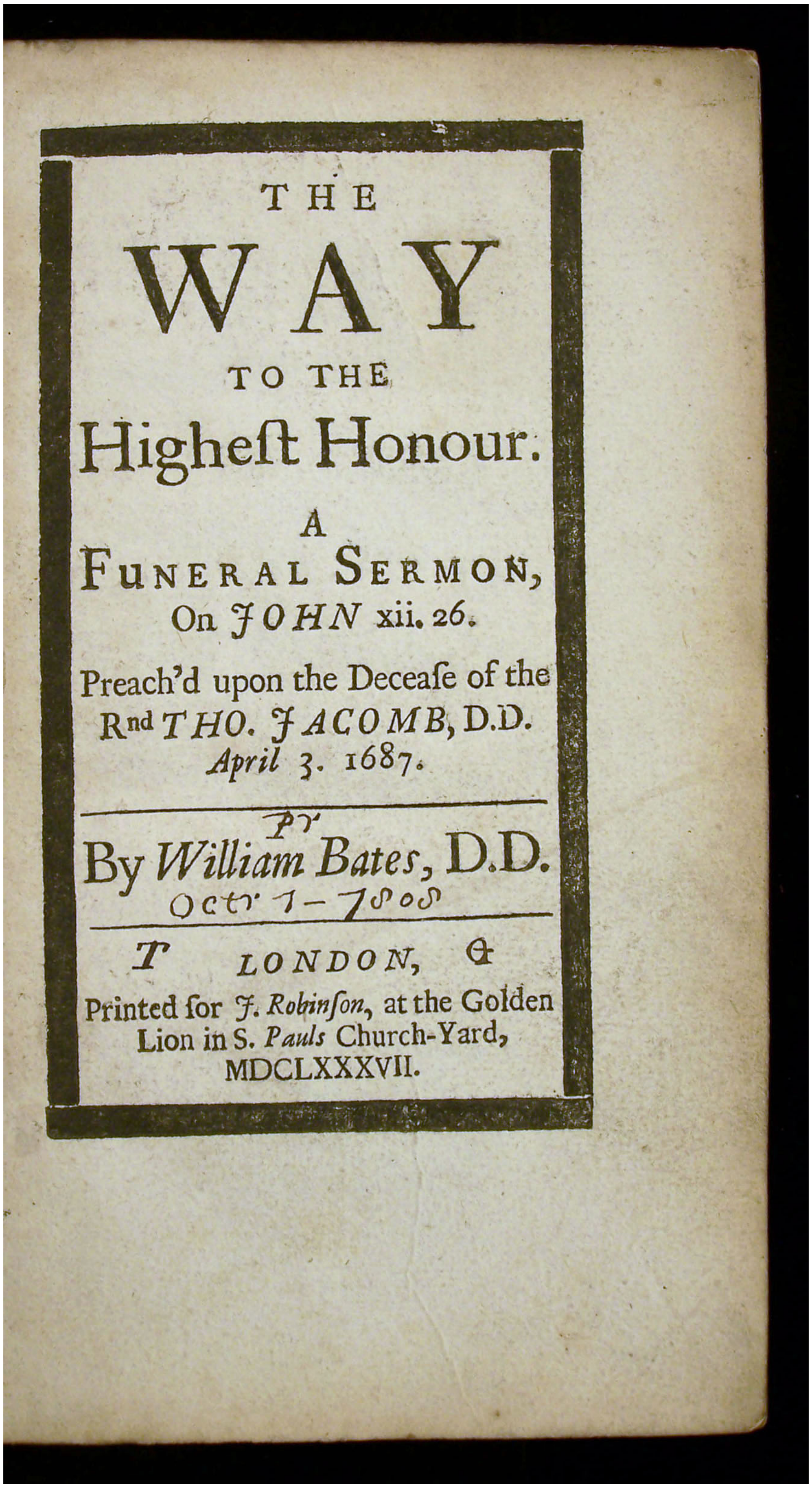
A Funeral Sermon. 55

'tis not ſpoild by his intermiſſion. A Sculptor that carves a Statue, though his labour be hard from the reſiſtance of the matter, yet his work remains firm and durable. But the Heart of Man is of a ſtrange temper, hard as Marble, not eaſily receptive of heavenly impreſſions, yet fluid as Water, thoſe impreſſions are eaſily defac'd in it; 'tis expos'd to ſo many temptations that induce an oblivion of eternal things, that without frequent excitations to quicken and confirm its holy purpoſes, it grows careleſs, and all the labour is loſt that was ſpent on it. This faithful Miniſter *abounded in the Work of the Lord*; and which is truly admirable, though ſo frequent in Preaching, yet was alwas ſuperiour to others, and equal to himſelf. In his laſt time when declining to Death, yet he would not leave his beloved Work; the vigour of his Mind ſupporting the weakneſs of his Body. I remember when oppreſt with an obſtinate hoarſneſs, a Friend deſiring him to ſpare himſelf; he rejected the advice with indignation.

He was no fomenter of Faction, but ſtudious of the Publick Tranquillity. He knew what a bleſſing Peace is, and wiſely foreſaw the pernicious conſequences that attend Diviſions. By Peace, the bond of mutual harmony, the weakeſt things are preſerved and proſper; but where Diſcord reigns,

the

Figure 189. Page 55, William Bates, *A Funeral Sermon, Preached Upon the Death of the Reverend and Excellent Divine Dr. Thomas Manton*, London, 1678. Huntington Library, San Marino, California



THE
WAY
TO THE
Higheſt Honour.

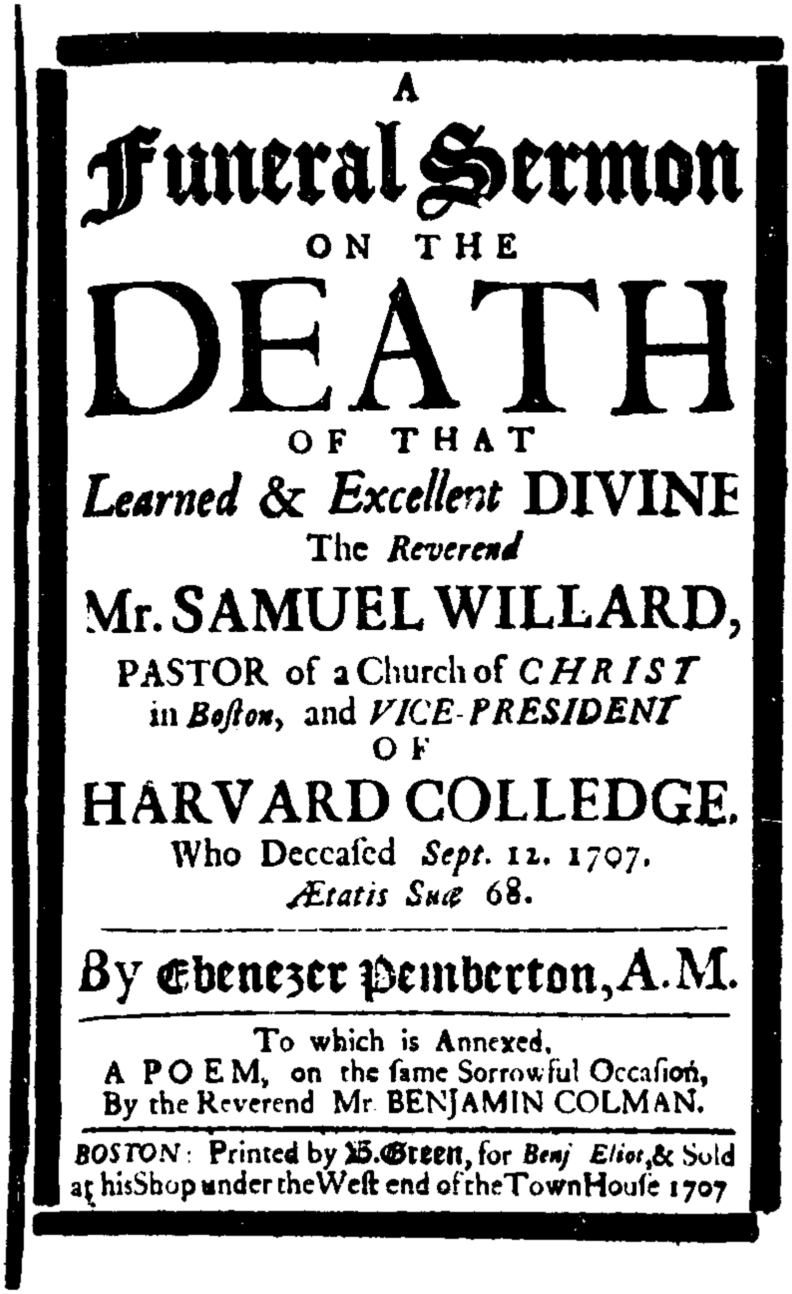
A
FUNERAL SERMON,
On *JOHN* xii. 26.

Preach'd upon the Deceaſe of the
R^nd^ *THO. JACOMB*, D.D.
April 3. 1687.

Pr
By *William Bates*, D.D.
Octr 1 - 1808

T LONDON, G
Printed for *J. Robinſon*, at the Golden
Lion in S. *Pauls* Church-Yard,
MDCLXXXVII.

Figure 190. Title page, William Bates, *The Way to the Highest Honour*, London, 1687. Huntington Library, San Marino, California



A

Funeral Sermon

ON THE

DEATH

OF THAT

Learned & Excellent DIVINE

The *Reverend*

Mr. SAMUEL WILLARD,

PASTOR of a Church of *CHRIST*

in *Boſton*, and *VICE-PRESIDENT*

OF

HARVARD COLLEDGE.

Who Deceaſed *Sept.* 12. 1707.

Ætatis Suæ 68.

By Ebenezer Pemberton, A.M.

To which is Annexed,

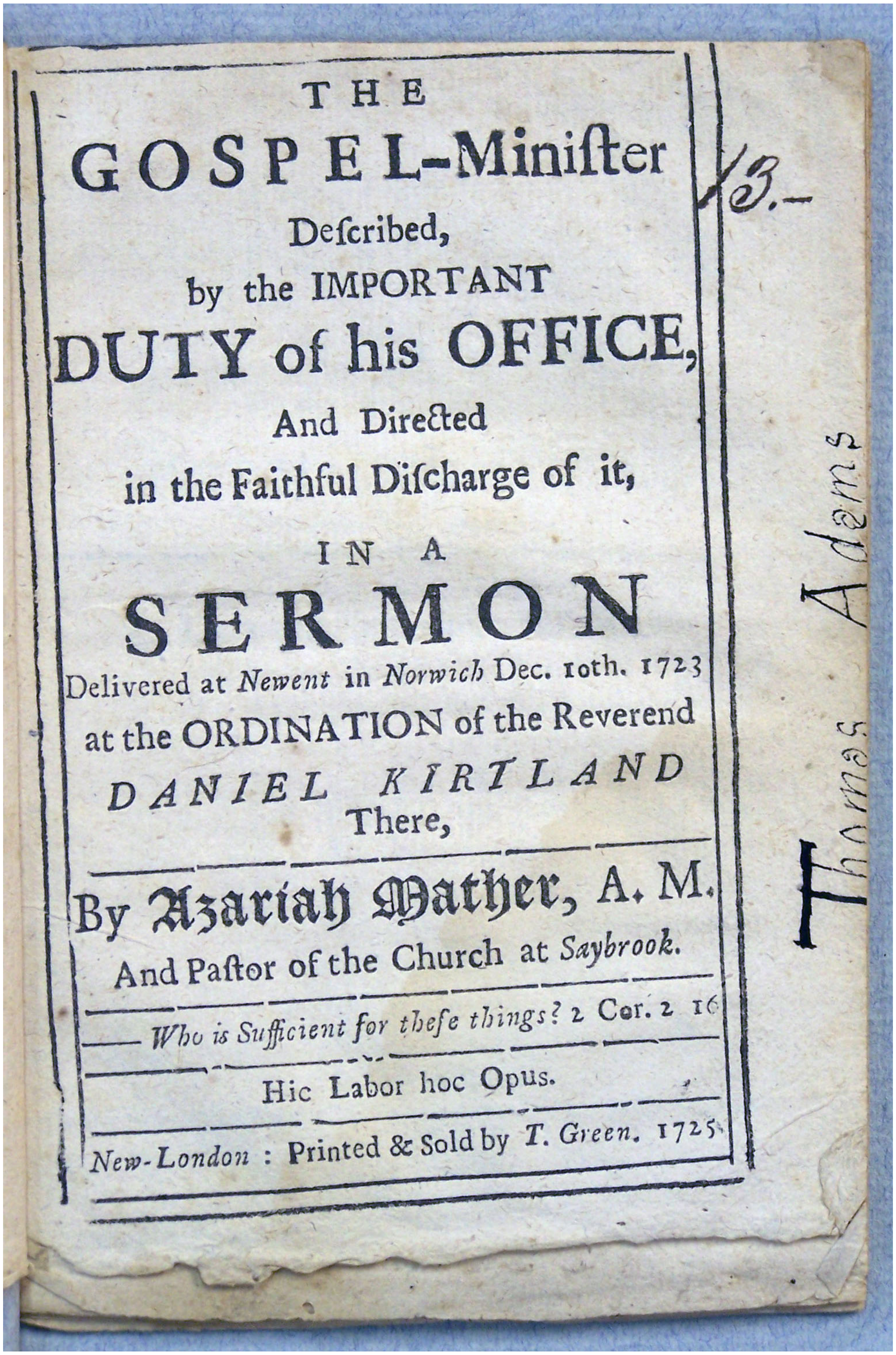
A POEM, on the ſame Sorrowful Occaſion,

By the Reverend Mr. BENJAMIN COLMAN.

BOSTON: Printed by B. Green, for *Benj Eliot*, & Sold

at his Shop under the Weſt end of the Town Houſe 1707

Figure 191. Title page, Ebenezer Pemberton, *A Funeral Sermon on the Death of that Learned & Excellent Divine The Reverend Mr. Samuel Willard*, Boston, 1707. American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts



THE
GOSPEL-Miniſter
Deſcribed,
by the IMPORTANT
DUTY of his OFFICE,
And Directed
in the Faithful Diſcharge of it,
IN A
SERMON
Delivered at *Newent* in *Norwich* Dec. 10th. 1723
at the ORDINATION of the Reverend
DANIEL KIRTLAND
There,

By **Azariah Mather**, A. M.
And Paſtor of the Church at *Saybrook.*

Who is Sufficient for theſe things? 2 Cor. 2 16

Hic Labor hoc Opus.

New-London : Printed & Sold by *T. Green*. 1725.

/3.–

Thomas Adams

Figure 192. Title page, Azariah Mather, *The Gospel-Minister Described, by the Important Duty of His Office*, New-London, Connecticut, 1725. Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford

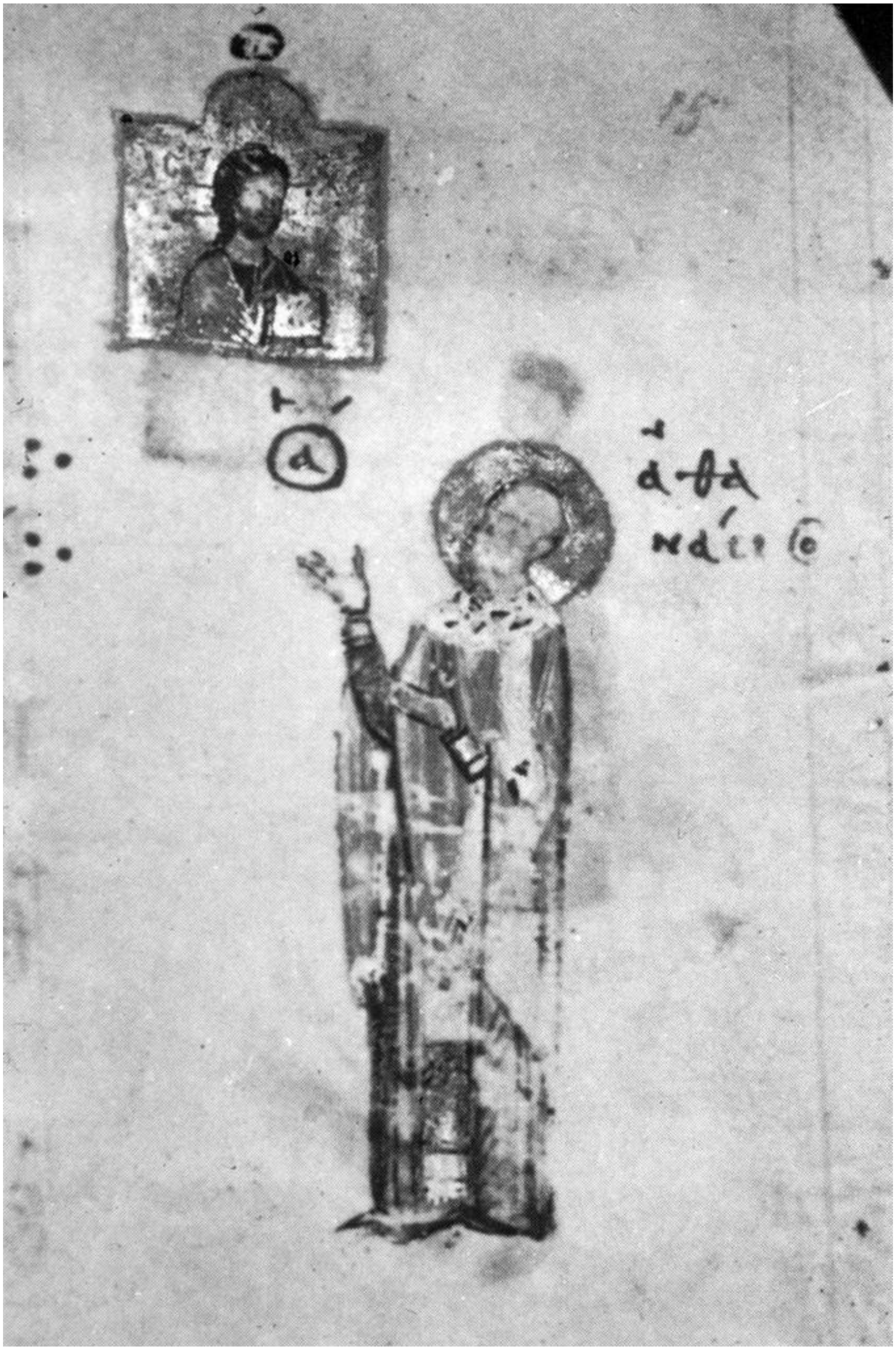
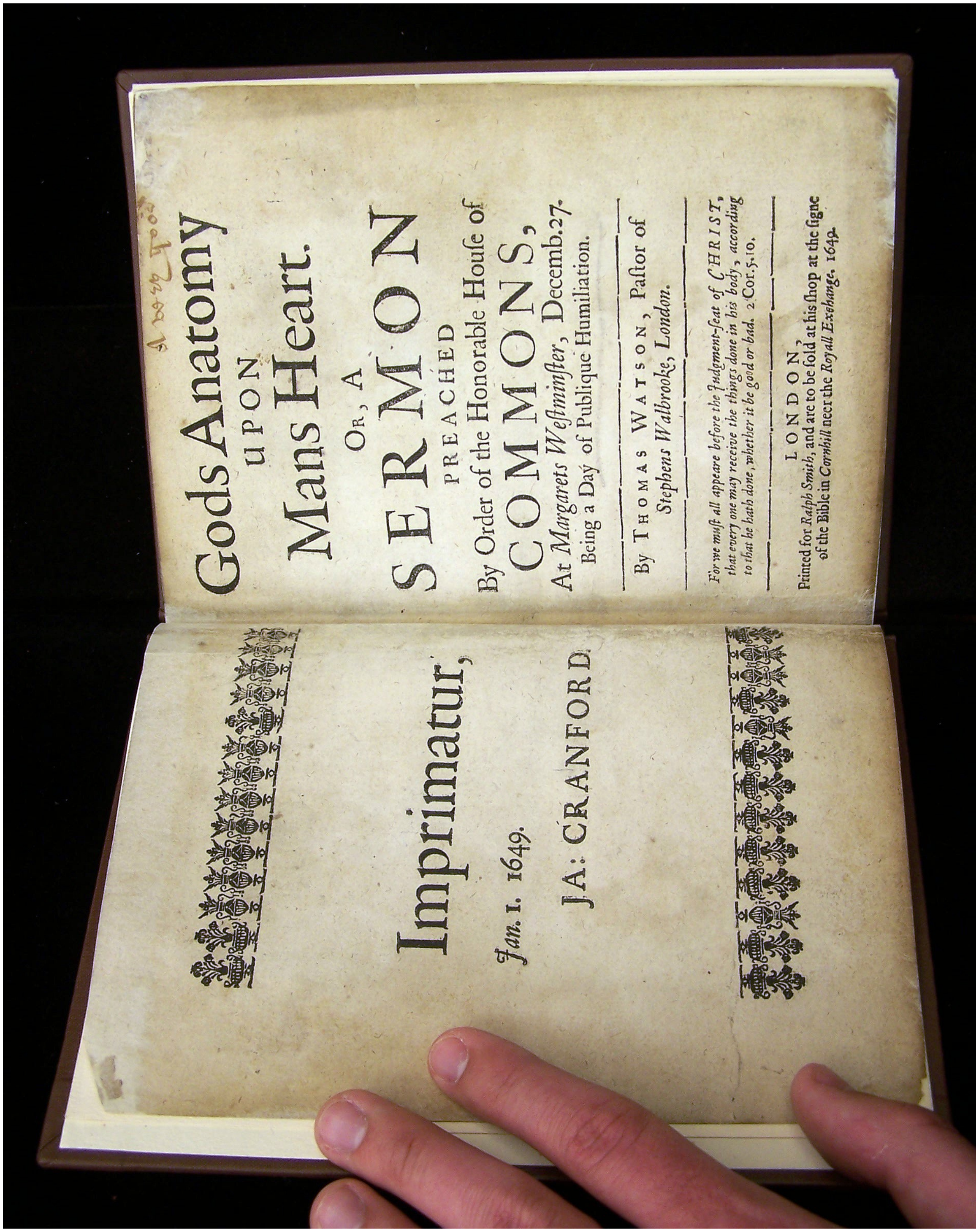


Figure 193. Icon of Christ and St. Athanasius [Psalm 16:7], Theodore Psalter, Folio 15, 1066. British Museum, London

Figure 194. Antonie Wierix, The Christ Child sweeping a brood of reptilian monsters out of the believer's heart with a broom, ca. 1600. Wellcome Library, London



Imprimatur,

Jan. 1. 1649.

JA: CRANFORD.

A very good

Gods Anatomy
UPON
Mans Heart.
OR, A
SERMON
PREACHED
By Order of the Honorable Houſe of
COMMONS,
At *Margarets Weſtminſter*, Decemb.27.
Being a Day of Publique Humiliation.

By THOMAS WATSON, Paſtor of
Stephens Walbrooke, London.

For we muſt all appeare before the Judgment-ſeat of CHRIST,
that every one may receive the things done in his body, according
to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad. 2 Cor.5.10.

LONDON,
Printed for *Ralph Smith*, and are to be ſold at his ſhop at the ſigne
of the Bible in *Cornhill* neer the *Royall Exchange*. 1649.

Figure 195. Opening with title page, Thomas Watson, *Gods Anatomy upon Mans Heart*, London, 1649. Huntington Library, San Marino, California

Figure 196. Mierle Laderman Ukeles, documentation of *Hartford Wash: Washing Tracks, Maintenance Outside*, 1973. Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Connecticut

Figure 197. Mierle Laderman Ukeles, documentation of *Hartford Wash: Maintenance Inside*, 1973. Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Connecticut

Figure 198. Mierle Laderman Ukeles, documentation of *Transfer: The Maintenance of the Art Object*, 1974. Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Connecticut

Figure 199. Titian, *Annunciation* (signature detail), 1559-64. San Salvador, Venice

LE VITE
DE PIV ECCELLENTI
ARCHITETTI,
PITTORI, ET SCVLTORI
ITALIANI, DA CIMABVE
INSINO A' TEMPI NOSTRI: DESCRITTE
in lingua Toſcana, da GIORGIO VASARI
Pittore Aretino. Con vna ſua vtile
& neceſſaria introduzzione
a le arti loro.

IN FIRENZE
M D L.

Figure 200. Title page, Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de piv eccelenti architetti, pittori, et scvltori italiani*, Firenze, 1550. Illustrated in Georges Didi-Huberman, *Confronting Images: Questioning the Ends of a Certain History of Art*, translated by John Goodman (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005), page 57

Figure 201. Endpaper bearing depiction of the Resurrection, Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' piu eccellenti pittori, scultori, a architettori*, Fiorenza, 1568. Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, Connecticut

Figure 202. Thomas Bailey tombstone, 1688. Old Burying Ground, Watertown, Massachusetts

Figure 203. Mural monument to John Rainolds, ca. 1607. Corpus Christi College Chapel, University of Oxford